



ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia

# HYBRIDITY IN THE PERFORMING ARTS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

**SILAT (MARTIAL ARTS) OF SOUTHEAST ASIA  
CULTURAL STUDIES IN MUSIC AND DANCE  
ARCHIVING AND DOCUMENTATION  
NEW RESEARCH**



## **Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia**

**Editors**

**Mohd Anis Md Nor, Patricia Matusky, Tan Sooi Beng,  
Jacqueline-Pugh Kitingan & Felicidad Prudente**

**Assisted by  
Hanafi Hussin**



**Nusantara Performing Arts Research Centre (NusPARC)  
Department of Southeast Asian Studies,  
University of Malaya  
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia  
2011**



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Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya  
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia



Symposium 2010

International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia

## Organizational Committee

Joyce Teo, Tania Goh of Saltshaker Productions Pte. Ltd,  
the staff and students in the Technology and Arts Management Program of the Republic Polytechnic of Singapore

## Program Committee

Patricia Matusky, Mohd. Anis Md. Nor, Tan Sooi Beng, Made Mantle Hood, Joyce Teo, Gisa Jaehnichen

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Editors:

Mohd Anis Md Nor, Patricia Matusky, Tan Sooi Beng, Jacqueline-Pugh Kitingan & Felicidad Prudente

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Mohd. Anis Md. Nor and Hanafi Hussin

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(In particular, The School of Technology for the Arts and The Republic Cultural Centre)

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Absolutely Thai, Singapore

Phattayakul Thai Music and Drama School, Thailand

Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

STIAB, Semarang, Indonesia

Firely Mission (ngo), Singapore

Young Composers, Singapore  
(Featuring Tze Toh and the Looking Glass Ensemble, Andy Chia and New Horizons Band,  
BronzAge *Gamelan* Ensemble)

LASALLE College of the Arts, Singapore

*Angklung* Web Institute, Bandung, Indonesia

SDS Trisula Menteng (*angklung* group), Indonesia

*Gamelan Naga Kencana*, Republic Polytechnic, Singapore

Jose S. Buenconsejo (video screening *River of Exchange*),  
College of Music, University of the Philippines, Manila

Pamela Costes, Director, *Sari-Sari* Philippine Ensemble, Singapore

Indra Utama, *silat* performer/dancer, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Uwe Paetzold (*silat* video screening), Robert Schumann University of Music, Germany

Tania Goh, Saltshaker Productions, Singapore

### Thank you

*(Xie xie, Khob kun ka, Maraming salamat, Terima kasih, Dankeschön)*

Patricia Matusky  
Chair, 1<sup>st</sup> Symposium Committee  
Chair of the Study Group and Program Chair

Joyce Teo  
Chair, Local Arrangements Committee

## INTRODUCTION

The 1<sup>st</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia took place at the Republic Polytechnic in Singapore on 10-13 June 2010. This Symposium saw some 57 delegates from Australia, Austria, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the USA come together to hear and discuss some 43 paper presentations, video documentaries, demonstrations, and dance and music performances.

The Symposium began with words of welcome and encouragement from Dr. Victor Valbuena, Director of the School of Technology for the Arts, Republic Polytechnic, the host for this Symposium. Welcoming comments also came from Dr. Tan Sooi Beng of the ICTM Board, Ms. Joyce Teo, Assistant Director of the School of Technology for the Arts and Chair of the Local Arrangements Committee for this Symposium and from Dr. Patricia Matusky, Chair of the Study Group and Program Chair. Also attending this symposium from the ICTM Board was Dr. Larry Witzleben.

The main themes for the 1<sup>st</sup> Symposium of this ICTM Study Group were Hybridity in the Performing Arts of Southeast Asia, *Silat* (martial arts) of Southeast Asia, Archiving and Documentation, and New Research by graduate students and experienced scholars alike. In addition, a Roundtable session was planned to discuss the issue of cultural studies and music and dance analysis as found in the works of scholars today.

The theme of hybridity in the performing arts, addressed in some 17 papers, was seen across national and cultural boundaries as a means of creating and sustaining cultural identity, creating new traditions, authenticating tradition, creating new styles within a given tradition, and even as loss and demise of tradition.

The two panel presentations of 5 papers on *silat* described and examined the styles of this martial arts tradition in Southeast Asia as well as its extension into the global ‘movement art’ market. These two panels were supplemented, during break times, by demonstration performances of *silat* and *silat*-derived dance movements by Indra Utama from West Sumatra and a doctoral student at the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

The theme of archiving and documentation was presented in 8 papers, four of which were delivered in the context of a panel. This panel dealt with the issues and problems researchers/collectors/archivists, both institutional and personal, have with their research materials after acquisition but before they are publicly archived. Another 4 papers on this theme focused on the importance of audiovisual documents as ethnomusicological sources, the use of documentation material in analysis of a musical genre, and the issues facing scholars in the archives themselves.

New Research papers were presented by many local and international graduate students as well as some faculty members in the region, indicative of the substantial activity in research and documentation that is taking place throughout Southeast Asia today. Topics ranged from the use of new GIS technology in ethnographic mapping, to trade/tourism and performing arts, authenticity in *kulintang* traditions, music for the Malay royalty, learning *gamelan* through ‘multiple intelligences’, *gamelan* and virtual instruments, contemporary *gamelan* developments in Malaysia, semiotic analysis of melody, the Indie music scene in Bali, and the survival of old dance traditions in today’s modern world.

In addition, Jose S. Buenconsejo presented a screening of the video accompaniment to his book *Songs and Gifts at the Frontier: Person and Exchange in the Agusan Manobo Possession Ritual* (Routledge, 2002). The video production itself is entitled *The River of Exchange: Music of Agusan Manobo and Visayan Relations in Mindanao*.

Throughout the 4-day Symposium performances of music and dance were part of the daily schedule. The first evening was celebrated with a reception and opening show at the Republic Cultural Centre Studio. A dance drama, entitled “Borobudur – A Royal Pursuit in Harmony”, with

*gamelan* accompaniment, was danced and enacted by the students from STIAB-Semarang and Singapore, and sponsored by Firefly Mission, an NGO dedicated to humanitarian projects in Southeast Asia.

As a complement to the paper presentations, the lunch and tea breaks featured Southeast Asian cuisine enhanced with daily performances by groups and individuals. These performances included classical music and dance of Thailand (sponsored by the National University of Singapore Thai Language Programme, the Absolutely Thai group, Phattayakul Thai Music and Drama School and Chulalongkorn University), Indonesian *angklung* music (by the Angklung Web Institute and SDS Trisula Menteng groups) that included participation and performance by the audience, and a performance of *gamelan* music by *Gamelan Naga Kencana* of the Republic Polytechnic in Singapore, the host of the symposium. The Study Group was also treated to a Young Composers' Concert, featuring Andy Chia, Tze Toh and RX Gan, all of Singapore, which focused on hybridity in popular music. Finally, the breaks between the two *silat* panels featured expert demonstrations of *pencak silat* movements (martial arts displays) and dance movements derivative of the *silat* movements by the dancer Indra Utama from Sumatera, Indonesia and, at the time of this Symposium, a graduate student at the Cultural Centre of the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. In addition, performance-demonstrations of *kulintang* music and dance were presented by the delegates Pamela Costes-Onishi, Hideaki Onishi, Bernard Ellorin and Lilymae Franco-Montano with a local Singapore member from Sari-Sari ensemble Saw James Hsar Doe Soe.

This Study Group extends sincere thanks to all these performers, to the local arrangements group (Joyce Teo, Chair, Tania Goh of Saltshaker Productions Pte. Ltd events manager, the staff and students in the Technology and Arts Management Program of the Republic Polytechnic of Singapore), and to the Program Committee (Gisa Jaehnichen, Tan Sooi Beng, Mohd. Anis Md. Nor, Made Mantle Hood, Joyce Teo, Patricia Matusky) who worked diligently to present a successful 1<sup>st</sup> Symposium program. We look forward to a 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium in 2012 in Manila.

This 1<sup>st</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia signalled a concerted effort to a dedicated continuation of scholarship and research activity in the region by local and international scholars. Mohd. Anis Md. Nor chairs the Publications Committee for this Study Group, which comprises Tan Sooi Beng, Felicidad Prudente, Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, Patricia Matusky and Hanafi Hussin. In its editorial work on the written version of the papers submitted by the presenters in the Symposium, the editors focused on uniformity of style format and correctness of spelling and grammar, while the contributors themselves were responsible for the content and correctness of the written text. Papers presented in the Symposium that were not submitted in a timely manner are represented in these Proceedings with their Abstracts. Once this editorial committee completed its work, the final production tasks were carried out by Mohd. Anis and Hanafi Hussin in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Many thanks are extended to these two editors for their diligent work in the final stages of production to get the Proceedings in publication by mid-2011. This published Proceedings is a permanent record of the 1<sup>st</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on the Performing Arts of Southeast Asia, held in Singapore in June 2010.

PHOTOS (EVENT)



Indonesian *angklung* performances, presented by the **Angklung Web Institute** and **SDS Trisula Menteng** at a lunch time concert during the Symposium

PHOTOS (EVENT)



*Gamelan Naga Kencana*, Republic Polytechnic, performing a lunch time concert on the final day of the Symposium

**PHOTOS (EVENT)**



**Indra Utama** performing *silat tari* as demonstrations in connection with the panels on *Pencak Silat* (martial arts) traditions



**Gamelan** music ensemble by students at the Republic Polytechnic, Singapore.



**Kulintang** ensemble demonstrations by **Pamela Costes-Onishi** and group.

## PROGRAMME

**THURSDAY — 10 June 2010**

**8:30 – 9:30 AM REGISTRATION** (venue: Foyer Area, outside TRCC Studio)

**9:30 – 10:30 AM OPENING REMARKS**

Dr. Victor Valbuena, Director of School of Technology for the Arts

Dr. Tan Sooi Beng, ICTM Board Member

Dr. Patricia Matusky, ICTM-PASEA Study Group Chairperson

Mr. Joyce Teo, Assistant Director, School of Technology for the Arts and  
Chair, Local Arrangements Committee

Venue: TRCC Studio

**10:30 – 11:00 AM TEA BREAK** (Foyer Area, outside TRCC Studio)

### SESSION 1

**11:00 AM – 12:30 Noon**

Themes: **HYBRIDITY/NEW RESEARCH**

Chair: **Gisa Jaehnichen**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **DAVID HARNISH**, Bowling Green State University (USA)  
Hybridity in Balinese Music: The Agency and Performance Style of Guitarist I Wayan Balawan.
- 2) **REBEKAH E. MOORE**, Indiana University (USA)  
Practicing Belonging in the Balinese Indie Music Scene.
- 3) **JAMES CHOPYAK**, California State University at Sacramento (USA)  
Gus Steyn: Malaysian or World Musician?

**12:30 – 1:30 PM LUNCH**

Performance of Thai Classical music jointly presented by NUS Thai Language Programme, Absolutely Thai, Phattayakul Thai Music and Drama School, and Chulalongkorn University

Venue: Foyer, outside TRCC Lab

### SESSION 2

**1:30 – 3:00 PM**

Theme: **HYBRIDITY**

Chair: **Margaret Kartomi**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **JOE PETERS**, Sonic Asia Technologies and Services (Singapore)  
Plotting "Onloading" and "Inloading" Trajectories in an Attempt to Understand Hybridity in Musical Evolution.

2) **MOHD. ANIS bin MD. NOR**, University of Malaya (Malaysia)  
From Matrilineality to Post-Colonial Gazes: Hybridity in Minangkabau Art Dance and Music.

3) **JENNIFER FRASER**, Oberlin College (USA)  
Hybridity and Emergent Traditions: Gongs, Pop Songs, and the Story of *Talempong Kreasi* in West Sumatra.

**3:00 – 3:30 PM**                      **TEA BREAK** (Foyer area, outside TRCC Studio)

**SESSION 3**

**3:30 – 5:00 PM**    Themes: **HYBRIDITY/NEW RESEARCH**

Chair: **Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

1) **PATRICIA MATUSKY**, Grand Valley State University (USA)  
*Wayang Jawa (Wayang Melayu)* Ancient Malaysian Shadow Play (*wayang kulit*):  
Aristocratic Hegemony in a Hybridized Form.

2) **FREDELIZA CAMPOS**, University of Hong Kong (China)  
The Changing Musical Tradition of the Ifugaos in Northern Philippines: An Ethno-  
Archaeomusicological Exploration.

4) **AKO MASHINO**, Tokyo University of the Arts and Kunitachi College of Music (Japan)  
*Rodat* and *Rebana* as Symbols of Muslim Balinese Cultural Identity.

**7:00 PM**                                      **COCKTAIL RECEPTION**

**8:00 – 9:15 PM** **Opening Show at The Republic Cultural Centre Studio**

“Borobudur – A Royal Pursuit in Harmony”  
A *Wayang Orang* performance, a collaboration between students from STIAB-  
Semarang and Singapore, sponsored by Firefly Mission

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**FRIDAY 11 June 2010**

**SESSION 4**

**9:00 – 10:30 AM**

**PANEL: PENCAK SILAT**

Chair & Organiser: **Uwe Paetzold**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

1) **MARGARET KARTOMI**, Monash University (Australia)  
The Nature, History and Distribution of the Art of Self Defence in Indonesia: Martial  
Performance Displays (*Pencak*) and Duels (*Silat*).

2) **BUSSAKORN BINSON**, Chulalongkorn University (Thailand)  
*Sila*: A Traditional Martial Art in Southern Thailand.

- 3) **GISA JAEHNICHEN**, Universiti Putra Malaysia (Malaysia)  
Observations from Stong (Kelantan) and from Kuala Penyu (Sabah).

**10:30 – 11:00 AM**      **TEA BREAK** (Dance Studio 2)

*Silat* Demonstration 1 by **Indra Utama**

## SESSION 5

**11:00 AM – 12:30 PM**

PANEL: **PENCAK SILAT**

Chair & Organiser: **Uwe Paetzold**  
**Studio**

Room: **TRCC**

- 1) **PAUL MASON**, Macquaire University (Australia)  
Modes of Transmission: Traditional West Sumatran and Contemporary West Javanese Practices of Indigenous Martial Arts.
- 2) **UWE PAETZOLD**, Robert Schumann University of Music (Germany)  
Some Macro- and Micro-Views on the Correlations between *Pencak Silat*, Music and Dance in West Java and The Netherlands.
- 3) Discussion on *Silat* open to all panelists and audience.

**12:30 – 2:00 PM**      **LUNCH**

Performance: Young Composers Concert “Hybridity”  
Featuring Andy Chia, Tze Toh and RX Gan (venue: TRCC Lab)

## SESSION 6

**2:00 – 3:00PM**

Theme: **HYBRIDITY/NEW RESEARCH**

Chair: **David Harnish**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **SUSAN ANG NGAR JIU**, Universiti Putra Malaysia (Malaysia)  
From "all the same" to "the same" - about a lullaby of the Dusun Labuk.
- 2) **LAWRENCE ROSS**, The City University of New York (USA)  
The Hybrid Melodic and Textual Repertoires of Southwest Thailand's *Rong Ngeng Tanyong*.
- (3<sup>rd</sup> Speaker, Dr. Tsai Ted Tsung Te (Tainan National University of the Arts, Taiwan) unable to attend)

**3:00 – 3:30 PM**      **TEA BREAK** (Foyer area, outside TRCC Dance Studio 2)

*Silat* Demonstration 2 by **Indra Utama**

**SESSION 7**

**3:30 – 5:00 PM**

Theme: **NEW RESEARCH**

Chair: **Mohd. Anis Md. Nor**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **LILYMAE F. MONTANO**, University of The Philippines (The Philippines)  
Gong Tradition, Trade, and Tourism in Ifugao Province, Philippines.
- 2) **ABDUL HAMID ADNAN**, University of Malaya (Malaysia)  
A Semiotic Analysis of Melodic Characteristics of P. Ramlee's Songs.
- 3) **TOH LAI CHEE**, Malaysian Teacher's Training Institute, Music Dept., Penang Campus  
(Malaysia)  
Teaching and Learning of *Gamelan* Music Through Multiple Intelligences.

**5:15 – 6:30 PM**

**VIDEO SCREENING**

Venue: **TRCC  
Studio**

**The River of Exchange: Music of Agusan Manobo and Visayan Relations in Mindanao.**

Directed and Produced by Jose S. Buenconsejo (UP College of Music, Diliman, Quezon City, The Philippines). This video was made as a multimedia accompaniment to Jose Buenconsejo's book *Songs and Gifts at the Frontier: Person and Exchange in the Agusan Manobo Possession Ritual* (Routledge, 2002). This is a story of the encounter and consequent cultural exchanges between inland, aboriginal Manobos and coastal, Visayan settlers in an "out-of-the-way" place in Agusan Valley, Caraga, Mindanao Island, Philippines. It explores, in particular, the varied embodiments of this social history in traditional Manobo song and ritual and in performances of recent, Visayan-brought electronically-amplified sounds.

**5:15 – 6:30 PM** Option: Tour of facilities at Republic Polytechnic, School of Technology for the Arts

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**SATURDAY 12 June 2010**

**SESSION 8**

**8:30 – 10:30 AM**

Room: **Dance Studio 2**

**GENERAL/BUSINESS MEETING**

All Members of ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia

**10:30 – 11:00 AM**

**TEA BREAK**

Kulintang Demonstration 1 by Pamela Costes

## SESSION 9

11:00 – 12:30 Noon

Theme: **HYBRIDITY**

Chair: **Tan Sooi Beng**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **KENDRA STEPPUTAT**, Kunstuniversität Graz (Austria)  
*Kecak Ramayana* – Tourists in Search for ‘the real’ Thing.
- 2) **BERNARD ELLORIN**, University of Hawaii (USA)  
From the *Kulintangan* to the Synthesizer: Sama Traditional and Contemporary Music in the Southern Philippines and Malaysia Timor.
- 3) **FELICIDAD A. PRUDENTE** University of The Philippines (The Philippines)  
Asserting Cordillera Identity Among the Indigenous Peoples of Northern Philippines.

12:30 – 1:30

**LUNCH**

Performance: Indonesian Angklung Performance presented by Angklung Web Institute and SDS Trisula Menteng

Venue: Foyer, outside TRCC Lab

## SESSION 10

1:30 – 3:30 PM

**PANEL: Issues in Archives and Archiving**

Chair & Organiser: **Alex Dea**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **ALEX DEA**, (Indonesia)  
Who Paid King Tut? (changed to: Who Did King Tut Pay?)
- 2) **ENDO SUANDA**, Institute of Indonesian Art Education (LPSN), Tikar Media Culture and Archival Foundation (Indonesia)  
Audiovisual Archives of Indonesian Cultures, Report on Methodology and Strategy.
- 3) **BUSSAKORN BINSON**, Chulalongkorn University (Thailand)  
The Thai Music Archives at Chulalongkorn University.
- 4) **GINI GORLINSKI**, Encyclopaedia Britannica (USA)  
Southeast Asian Performing Arts: Merging Ethnographic Documentation and Educational Intention in the EVIA Digital Archive.

3:30 – 4:00 PM

**TEA BREAK**

Performance: Kulintang Demonstration 2 by Pamela Costes and Group

Venue: Foyer, outside TRCC Lab

## SESSION 11

4:00 – 6:00 PM

Theme: **ARCHIVING AND DOCUMENTATION**

Chair: **Joe Peters**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **GISA JAEHNICHEN**, Universiti Putra Malaysia (Malaysia)  
Audiovisual Documents as Ethnomusicological Sources in Southeast Asia
  - 2) **JULIA CHIENG**, Universiti Putra Malaysia (Malaysia)  
Singing *sape*: an audiovisual exploration
  - 3) **MADE MANTLE HOOD**, Monash University (Australia)  
Negotiating the Archives: Preserving and Publishing Central Javanese Gamelan Field Recordings
  - 4) **BELINDA MARIA SALAZAR**, Philippine Women's University (The Philippines)  
The Digitization Project of Filipino Composers' Music Scores at the Philippine Women's University
- 

**SUNDAY 13 JUNE 2010**

**SESSION 12**

**9:00 – 10:30 AM**

Theme: **NEW RESEARCH**

Chair: **Bussakorn Binson**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **JACQUELINE PUGH-KITINGAN**, Universiti Malaysia Sabah (Malaysia)  
Kadazan Dusun Gong Ensembles in the Ethnographic Mapping of Tambunan, Sabah, Malaysia.
- 2) **NG TING HSIANG**, Republic Polytechnic (Singapore)  
Developing Gamelan Virtual Instruments for Modern Music.
- 3) **CHRISTINE YUN-MAY YONG**, University of Malaya (Malaysia)  
Contesting Boundaries of the Malay *Gamelan*: The Postcolonial Response of Rhythm in Bronze.

**10:30 – 11:00 AM**

**TEA BREAK** (Foyer area, outside TRCC Studio)

**VIDEO SCREENING** on *Silat*, presented by Uwe Paetzold (Dance Studio 2)

**SESSION 13**

**11:00 – 12:30 Noon**

Theme: **HYBRIDITY**

Chair: **Made Mantle Hood**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **MARGARET SARKISSIAN**, Smith College (USA)  
Strike up the Band: Straits Chinese musical eclecticism at the close of the colonial era.

- 2) **SHZR EE TAN**, University of London (UK)  
Inscribing China into Singaporean musical traditions: a short history of accordions and harmonicas.
- 3) **TAN SOOI BENG**, Universiti Sains Malaysia (Malaysia)  
The Thai *Menora* in Penang: Recreating Local Identities Through Hybridity.

**12:30 – 1:30 PM            LUNCH**

Performance by *Gamelan Naga Kencana*, Republic Polytechnic  
Venue: Foyer, outside TRCC Lab

#### **SESSION 14**

**1:30 – 4:15 PM**

Theme: **NEW RESEARCH/HYBRIDITY**

Chair: **James Chopyak**

Room: **TRCC Studio**

- 1) **RAJA ISKANDAR BIN RAJA HALID**, Universiti Malaysia Kelantan (Malaysia)  
“*Nobat Tabal*” – The Music that Installs A Sultan.
- 2) **MUMTAZ BEGUM ABOO BACKER**, Universiti Sains Malaysia (Malaysia)  
Passing on Traditions: The Survival of ‘Gidda’ - The Dance of the Punjabi Women in Penang.
- 3) **PAMELA COSTES ONISH & HIDEAKI ONISHI**, Center for American Education, Singapore & Yong Siew Toh Conservatory of Music, NUS (Singapore)  
Issues on Authenticity and the Traditional, Contextualized within the Specificities of the Philippine *Kulintang* Music’s Global/Local Traffic.
- 4) **SUMARSAM**, Wesleyan University (USA)  
Binary Division in Javanese *Gamelan* and Socio-Cosmological Order)

**4:15 – 4:45            TEA BREAK & CLOSING REMARKS**

Local Arrangements Committee Chair

Study Group Chair

Venue: Foyer area outside TRCC Studio & Dance Studio 2

#### **SESSION 15 (cancelled because of personal emergency)**

**3:30 – 5:00 PM**

**ROUNDTABLE PRESENTATION and DISCUSSION**

Chair & Organizer: Birgit Abels (unable to attend)

Room: **TRCC Studio**

Cultural Studies and Music/Dance Analysis: On the Utility and Futility of Postmodern Approaches to Southeast Asian Performing Arts

In recent decades, cultural studies increasingly have informed musicological and dance investigation, which has resulted in a substantial body of literature. Yet, an often-heard criticism voices many researchers' concern that by studying music from the perspective of cultural studies, such investigations often lose their focus on the actual objects of study – music and dance. In this roundtable we seek to address the general question of the fruitfulness of cultural studies' approaches to our understanding of Southeast Asian music and dance and the benefits (or lack thereof) of transdisciplinary approaches to this region's performing arts. How can we, as music and dance researchers, integrate cultural studies-related approaches into our analyses without neglecting the music and dance themselves? Also, how do we ensure that our consideration of these aspects of music and dance performance goes beyond merely adding fashionable jargon to musicological analysis, resulting in new wine in old skins?

By considering both case studies and general appraisals, we would like to identify the strengths and weaknesses of such 'cultural musicology' (a term Gilbert Chase coined as early as 1975). Statements about and contributions to the discussion are welcome.

Case Studies:

- 1) **SUMARSAM**, Wesleyan University (USA) (moved to Session 14 above)  
Binary Division in Javanese *Gamelan* and Socio-Cosmological Order
- 2) **BIRGIT ABELS**, University of Amsterdam (The Netherlands)  
Nomadic Explorations, Musical Worlds: Performing Arts, Identity, Space
- 3) Comments and Discussion



## THEME ONE

### HYBRIDITY IN THE PERFORMING ARTS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

The theme of Hybridity in the performing arts spanned across national and cultural boundaries throughout Southeast Asia and was examined in the light of creating and sustaining cultural identity, creating new traditions, authenticating tradition, creating new styles within a given tradition, and as loss and demise of tradition. The Symposium opened with two papers focusing on the 'ethnomusicology of the individual' and the creation of identity, firstly in the gamelan/jazz/heavy metal-infused music and performance of the contemporary Balinese jazz guitarist I Wayan Balawan by David Harnish (Bowling Green State University), and secondly in the Western classical-based music of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century composer in Malaysia, Gus Steyn by Jim Chopyak (California State University at Sacramento). Other papers on hybridity and creating identity dealt with the Straits Chinese in Melaka at the close of the colonial era richly illustrated in photographs in a presentation by Margaret Sarkissian (Smith College), and the emergence of accordions and harmonicas from China into Singapore presented by Shzr Ee Tan (University of London). The use of *rodat* song/dance and the *rebana* drum in Muslim Balinese communities was presented by Ako Mashino (Tokyo University of the Arts), asserting Cordillera identity among the indigenous peoples of the Northern Philippines was presented by Felicidad Prudente (University of The Philippines), and the recreation of local identity in the Thai *Menora* dance theater in Penang, Malaysia was presented by Tan Sooi Beng (Universiti Sains Malaysia).

The hybridity theme also drew attention to the creation of new traditions among a number of communities throughout Southeast Asia. Jennifer Fraser (Oberlin College) discussed emergent traditions and *Talempong Kreasi* in West Sumatra, while Mohd. Anis Md. Nor (University of Malaya) explained the emergence of Indonesian dance styles developed by Minangkabau women choreographers and based on *silat* martial arts from that community. In addition, Susan Ang Ngar Jiu (Universiti Putra Malaysia) spoke about the emergence of lullaby styles of the Dusun Labuk who live in Sabah, Malaysia, and Lawrence Ross (City University of New York) discussed the hybrid melodies and song lyrics of the *Rong Ngeng Tanyong* of Southwest Thailand. The topic of creating new traditions and 'new technology' processes was addressed by Joe Peters (Sonicasia, Singapore) in his discussion of hybridity, seen as 'onloading' and 'inloading' trajectories in current computer applications.

The hybridity theme continued with papers that addressed the question of authenticity in a given tradition. In this respect, Kendra Stepputat (Kunstuniversitaet Graz) discussed the *kecak Ramayana* in Bali and tourist-oriented performances. Crossing national boundaries by the Sama maritime peoples of the southern Philippines and Sabah (Malaysia) saw traditions changing from acoustic to electronic instruments in a paper by Bernard Ellorin (University of Hawaii), and finally Pamela Costes-Onishi (Center for American Education) and Hideaki Onishi (National University of Singapore) focused on authenticity and the Philippine *kulintang* music in its local and global contexts.

Hybridity was also seen in the context of loss or demise of tradition in two papers, one by Fredeliza Campos (University of Hong Kong) who spoke of changing musical traditions including loss of instruments and other artifacts of the Ifugao People in the Northern Philippines, while Patricia Matusky (Grand Valley State University) discussed the hybrid character of the Malaysian *wayang Jawa* shadow puppet theater and its music/ensemble created by the Malay aristocracy strictly for their use and its eventual demise by the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

MASHINO AKO  
Tokyo, Japan

## **RODAT AND REBANA AS SYMBOLS OF MUSLIM BALINESE CULTURAL IDENTITY**

### **Muslim Balinese Music Culture**

This paper is a preliminary report of my on-going research into Muslim Balinese musical culture. On a national level, Muslims belong to the religious majority, as they make up more than ninety percent of the Indonesian population, while Hindus account for only two percent. However, more than ninety percent of the Balinese population is Hindu, and Muslims on the island are indeed a religious minority. Most have their roots on other islands in the vicinity, although the dates and reasons for their immigration vary widely. In my research, I refer to Muslim communities with long histories on the island—some hundreds of years in length—as Muslim Balinese.<sup>1</sup> The Muslim Balinese have a twofold cultural identity. Most were born in Bali, speak Balinese fluently, and identify themselves as Balinese based upon locality, although their customs and beliefs are largely different from those of the Hindu majority. Furthermore, they also clearly distinguish themselves from the *pendatang* Muslims, who recently immigrated for economic reasons and presumably cannot deeply understand Balinese customs. The bombings by Islamist terrorists in 2002, and the emergence of Ajeg Bali—a recent Balinese cultural revival movement which regards outside influences such as Islam as threats to Balinese-ness, generally defined by Hinduism—seem to have encouraged Muslim Balinese to establish their cultural identity and social recognition, in order to highlight their distinction from the *pendatang*.

While a rich body of Balinese ethnomusicological studies exists, the Muslim Balinese musical tradition has been largely ignored, despite its significance and uniqueness. The *rebana*, a frame drum, and *rodan*, a male processional dance, which I examine in this paper, are the major and significant examples of their musical practices, which culturally represent their identity, as they seldom can be found among the *pendatang* Muslims nor among the Hindu Balinese.<sup>2</sup> Here, I examine the musical practice of Pegayaman, one of the Muslim Balinese communities in North Bali.<sup>3</sup>

### **Burdah and Rodan for Maulud in Pegayaman**

Pegayaman is a mountainous village in the Buleleng district.<sup>4</sup> More than ninety percent of the villagers are Muslim. The history of Pegayaman can be traced back to Javanese immigrants in the seventeenth century, with the additional historical influence of Bugis from Sulawesi. The most important context for the performing arts in Pegayaman is Maulud, the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, which is held during the month of Rabiul Awal in the Islamic lunar calendar. The festival lasts for two days, and features various performing arts, such as *rodan*, *burdah*, and *silat*.

*Qasidah burdah*, or *burdah*, is a recitation of Arabic poems from “Kitab Berzanji” (or “Barzanji”), depicting and praising the Prophet Muhammad’s life. The poem consists of fifteen *pasal*, or verses, and there are about fifteen melodies used for singing them, chosen according to specific rules. On the morning of the second day of Maulud in March 2010, I observed three *burdah* groups (*sekhe burdah*) performing together in the *musholla*, or prayer room. There were approximately forty male performers around the edge of the room, and a few observers sitting near the entrance who were all men, except me. The performers sing the text, and simultaneously beat a *rebana burdah* or *rebana besar* (big *rebana*). This large *rebana* consists of a cowhide attached to a palm-wood frame with rattan lacing. Each performer plays a rhythmic pattern slightly different from one another, so that the whole ensemble sounds *mecandatan*, or interlocking. According to the musicians, there is no appointed rhythmic pattern as in *kotekan*, one of the popular interlocking techniques used by the Hindu Balinese; they just improvise their own performance in accordance with the ensemble. Although I was told that two men used to dance in *burdah*, regrettably only one dancer was available that day. The dance movement resembled a refined version of *silat*, a traditional form of martial arts, and seemed to be largely improvised on the spot. Only a few Muslim Balinese communities carry on the tradition of *burdah* and only Pegayaman has *burdah* in the Buleleng district. Therefore, the *burdah* groups are proud of their frequent invitations to perform in other Muslim villages—evidence of the fact that they have firmly maintained their own tradition. The performance continued until noon.<sup>5</sup>

Pegayaman people make colorfully-ornamented floats, called *sokok*, for the Maulud celebration. The floats for the first day, the *sokok base*, consist of a large quantity of betel leaves and flowers, while those for the second day, the *sokok taluh*, are made of decorated boiled eggs stuck in a banana trunk log. In the morning during Maulud, several *rodat* groups made the rounds of the village and held short performances for each household that had prepared *sokok*.<sup>6</sup> Each group consisted of about ten dancers and eight *rebana* musicians, all men. Both dancers and musicians sang Arabic and Indonesian texts containing religious teachings. The *rebana* for *rodat*, *rebana hadrah*, is smaller than the *rebana burdah*, and its skin is attached to its wooden frame with studs; each carries three pairs of jingles, or *ceng-ceng*. As with *rebana burdah*, the whole ensemble creates an interlocking rhythmic pattern.

For photos, see hard copy version.

**Plate 1. Rodat performance in Pengayaman (photo by the author, February, 2010)**

*Rodat* has a military association in several aspects: the wearing of westernized army costume (pants, hat, and epaulettes); the use of body movements from *silat*; and the collective and disciplined behavior of the group following its commander. The powerful sound of voice and *rebana* musically support and reinforce the image of strength and masculinity that the dance expresses. Pegayaman people believe that their ancestors were sturdy soldiers who fought for Panji Sakti, the ruler of Buleleng in the seventeenth century, and that he bestowed their land upon them to reward their excellent service in the wars (Barth, 1993, p. 45). *Rodat* performance proudly reminds the audience of the Pegayaman identity as descendants of brave warriors, symbolizing the historical background of the community.

After the *rodat* performance, the *sokok* were picked up and gathered together. On the first day, the *sokok base* were brought directly to the mosque to be deconstructed there, while the *sokok taluh* were paraded around the village in a procession consisting of children, a marching band, *rodat*, and *rebana* on the afternoon of the second day. The parade ended at the main venue for the afternoon event. The morning rituals were more deeply embedded in local cultural contexts: they were held in domestic spaces, such as individual houses or *musholla*. The venue for the afternoon event, by contrast, was a more open, larger space. It was marked off as an outdoor stage by a canopied platform on which the invited guests were seated, surrounded by hundreds of villagers in the audience. About twenty guests from outside the village, including the vice-head of the county, sat in their formal wear under the canopy. Following a predetermined program, an opening address and subsequent speeches were delivered with a microphone in formal Indonesian instead of the Balinese of daily conversation. The Indonesian national anthem, "Indonesia Raya," was sung, led by a conductor and accompanied by recorded music. These elements contributed to establishing a public and official atmosphere for the performance context.

In the latter part of the event, following the presentation of short excerpts of *rodat* and *burdah*, some pairs of performers competed in *silat* skills accompanied by the groups of *rebana burdah* and *rebana hadrah* in turn, and then volunteers from the audience were invited to show their competence. Although only a few came to the front this time, I was told that such competitions in the past had continued for several days, with many attending from outside of the village, including Hindu Balinese. The afternoon Maulud event was, thus, deliberately organized as a showcase of the performing arts of Pegayaman to represent their cultural identity in public, so that both outsiders and insiders could participate in the event and bear witness to the community's cultural prominence.

For photos, see hard copy version.

**Plate 2. *Rebana burdah* and *Silat* in the afternoon of Maulid 2010  
(photo by the author, February 2010)**

### **Establishing cultural identity as Muslim Balinese**

Although Islamic doctrine generally promotes neither dance nor instrumental music in religious contexts, in Indonesia there exists a rich field of so-called Islamic music (Rasmussen, 2005). As Maulud is not thought to be a religious ritual but a secular one—an anniversary—performing arts are regarded as necessary for the celebration. However, while it is felt to be a basically secular event, it is practiced and interpreted according to Islam, and filled with rich religious symbolism. For example, anthropologist Erni Budiwanti reports that the betel leaves and flowers for *sokok base* symbolize Muhammad's affection for fragrance, women, and prayer; and that the eggs for *sokok taluh* are a symbol for the Qur'an (Budiwanti, 1995, p. 122–23).

Generally, *rebana* used to be a tool of *dakwa*, diffusing Islam through its attractive musical quality. Though its mission of conversion to Islam is supposed to have been restricted in Bali, it still functions as a medium of religious education for the Muslim villagers in a form of entertainment, since all the texts for *burdah* and *rodat* contain religious meaning. Even though some Arabic texts are sung without a clear understanding of their meaning, the language itself sounds sacred and strongly evokes religious feelings

Since Maulud is an event open to outsiders, it offers an opportunity for observing and understanding the culture of the Pegayaman people, who presumably recognize the similarity and difference between Muslim and Hindu cultures, and who interpret it in various ways. Terms which are often used positively to explain the cultural similarity are *acculturasi* (acculturation) and *adaptasi* (adaptation). The most often mentioned example of “*acculturasi*” is the fact that *burdah* performers traditionally have worn *udeng*—a head cloth associated with Hindu Balinese men—instead of the *peci* which are usually worn by Muslim men. I also heard many people, both Pegayaman and outsiders, point

out the similarity of *burdah* to *kidung*, a vocal genre which is often sung during Hindu rituals. A reporter for the daily newspaper *Bali Post* described *burdah* as “*irama lagu bernuansa Bali*” (music with Balinese taste) and wrote that his impression of the culture of Pegayaman was “*sangat Bali*” (very Balinese; Asmaudi, 2008). Although the timbre and vocal technique of *burdah* and *kidung* differ greatly, they certainly share several characteristics such as a heterophonic sound texture and the use of religious texts. Some also recognize that the vocal style of *burdah* is different from the more “Arabic” vocal style commonly found in Muslim culture, such as the recitation of the Qur’an. Several people also compared *rodāt* and *rebana* to Hindu Balinese *baleganjur* which consists of various percussion instruments. Both are processional music, rhythm-focused, associated with the military and masculinity, and are mostly performed by men, although *baleganjur* usually does not have a vocal part, and dancing with the music is only a recent innovation.

As previous studies suggest, Hindu and Muslim Balinese cultures have never been exclusively separate, and there has been a long history of their interaction (Vickers, 1987; Kusuma, 2007). However, at present I have not yet found enough historical evidence to clearly support or deny the actual *acculturasi* or their interrelationship in the performing arts of Pegayaman.<sup>7</sup> Further study and analysis are necessary to clarify the historical and cultural background. The comparison of Muslim Balinese culture and its Hindu Balinese equivalent is actually open to various interpretations, and the discourse on cultural similarity and acculturation can invite two opposing opinions: one may admire such similarity as evidence of the peaceful co-existence of two different cultures. Others may disdain it as a degradation of original customs or a compromising of the legitimate tradition. Ketut Shahrwardi Abbas belongs to the positive camp. In his opinion, the deliberate distinction of “culture/custom” from “religion” by Pegayaman Muslims—flexibly accepting the former from Hindu Balinese culture, while strictly observing the latter—is a crucial and wise strategy in maintaining their tradition, belief, and identity (Abbas, 2009, p. 4). Abbas also delivered a speech expressing the same opinion during the afternoon events of the Maulud of Pegayaman in 2010. Perhaps, though, there are discussions and negotiations between the positive and negative camps. I did notice that the performance costume is one of the controversial topics, as one of the three *burdah* groups wore *peci* instead of *udeng* in their performance, although wearing *udeng* is thought to be more obedient to the tradition. I also encountered a small, informal discussion among informants about *udeng* in *burdah* and the renewal of *rodāt* costumes, in which some suggested changing the current style and others opposed change.

In closing, I would just like to note that both positive and negative camps often refer to acculturation and continue to negotiate with each other, at various points and in various ways. Emphasis might shift between similarity and difference, for the sake of interaction and relationship, or purity and originality, hinging on the social circumstances. Frederick Barth, who conducted his field research in Pegayaman during the 1980s, describes the villagers’ tendency to adopt an “isolationist, traditionalist, and often bellicose attitude to the surrounding society” (1993, p. 44). However, the events of Maulud 2010 show that the community was rather open and welcomed outsiders. There might be widely varied opinion and viewpoints among the villagers, though exclusively “isolationist” or “bellicose” postures against others might become more difficult and also less realistic than in the 1980s as a community strategy to maintain their tradition peacefully and successfully. It seems to me that the Muslim Balinese need both of these discourses, contradictory as they may seem, and need to coordinate their application in establishing their cultural identity as Muslim Balinese in order to enhance their social recognition. The Maulud is a valuable venue for the villagers to tangibly display their culture and offer outsiders an accessible opportunity to experience and participate in it. The performing arts occupy a central position in the community, providing a foundation for the Pegayaman’s cultural identity.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See Vickers 1987 for the historical background of the Muslim Balinese and their relationship with Hindu Balinese society.

<sup>2</sup> *Rebana* used to be played as a part of Hindu Balinese *gamelan* ensembles, such as the *gamelan geguntangan* ensemble and *jegog*.

<sup>3</sup> My research area, besides Pegayaman, includes Sarenjawa, Nyuling, Dagingsema (Karangasam district in east Bali) and Kapaon (Denpasar in the south). All communities mentioned here have their own style of *rebana*, and some of them also have *rodāt*.

<sup>4</sup> Frederick Barth (1993) uses the name “Pengatepan” instead of “Pegayaman.” Ketut Shahrwardi Abbas, a journalist and writer from the village, suggested that both names refer to a kind of fruit, called *gatep* in Balinese and *gayam* in Javanese (Abbas, personal communication, Sept. 8, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Although I did not observe it, the villagers reported that they perform *burdah* all night before the Maulud festival.

<sup>6</sup> In Pegayaman, *rodah* is also called *hadrah*; there, the terms are regarded as synonymous, while in other villages they sometimes refer to different art forms.

<sup>7</sup> In Muslim Balinese villages in other areas, such as Nyuling and Kepaon, the *rodah* had often been performed along with *baleganjur* that was performed by Hindu Balinese on the same occasion. I think it is possible for both parties to interact in these cases.

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Mashino Ako

**SUSAN ANG NGAR JIU**  
Serdang, Malaysia

**FROM “ALL THE SAME” TO “THE SAME” – ABOUT A LULLABY  
OF THE DUSUN LABUK**

For article see published Proceedings

**MOHD ANIS MD NOR**  
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

**FROM MATRILINEALITY TO POST-COLONIAL GAZES:  
HYBRIDITY IN MINANGKABAU ART DANCE AND MUSIC**

**Prelude**

Quite often than not one sees contemporary Minangkabau art dances being represented by images of men and women dancing to interlocking rhythms of the *talempong* pot-gongs. Dancers are dressed in colorful Minangkabau costumes and fineries, dancing with strides akin to *Silat* (martial arts) steps and sharp thrusting and slashing movements of the arms, and fast flickering hand turns to the beats of the large frame and barrel drums (*adok* and *rabano*). The music shimmers with the sounds of *pupuik batang padi* or *bansi* (rice stalk or bamboo flutes) and is intermittently pacified with slow and regal movements to the pensive sounds of the *saluang* (end blown bamboo flute). Familiar tunes of *Cak Din-Din*, *Dayang Daini*, *Muaro Paneh*, *Pasambahan*, *Situjuh*, and *Lintau Basilang* amongst others are heard within a larger composition of songs that extend through the duration of a staged dance performance. Embedded in these choreographies are dance movements taken from the art of *pancak* (movements derived and performed as exercises for the *Silat* martial arts) imbued with the playful nuances of *pamenan* (recreational performance of preferred *Silat* movements), which are derived from *pamenan urang mudo* (recreational performance of young men). Yet these dances are artfully created for both men and women without transgressing hegemonic perimeters of male performative *Silat* movements and performance space, the *sasaran* or square where clansmen gathered to practice *Silat*, or disparaged by the sanctity of *Silat* as a male domain. This brings an array of interesting questions about the creation of arts dance in West Sumatera. Why has *Silat*, through its implements of the *pamenan*, given way to the establishment of Minangkabau art dance without much remonstrance from the male community within the matrilineal society? Was it not long ago that women were shunned from public spaces unless accompanied by their matrilineal kinsmen or maternal uncles (Ninik Mamak) and were prohibited from extroverted displays of artistic talents, but instead were concealed within the introverted artistic skills of embroidery making, sewing and hand looming? Women were never allowed to perform in public or even partake in *Silat*, while men were never expected to dance outside of the periphery of *pamenan urang mudo*. These were the social norms that governed the boundaries of gender behavior and gender roles in traditional Minangkabau society. How could these norms be broken and what had taken place to privilege art dance and its accompanying music to become signifiers of contemporary Minangkabau?

This paper attempts to look into the issues of dance creations that are entirely invented as new forms of performing arts through the processes of hybridizing old and new performative elements demonstrating post-colonial modernity, perhaps, shifting from conservative matrilineal gazes to the avant-garde.

**From Games to Dance**

The word *pamenan* in Minangkabau means play, game or sport as in playoff, competition and amusement. It is a loaded word and represents many things associated with the playing of many stances of the *Silat*, a crucial and determining form of martial art that is associated with maturity and the coming of age of young Minangkabau men before they embark on their traditional *merantau*, a social obligation that requires young men to spend some time away from his village in search of wealth and opportunity (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 1986, p. 11). However, *Silat* is only attainable if one has reached a level of physical and spiritual accomplishment that comes through years of training in his respective *sasaran* near to his clan's *surau* (prayer house). Hence, a *pamenan* participant is also a *peSilat* (a martial art exponent) who utilizes his knowledge of the *pancak* as an art form, and as a system of defense and assail.

Three principle stances of the *pancak*, *tagak* (standing firm), *pitunggue* (wide stance, body in upright position with firm footing and bent knees depicting a position of readiness) and *langkah* (steps) are the rudiments of *Silat* with or without combative arm movements or *gelek*, the act of evasion. An act of playing the *pancak* is sometimes referred to as *mancak* or *bamancak* amongst

young performers in the *pamenan urang mudo*. *Pancak*, *mancak* or *bamancak*, is the foundation of *pamenan*, whilst the execution of *pancak* sequences are based on the formative structure of the three principle stances (*tagak*, *pitunggue* and *langkah*) embellished with variants of the *gelek* or evasive movements of the head, arms, hands, and torso. Consequently, *pancak* motifs are recognized by metaphorical movement sequences such as *pasambahan pembuka* (commencing sequence), *tupai bagaluik* (belligerent squirrels), *jinjiang bantai* (hauling butchered meat), *cacah baro* (stepping on hot amber), *titi batang* (tipping on fallen log), which entails images of agility, dexterity and preparedness of sporting players that are competitive and entertaining. *Pancak*, the core of every *pamenan*, is the closest one could get to see a 'structured movement system' that embraces games in a dance-like manner. In fact, *pamenan* is the closest representation of dance in a society that takes games and play as a structured movement system, yet remaining in the domain of Minangkabau men.

Women were never permitted to partake in *pancak* but were allowed to view *pamenan urang mudo* (young men's performance) within the performative spaces of the *sasaran* or within the front yard of the large matrilineal house (*rumah gadang*). Minangkabau women are metaphorically designated as the supportive pillars of matrilineality and are symbolically recognized in Minangkabau as "*kok tunggak dimakan bubuak tando di rumah gadang karuntuah*", which literally means, "Should the pillars (women) rot from wood borers it marks the fall of the matrilineal home." Hence, Minangkabau women were designated as pillars of society and up-keepers of matrilineality and they were never allowed to partake in activities associated with Minangkabau men. The gender roles are precisely ascribed and fastidiously upheld by the customary maxim of "*adat basandikan syara', syara' basandikan kitabullah*", which relegates matrilineal customs or *adat* as being constructed on Islamic law or *syarah* that are derived from the holy Quran. In this context women are *aurat* (forbidden to be seen publicly) who must be protected from gazes except that of her *muhrim* (blood relatives).

### **Liberated Women, Hybridizing Dance**

The constructive confines of gender seclusion in the Minangkabau performing arts came to an end with the creation of a hybridized structured movement system, which redefined the perimeters of women's performative acts for public gazes that were initially sanitized within the confines of academic institutions in the late 1960s. The first person who liberated Minangkabau women from the clutches of gender roles was Hoerijah Adam, a female choreographer. She had initiated Minangkabau art dances through her hybrid experiments with Malay dances and *pancak*. Born in the village of Balai-Balai in Padang Panjang on 6<sup>th</sup> October 1936 to the family of Syekh Adam B.B. (Balai-Balai), Hoerijah was raised in a religious but liberal family. Her father, Syekh Adam B.B (1889-1953) was well known as an *ulama* (Islamic cleric) who had set up the Madrasah Irsyadin Naas (MIN) in 1929 and had included the teaching of arts and performing arts in the school's curriculum. *Silat* teachers were brought to teach the *pancak* within the format of *pamenan urang mudo* to provide artistic awareness amongst the students of MIN. It was in this school that Hoerijah Adam begun her early education and was eventually tutored at a later stage by Syofyan Naan (dance), Nurdin (drawing), Ramudin (violin) and Syahbuddin (sculpture) at the Padang Panjang Arts Centre. Between 1951 and 1954, Hoerijah Adam took up *Silat* training and dance from Datuk Tumanggung who was also known as Pakiah Nandung, where she acquired the ability to perform the *Silat* related dances *tari gelombang*, *tari sewah*, *tari piring* and *tari sibadindin*, all of which were normally performed by men. Pakiah Nandung was an exponent of *Silat tuo* and had come from the neighboring village of Nagari Gunung Rajo near Padang Panjang. *Silat tuo*, which focused on defensive movements rather than offensive gestures, provided the means for Hoerijah Adam to acquire the principal stances and movements of *tagak* (standing firm), *pitunggue* (position of readiness) and *langkah* (steps) that were important in *Silat sado* or *pamenan sado*, which literally means the *Silat* of all movements (*lah sadonyo*). Under the tutelage of Pakiah Nandung, Hoerijah Adam obtained extensive knowledge of *Silat Sado* that embodied all of the principal forms of *Silat tuo*. After three years of tutelage under Pakiah Nandung, Hoerijah Adam left for Yogyakarta to further her studies at Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia (ASRI) between 1955 and 1957. Although she did not complete her studies in Yogyakarta, Hoerijah Adam returned to Bukit Tinggi to form her own dance group in 1958.



**Hoerijah Adam**

With her experience and knowledge of Javanese, Balinese, Palembang and Malay dances, Hoerijah Adam began composing new movements by hybridizing *pancak* and *Silat* movements with dance vocabularies within the genres she had acquired over the past years. While doing that, she had also juxtaposed two different dancing styles, the slow and fluid movements of the *pesisir* (coastal or outward extremities of Minangkabau region) and the strong and sharp movements of *pancak* from the Minangkabau hinterland, creating new dances from existing forms dominated by male performers of the *pamenan* genre. Through her extensive observations of village performances, she created new dances and gave new meaning to the art of dancing where men and women could dance together. Between 1958 and 1971, Hoerijah Adam created new dances or new versions of dance, amongst them, *tari lilin* (candles and saucer dance), *tari payung* (umbrella dance), *tari gelombang* (dance of the waves), *tari nina bobok* (lullaby dance), *tari saputangan* (handkerchiefs dance), *sendratari Malin Kundang* (*Malin Kundang* dance drama), *Barabah*, and *Sepasang Api*. From 1968 to 1971, she was able to stage these new dance pieces in two academic institutions where she taught, the Lembaga Pendidikan Kesenian Jakarta (LPKJ) at Taman Ismail Marzuki in Jakarta and in the Akademi Seni Karawitan Padang Panjang, in her birthplace of Padang Panjang in West Sumatra. It was in Jakarta that Hoerijah Adam became well known as an art worker, choreographer, a feminist and a nationalist. One of her most distinguished choreography, *Barabah*, was created when she was in Jakarta. Through her friendship with fellow choreographers and dance teachers at LPKJ such as Sardono Kusumo and Sentot, she went about to create dances form *pancak* and *Silat* sado with Malay dances that she had learned from Syofyan Naan in her father's Madrasah Irsyadin Naas (MIN) in Padang Panjang. Through her collaboration with Sentot and Sardono Kusumo in LPKJ, she created thirteen basic new dance motifs to form new dances based on Minangkabau martial arts of *Silat sado* that had originated from Pariangan-Padang Panjang in the district of Tanah Datar in West Sumatra. These were the motifs that eventually became the constructive units for the creation of *Barabah*, a dance that was to become synonymous with a hybridized dance form constructed from *pancak* of *Silat sado* and Malay dances. New music arrangements created to accompany her new dances were created through hybridized sounds from *talempong*, *bansi*, *pupuik*, *rabano* and *adok*, played to fast interlocking rhythms quite different from the conventional Minangkabau musical styles. Her new choreographies won the hearts of the Jakarta art elites including Ministers and the Indonesian President, which sealed her work in historical narratives. Although she died an untimely death in a plane crash on her way home to Padang from Jakarta on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1971, Hoerijah Adam left a legacy of being the first Minangkabau woman choreographer who had liberated women to perform hybridized Minangkabau dance forms to the general public without transgressing the domains of male *pamenan* and *Silat*.

Hoerijah Adam was not alone in redefining Minangkabau art dance. She had two female colleagues who not only shared her vision to create new Minangkabau art dance but had created their own signature pieces as a new dance heritage traversing from Matrilineality to post-colonial gazes. One of her contemporaries is Syofyani Yusaf who was born in 1936 to the family of Bustaman St. Makmur and Siayar Bustaman, the former being an exponent of *Silat Tuo* and a *randai* (dance theatre) master from Bukit Tinggi). Syofyani's exposure to dance came from her

own family who are known for their ability to dance on shards of glass smashed from beer bottles. Her grandfather, Dt. Tumanggung, had inherited the esoteric knowledge of dancing on shards of broken glass without causing bodily cuts from an undisclosed master while being incarcerated in Digul as a nationalist sympathizer by the Dutch colonial administrators. This knowledge was passed down to her from her grandfather, Dt. Tumanggung, while she took *Silat* and *randai* lessons from her father, Bustaman St. Makmur. Syofyani was also introduced to *sandiwara* (Malay play or drama) through her maternal aunts who used to invite her to perform small roles on stage. She had the opportunity to learn Malay dances while studying as an English major at IKIP's English Department in Bukit Tinggi.

Her interest to form her own dance group and create new dancers emerged after joining a group of student dancers and musicians from IKIP and Universitas Andalas in Padang on a trip to participate in an arts festival in Bali in 1962. She met her husband, Yusaf Rahman, a talented musician and student of Universitas Andalas during this trip and formed the Syofyani Dance Group after marrying Yusaf Rahman in 1964. With a small studio and approximately twenty students, Syofyani and Yusaf embarked to collaborate and produce new dance and music for the stage. Although she had extensive exposure to the subtle and soft dance movements of the Malay dances, her training in *Silat tuo* and *randai*, and her adroitness with *Tari Piring di Atas Pecahan Kaca* (saucer dance on shards of broken glass) made Syofyani yearn to create dances that combine *pancak* movements, agile steps, legerdemain strides of dancing on broken shards of glasses, and softer nuances of Malay dance styles in her choreography. Her umbrella dance (*tari payung*) and handkerchief dance (*tari saputangan*) were created to instill Minangkabau values and aesthetics quite removed from the nuances of Malay dances from the north and east coast of Sumatra by utilizing *pancak* and *Silat* dance movements. To satisfy her desire to see women performing emancipated movement styles derived from *Silat* and *randai* dance theatre, Syofyani created a new movement vocabulary that emphasize deftness and skillful movements with dance properties such as plates, saucers, umbrellas, scarves or sharp movements of the hands and arms by incorporating *pitunggue* stances (state of readiness) and embellishing *gelek* (evasion) movements in her choreography while sustaining the basic stances of *pancak* and *Silat tuo*. Many of her dances would eventually become Minangkabau dance heritage in spite of its hybridity.



Syofyani Yusaf (1956)

The third Minangkabau woman choreographer who shared similar aspirations in emancipating Minangkabau women through dance is Gusmiati Suid. Born in 1942 in the village of Parak Jua in Batu Sangkar, Gusmiati was brought up in a family of *Silat* exponents and purveyors of *Silat kumango*, which was a form of *Silat tuo* in the *pariangan* area within the enclave of the Minangkabau hinterland of *luhak nan tigo*. She was exposed to the world of *pancak* and *Silat* at an early age and knew the intrigues of the art of self defense of *Silat kumango*. Inspired by *Silat*, Gusmiati Suid divulged in extending *pancak* movements in her dance choreography. A friend and supporter of Hoerijah Adam, Gusmiati Suid shared similar ambition with Hoerijah to create dance that represented liberated and boundless energies of women in

dance allowing new hybrids to bring new meanings to the notion of *pamenan* for everyone rather than being gender specific. She wanted to create dance that was strong and agile but never leaving the essence of Minangkabau-ness. As a women she idealized Minangkabau women allegorically as “*siganjua lalai, samuik tapijak indak mati,*” (svelte, graceful and light in steps) but strong in spirit and longing akin to “*alu tataruang patah tigo,*” (a smashed pestle broken into three). This was to become her aphorism as she poured her creative energy into her Gumarang Sakti dance company, which was formed in 1982. Gusmiati Suid became a highly acclaimed dance choreographer after migrating to Jakarta where she created new hybrids by mixing new music compositions with new dance movements inspired by *pancak* and *Silat*. In many of her choreographies, the implements of *tagak* (standing firm) and *langkah* (steps) dominate, which are highly visible in the best of her works such as *Tari Rantak*, *Kabar Burung* and *Api Dalam Sekam*. These choreographies are daring, loud and “*tageh*” (steadfast) which brought much controversy as well as admiration.



Gusmiati Suid (Photo archive in KOMPAS, 2000)

### A Moment in Time

All three pioneering women choreographers lived in a period that was about ready to accept changes, from being a strict totalitarian Islamic society to a more moderate interpretation of Islam in West Sumatra. The Muhammadiyah or otherwise known formally as Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah is an Islamic organization, which literally means “followers of Muhammad.” Being a reformist socio-religious movement, it advocated individual interpretation of the Quran and Sunnah, or *ijtihad*, rather than interpretations as propounded by the *ulama*, or *taqlid*. As a reformist group, Muhammadiyah became very popular with the Minangkabau people and its mercantile class, bringing the movement far and wide into the country side and across the Indonesian archipelago. This was the time when rational and logical discourses of Islamic tenets were being re-looked as the communities began shaping a new understanding of Islamic teaching through reformist thinking. Although the Muhammadiyah shunned elaborate syncretic rituals and performances, it supported new interpretations of artistic performances that were rational to the interpretations of Islamic teachings. Hoerijah Adam, for example grew up in the environments of Muhammadiyah in Madrasah Irsyadin Naas (MIN), which was set up by her father Adam BB who was greatly influenced by his teachers who were Muslim reformists. Amongst Adam BB’s early teachers was the great *ulama*, Syekh Abdul Karim Amrullah who was also known as Haji Rasul or Inyak Rasul, the father of Indonesia’s greatest twentieth century Ulama, Hamka or Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah. Inyak Rasul who inspired the reform movement in West Sumatra had inspired Adam BB to reform Islamic education in his school, Madrasah Irsyadin Naas (MIN) by including the teaching of *Silat*, music and dance to the students. Hoerijah Adam was one of these privileged students. Similarly, Syofyani Yusaf and Gusmiati Suid, who came from families that had ties with *Silat* masters were privy to the esoteric yet reformist knowledge of *Silat tuo* and *Silat sado*, which were encouraged to be taught to daughters and not just sons during the reformist period.

Hoerijah Adam, Syofyani Yusaf and Gusmiati Suid were fortunate that their explorative discourses in liberating women from the gazes of conventional matrilineal confines of gender and its specificities of artistic endeavours were not reciprocated with the harshest of criticism or compelled to conformist coercion. On the contrary, these women were adequately supported, physically and spiritually, by their own families and by the communities they had worked with. Hoerijah Adam and Syofyani Yusaf were academics and artists whose works were showcased and performed within the confines of their academic institutions before being displayed publicly in Jakarta or Padang supported by the ruling elites as exemplary displays of modern Minangkabau choreographies. Gusmiati Suid and her Gumarang Sakti dance company made her name in Jakarta and received enthusiastic support from the Minangkabau communities and cultural elites in Taman Ismail Marzuki, the centre of contemporary Indonesian arts.

Their combined efforts to create new dance hybrids symbolized the covert desire of liberating Minangkabau performing arts from the clutches of archaic interpretations of arts, culture and religion, which were confined within the colonial perception of *adat* (customs), *syariah* (*syara'*) and Quran (*kitabullah*) as endorsed by the Ninik Mamak (maternal uncles). These colonial interpretations of the Ninik Mamak in Minangkabau matrilineal society had perpetuated customary and gender hegemonies that were fixated with gender specific activities for *pancak*, *pamenan* and *Silat*. Such fixations came to an end when the hybridized choreographies of Hoerijah Adam, Syofyani Yusaf and Gusmiati Suid shifted performative hegemonies of *pancak* and *pamenan* to egalitarian Minangkabau arts dance transforming the performative landscape of Minangkabau performing arts from matrilineal to post-colonial gazes.

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Syofyani Yusaf (2010) – personal conversation in April 2010.



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## MUSIC HYBRIDITY IN BALI: THE AGENCY & PERFORMANCE STYLE OF GUITARIST I WAYAN BALAWAN

Music hybridity is now a major topic in popular music and ethnomusicology. Many works integrate postcolonial theory or assume corporate systems of domination and oppression in hybrid music construction; this approach is sometimes called the cultural imperialism thesis (Kraidy 2005). Other works discuss hybridity either to resist globalization (Luvaas 2009) or to embrace cultural diversity/pluralism beyond the binary of dominant and subaltern (Bhabha 1990). The hybrid was prominently a colonial construction mediating the white colonizer and the subjugated native. Hybridity remains an issue in tensions between white people and peoples of color (Prabhu 2007: xii) and implicates the continued appropriations of ex-colonized cultures. Many studies, for example, critique Western musicians co-opting world music forms for their personal gain and some rail against the stifling power of globalization and the resulting hegemonic economic order of music production and consumption (Taylor 2007).

This paper, while addressing some issues of globalization, is intended to augment what Stock (2001) has called the “ethnomusicology of the individual.” I put forth the “individual” as a subject of study, rather than a given music or a collective that are more common in postcolonial works, because it avoids the generic and illuminates local historical processes.

Balawan is a composer whose original music combines elements of Balinese gamelan, jazz, and metal; he is also a well-known guitarist who has combined several styles of guitar. In this study, I emphasize agency, a musician inspired by aesthetic preferences to craft music reflecting his life experience, and by enterprise, to assert himself into the marketplace. While the timing of his career - following Indonesian media deregulation, the collapse of autocracy, and the rise of democracy in late 1990s - contributed to his visibility, he is not linked to any politics of action or even to these recent developments. His decisions are his own; despite the local historic processes at work, neither he nor his music are beholden to any particular history or genre. Balawan, also a skilled singer, can artfully present the genres jazz, rock, blues, reggae, and pop, but here I concentrate on his signature hybrid originals, many of which are instrumentals.

### Formative Experiences

Balawan was born and retains roots in the traditional arts village of Batuan in south-central Bali. He began playing gamelan gong kebyar at age five and quickly became accomplished. Balawan was drawn to the guitar at age eight and formed his first band at age 14. “Most Balinese learn music by listening,” he told me. “I did the same thing with the guitar.” The style of music that first attracted him was metal and the music of such groups as Van Halen and Deep Purple. Metal, with its ferocious tempo, distorted guitars, and volume, is similar in many respects to gamelan *gong kebyar*, the loud, aggressive and dynamic 20<sup>th</sup>-century Balinese style that he played as a youth. Walser (1993) states that the distorted guitar is “a sign of extreme power and intense expression,” which are markers of both metal and *gong kebyar*. In coming to metal, Balawan found a point of resonance in the shared aesthetics of speed and volume.

In the early 1990s, a friend presented him with some jazz audiocassettes, perking his interests in a new direction, and he visited Australia with hopes of jazz study. He accepted a three-year scholarship at the Australian Institute of Music in Sydney in 1993. At this time jazz consumed him, largely because he noticed a great complexity of sound (textures, harmonies, rhythms) in the music.

Balawan was again drawn to intensity and speed: the bebop of Charlie Parker, the hard bop of John Coltrane, and the furious electric lines in the jazz fusion of artists like John McLaughlin and Chick Corea. Balawan’s life changed when an Australian friend told him “here is the fastest guitarist in the world,” and gave him a recording of McLaughlin, which led Balawan to proclaim: “He is my god.” As a composer, he was now unifying the worlds of gamelan, jazz, and metal; as a guitarist, he combined the velocity of McLaughlin with a tapping technique borrowed from metal, where he taps and hammers on and off the fretboard with the fingers of one or both hands. He has become famous

for tapping either two guitars simultaneously – one around his shoulders as usual and the second mounted in front of him or both necks of a double-neck guitar.



Plate 1. 1 Balawan tapping two guitars at Jazz Cafe, Ubud, Bali 2009

### Establishing a Career

Balawan returned to Bali in 1997 and formed the Batuan Ethnic Fusion band (BEF), which included former friends playing gamelan instruments: *gangs*a metallophone, *tingklik* xylophones, *reong* gong chime, and Balinese drums, flute, and cymbals along with electric guitar, bass and trap drums. In 1999, this band released its first recording, *GloBALism*, which, when he was signed by Sony BMG, was rereleased in 2000. The band started picking up gigs at various places in Bali, but most work paid very little.



Plate 2. Suwida and Suastika play the gangs

a at Jazz Cafe, Ubud, Bali, 2009

Two seminal events first hindered and then pushed his career forward. Suharto, the autocratic president who governed Indonesia for 32 years, resigned in 1998 after riots and financial crises struck his administration in 1997. While the recession and currency devaluation dampened Balawan's career, the event ushered in a much freer media market. Artists and airwaves no longer feared censorship boards and there was a surge of arts throughout the country. Balawan's career began to grow again.

Then, in October, 2002, came terrorist bombs in Kuta, which resulted in the deaths of 200 mostly Western individuals and crippled the rebounding economy and tourism. Major labels pulled out of Bali, leaving Balawan as one of the few remaining signed artists. Coupled with the growing nationalistic social movement, *ajeg Bali*, which reoriented the "center" from Jakarta to Bali, this tragic event catapulted the Balinese indie and pop music scenes into the marketplace. The new socioreligious pride and discourse on Balineseness benefitted Balawan's profile.

The 2005 disc *Magic Fingers* elevated Balawan to a new popularity. He then got gigs at diverse venues within Bali and in Jakarta and was often invited to Europe, Australia, or Japan. Songs from this CD and the 2008 release *See You Soon* received substantial national airplay.

### Local Processes

Any music history can be understood as the interaction and exchange among peoples differentiated by custom, culture, language, religion, etc. (Blum 2009). Balinese music culture developed partially in reaction to centuries-long immigration and influence from Java, to Dutch imperialism, and to the increasing globalization throughout the last century. Balawan was born in 1973, one of the formative years of President Suharto's New Order government, which opened up to Western influences and prioritized economic development and education. Due to intensive tourism, Western influences had been flourishing in Bali, but the new policies accelerated modernization, mass media, arts collaborations, music sharing, and other globalizing processes.

Gamelan *gong kebyar* embraced the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The *gong kebyar* style developed around 1915, some believe partially influenced by Dutch colonial military bands; from its inception, *gong kebyar* was party to hybridization and a symbol of a changing world. *Gong kebyar* continued to hybridize, incorporating other gamelan repertoires and new elements. Throughout the century, gamelan clubs nurtured complicated and precise music to a superior standard. Frequent competitions spurred groups to ever more spectacular techniques. This aesthetic of the spectacular underlies Balawan's fascination with speed and intensity; it was part of his training in *gong kebyar* and was what drew him to metal and jazz-fusion. Hybrid forms are considered prestigious by the academies and arts organizations. Gamelan composers and musicians of such elite forms as jazz may in fact serve as mediators of modernity; they are expected to hybridize, to modernize Balinese music in ever-innovative ways.

Balawan, however, had trouble developing his career in Bali in 1997, partially because few were prepared for the synthesis he offered. Following the new political and economic order a few years later, younger Balinese began to relate to Balawan's mobilization of aesthetic codes in gamelan (social interaction), metal (individuality), and jazz (spontaneity and sophistication), and he began to link together new audiences who seemed to feel a "sense of belonging" (Berland 1998:132) in the transcultural aesthetic. Balineseness, in the sense of gamelan integrated with global forms, attracted local audiences hungry for modernized, 21<sup>st</sup>-century expressions offering multifaceted identities.

Balawan's audiences are mixtures of jazz aficionados, guitar admirers, gamelan followers, foreigners, and fusion lovers; cosmopolitan with interests in jazz, global forms, and gamelan. While this group does not coalesce into a coherent scene sharing a particular identity – such as that following punk, death metal or reggae (Baulch 2007 and Wallach 2008) – most within the audience are knowledgeable, refined, and of the cultural elite. Like Balawan and his music, there are few overtly political expressions, but there is a local pride, a national awareness, a global consciousness, and a cosmopolitan aspiration. The gamelan musicians generally wear Balinese ceremonial clothing on stage; Balawan and the other musicians do so for "larger gigs."

### Balawan's Compositions

Balawan's guitar playing – characterized by rapid-fire attack and technology enhancement (he employs a guitar synthesizer and a rack of effects) and Balinese/Indonesian aesthetic – sets him apart

from other Balinese popular musicians. Fast guitar playing and moving lines characterize his hybrid pieces. Though always attracted to “fast and aggressive music,” Balawan didn’t want to play like McLaughlin or other guitarists, because:

...our background is so different. Why can’t I do my own thing, that I was accustomed to since I was very young? I also can represent my island and the Balinese people. You wouldn’t want [Spanish guitarist] Paco de Lucía playing swing. He is at his best playing flamenco. I want to do the same thing: play Balinese music, but still be open to the influence from the west with my music. You know, music from different countries.

His music and approach to hybridity have changed over the years. In the beginning (1997), he relied mostly on quoting gamelan pieces in his compositions; later he developed, along with the gamelan musicians, original melodies, interlocking parts, and techniques. As his audience grew, he moved from song titles and lyrics largely in Balinese to those more often in Indonesian and English. Below, I briefly introduce two of Balawan’s hybrid pieces.

“Magic Reong” is a BEF signature piece, appearing on two CDs and often performed in concert. The piece showcases moving interlocking parts in *pelog* (an anhemitonic pentatonic scale) on the *reong* gong-chime punctuated by syncopated, staccato power chords, funk bass, stop-time breaks, rock guitar solo, and moments of *kecak* “monkey chant.” “The Dance of Janger” features unison melody between gamelan and guitar leading to a children’s choir singing the folk song (“Janger”) in *slendro* (a nearly equidistant pentatonic scale), accompanied by *gangsra*, *suling*, and electric bass and guitar. Here, the bass and guitar are auxiliary to a primarily Balinese context. The piece then transforms into a rock song with an enhanced solo on the *suling* and concludes with several instruments “trading twos” in a jazz context. Playfulness, an occasional element in his music, is often presented via a juxtaposition of genres.

**In conclusion**, Balawan’s hybrid music reflects his life. He appropriated the global forms of jazz and metal into the music of his first music experience – gamelan – and combined these to formulate his sense of aesthetics, which features speed and intensity – items shared by all three synthesized forms. He sees himself first as Balinese, then as Indonesian, and then as a global citizen, and he views his music as Balinese; indeed, most Balinese I’ve spoken with also identify his music as Balinese, embodying a 21<sup>st</sup>-century Balineseness.

Music hybridity has been ongoing in Bali and reflected increasing levels of globalization since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Balawan’s life and music parallel the 21<sup>st</sup>-century period of rapidly increasing transnationalism and globalization. To some extent, he is just another social actor in the larger arc of Balinese hybridization, but one with his own agency and vision to fuse disparate styles into a contemporary synthesis.

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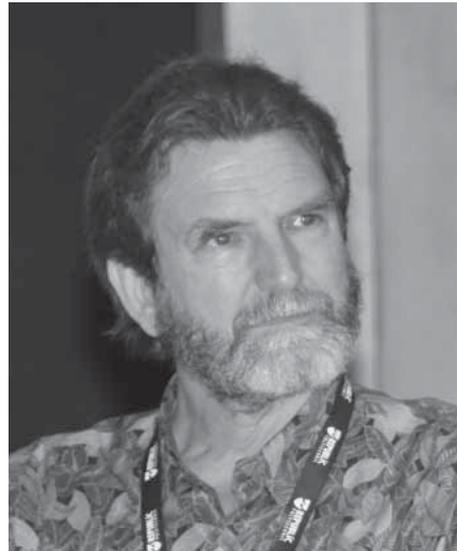
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**ASSERTING CORDILLERA IDENTITY AMONG THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF  
NORTHERN PHILIPPINES**

This paper explores hybridity as a mode of asserting identity. I put forth the idea that the intermingling of indigenous music with modern style can be a potent force in identity politics. This is epitomized in a community of activists called *Salidummay* a group that is at the forefront in the discussion of issues concerning indigenous people's rights through song. The *Salidummay* is comprised mostly of talented university students, alumni and academics who, in one way or another, trace their ancestral genealogy to indigenous peoples of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR). This presentation focuses on the way *Salidummay* members construct their Cordillera identity amidst the change and modernization taking place in the mountain City of Baguio, the center of the Cordillera Administrative region, where they reside. Having recorded six music albums to date, the *Salidummay* can be considered producers of Cordillera hybrid songs that tell about themselves, their culture, history, and current conditions.

**The City of Baguio: Home of *Salidummay***

The *Salidummay* members live in the City of Baguio. Baguio was created in the early 1900s by an American colonial government essentially as a health station. Today, it has become a multi-ethnic city<sup>1</sup> where various indigenous communities from the northern central mountains called Cordillera have settled together with peoples from other ethnicities. The place has grown into an urban metropolis with a population of about 300,000 people that swells to a million during peak tourist season.<sup>2</sup> Located 5,000 feet above sea level, its cool weather is ideal for rest and recreation. The city is now the center of tourism, education, commerce and trade in northern Luzon and is the seat of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR).

For photos, see hard copy version.

**Plate 1. City Hall of Baguio. Taken by F.A. Prudente in March 2010**

Prior to becoming a city, Baguio was called *Kafagway*, meaning "grassy clearing."<sup>3</sup> It was the ancestral domain of prominent Ibaloy families who cultivated agricultural lands and traded gold for cattle, horses, and goods not available in the uplands. The search for gold during Spanish colonization in the 1600s and later the establishment of a health station and military camp by the Americans in early 1900s led to the displacement of the indigenous Ibaloy. By 1909, Baguio became

a chartered city that thereby incorporated Ibaloy ancestral land. The American recreation center within the military camp better known as Camp John Hay was a popular destination until its closure in 1991 after the termination of the American bases agreement with the Philippine government. Undeniably, colonialism had its impact on the lives of the Cordillera indigenous peoples. It introduced a new language (English), new religion (Christianity), modern infrastructure (roads, hospitals, schools, teachers' camp, parks and so on) and new philosophies (liberal education, land titling and others).

The inevitable development of Baguio into the crowded city it is today has created a third space, so to speak, where different ethnicities converge and interact. The third space underscores fluidity in urban inter-ethnic relations in contrast with the tribal boundaries which mark indigenous village life and customs. The Cordillera people dwelling in the city interact more with one another and with others from outside the region. As a whole, they are multi-lingual and are able to communicate in Filipino, English, Ilokano and in their own indigenous language. They also share similar attitudes to village practices which they consider unacceptable in modern day living such as tribal war, headhunting and various taboos. The village constraints of the past have given way to modern institutions like schools, churches and associations. The latter have become important agencies for social change as, for example, the People's Center for Cordillera Culture, locally called *Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera* or *DKK*.

### **The *DKK* and *Salidummay***

The formation of people's organizations with shared culture, interest, and experiences is vital in the upholding of a collective identity such as the People's Center for Cordillera Culture or *DKK*. Founded in 1991, the *DKK* is an alliance of about eight cultural groups,<sup>4</sup> one of which is the *Salidummay*. *DKK* is under the umbrella of a progressive left-leaning federation called the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) that is "committed to the promotion and defense of indigenous people's rights, human rights, social justice, and national freedom and democracy."<sup>5</sup> As a member of the federation, the *DKK* is the Cordillera People's Alliance's cultural arm with the role of advancing pan-Cordillera interests through the arts. The *DKK*'s motto to "Safeguard Cordillera Heritage" (*Tawid Kaigorotan Salakniban*) is symbolized by a hand-held flat gong struck with stick (*gangsá pattung*), an exclusive practice of the Cordillera peoples in the Philippines.

For photos, see hard copy version.

**Plate 2. Logo and Motto of *Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera (DKK)*  
painted at the entrance gate of its office. Taken by F.A. Prudente  
in March 2010 in Baguio City**

A principal goal of the *DKK* is for “people’s unity to defend the rich cultural heritage and integrity, integrated in the overall campaign towards a nationalist, scientific, mass-oriented and liberating arts and culture. ...The alliance conducts educational activities about social realities, regional, national and international situations, and issues on culture and the arts.”<sup>6</sup> To this end, the *DKK* holds various workshops and undertakes projects and productions including music albums, concerts, plays, art exhibits, cultural research, basic mass integrations and video productions. The *DKK* as a regional “People’s Center for Nationalist Culture” is involved in arousing, organizing and mobilizing people through the arts according to the dictum of “arts from the masses, to the masses.”<sup>7</sup>

Understanding *DKK*’s goals as briefly cited situates the *Salidummay* as a community able to move to collective action. Deriving its name from a pan-Cordillera vocal genre called *salidummay*, the group’s founding members consist of students and faculty from the country’s national university, the University of the Philippines at Baguio. The seeds of politicization are traced to the dark days of martial law in the 1970’s. At that time, a military build-up was effected in certain areas of the Cordillera region to suppress the people’s opposition to the World Bank-funded Chico river dam project and the commercial logging operations of Cellophil Resources Corporation.<sup>8</sup> The *salidummay* during those dangerous days became the villagers’ vehicle to express protest against the two controversial projects. Its new lyrics were rendered extemporaneously in the context of rallies and demonstrations yet adhering to the traditional form featuring formulaic verses and tunes, seven-syllable lines, and a choral refrain with repetitive vocables which made it easy for everyone to join in.

Indeed, the repertoire of *Salidummay* is contingent on current issues that affect the lives of the Cordillera indigenous peoples. The recurring topics of their songs relate to human rights, degradation of the environment, exploitation of natural resources, and claims of ancestral domain. Unity, solidarity, justice, hope, freedom and resistance are themes that affirm their advocacy. For example, the song titled “Culture of Freedom” (*Kultura ti Wayawaya*),<sup>9</sup> calls for performative projects as expressions of artistic freedom. Musically and structurally, it utilizes a *salidummay* form combined with another traditional vocal genre called *surwe-e* as a refrain with bamboo instruments, pestles used for rice pounding and the guitar providing the instrumental blend.

**“Kultura ti Wayawaya”<sup>10</sup>**  
**(Culture of Freedom)**

For song lyrics, see hard copy version

For song lyrics, see hard copy version

According to *Salidummay* members, the fusing of folk music materials of different types and genres, although uncommon in traditional performance practice, is “both an affirmation of legacy and an experiment.”<sup>11</sup> The utilization of cultural materials distinct to the region including *salidummay* tunes and musical instruments such as flat gong (*gangsa*), Ibaloy gong-drum ensemble (*sulibao*), bamboo stamping tubes (*tongatong*), bamboo buzzers (*balingbing*), and bamboo zither ensemble (*tambi*) is in keeping with *DKK*’s goal to maintain Cordillera heritage which is anchored on cultural identity. Yet, the conscious effort to bring different types of Cordillera instruments along with the guitar into the rendering of a song is intended to innovate and modernize a piece for better appreciation according to its director Matyline Camfili.<sup>12</sup> The group points out that the total experience and effect of combining various musical elements, in what may be considered hybridization, in fact draws inspiration from the ambiance of Cordillera community gatherings where several activities go on at the same time.<sup>13</sup>

I was fortunate to attend an activity led by *DKK Salidummay* in a small district in the City of Baguio last March 2010. It was campaign season for national elections and the group was supporting selected local and national politicians including party-list organizations for representation in the Philippine Congress. I arrived at the place around 6:00 o’clock in the evening when residents, both young and old, started to gather at the community’s open basketball court. Several rows of chairs had been positioned facing the hanging tarpaulins of different candidates and the sound system was being set up. The place was a bit dim although the center space for the program was bright. After a prayer, which opened the activity, *Salidummay* director, Matyline Camfili, took over and began teaching the young boys and girls to sing *Dangdang-ay*. They danced in a circle initially to the sound of the flat gongs (*gangsa pattung*) and later on accompanied by bamboo zithers (*tambi*). This was followed by a contest for the children wherein anyone who could shout the name *Katribu* and in one breath sustain

the sound the longest becomes the winner. *Katribu* is a party-list organization obviously endorsed by the group. The contest elicited a lot of laughter and reactions from the people. The activity proceeded with speeches about *Katribu* and in support of their candidates. The most prominent of these were leftist Satur Ocampo and feminist Liza Maza although both were not present. (See photo 2 of election campaign stickers posted at DKK gate). More explanations about *Katribu* were punctuated by performances of four *Salidummay* members rendering traditional tunes in *salidummay* form. Meanwhile, the weather had become colder prompting me to leave by 9:00 o'clock in the evening.

The historical legacy and inherent dynamism amidst the diversity of people living in the City of Baguio keeps the notion of a Cordillera identity alive. Indeed, perceptions and perspectives differ. A view frowns on *DKK Salidummay* songs because of its constant portrayal of themselves in a pitiful state (*kawawa*) and continuously exploited (*api*). The message itself is not a good influence to young Cordillerans says a parent who objects to his children listening to the songs.<sup>14</sup> On another instance, a salesgirl at the city market selling *DKK*'s pirated compact discs, refers to the group as "communist" or "NPA" meaning New People's Army, the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines. *Salidummay* director Matyline Camfili simply laughs off the idea when told.<sup>15</sup>

The construction of a collective identity of the Cordillera indigenous peoples by the *DKK Salidummay* group entails musical negotiation. The conscious attempt to arrange and compose utilizing their indigenous music is paralleled by the conviction that modern innovation is a means to be heard and accepted. The *DKK Salidummay* members acknowledge learning protest songs initially from the west as a way to later discovering the richness of their own culture.<sup>16</sup> Given this context and particular circumstance, the songs of the *DKK* "Salidummay" embody the intermingling and layering of musical elements crucial in asserting Cordillera identity most especially today in this era of globalization.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> June Prill-Brett, *Baguio: A Multi-Ethnic City and the Development of the Ibaloy as an Ethnic Minority* (Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines College Baguio, 1990), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Chi Balmaceda Gutierrez and Jack Kintanar Cariño, ed. *The Baguio Centennial Yearbook* (Baguio City: Heritage Promotions, 2009), 62.

<sup>3</sup> Prill-Brett, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cultural arts organizations under the *DKK* alliance includes *Salidummay*, *Binhi*, *Artista ti Kordilyera para iti Wayawaya* (ARKIW), *Kulturati*, *Ridaw*, *Sheng-nget* (Anti Open Pit Kids sa Benguet), *Tambulian*, Children of the Cordillera (CHICO-Kalinga), *Tanghalang Bayan ng Kabataan sa Baguio* (TABAK) and *Tan-aw* Multi-Media Collective. The *DKK* consist of four major production pool in Music, Theater, Visual Arts and Multimedia. From <http://profiles.friendster.com>. Accessed May 24, 2010.

<sup>5</sup> *Cordillera Peoples Alliance*, <http://www.cpaphils.org>. Accessed May 24, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> *Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera*, <http://profiles.friendster.com>. Accessed May 24, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Salidummay* (Baguio City: Dap-ayan ti Kultural iti Kordilyera, 1987), 1.

<sup>9</sup> *You Tube*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yHrZKlsFGXI>. Accessed May 31, 2010.

<sup>10</sup> *Salidummay Elalay* (Baguio City: Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> *Salidummay* 1987, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Conversation with Matyline Camfili on March 29, 2010 in Baguio City.

<sup>13</sup> *Salidummay* 1987, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Conversation with anthropologist Arvin Villalon on March 30, 2010 at the University of the Philippines, Baguio campus.

<sup>15</sup> Conversation with Matyline Camfili on March 30, 2010 at Café at the Ruins in Baguio City.

<sup>16</sup> *Salidummay* 1987, 1.

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**HYBRIDITY AND EMERGENT TRADITIONS: GONGS, POP SONGS, AND THE STORY OF  
*TALEMPONG KREASI* IN WEST SUMATRA**

For article see published Proceedings

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Singapore

## **PLOTTING "ON-LOADING" AND "IN-LOADING" TRAJECTORIES IN AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND HYBRIDISM IN MUSICAL EVOLUTION**

### **Introduction**

Hybridism in music is an end product of the meeting of two or more musical cultures/systems/languages (referred to as musical systems hence). In other words, hybridism is a musical trajectory - a musical phenomenon that goes back as far as the known history of music itself. Wherever there was music and movement across musical systems, from different locations and territories, there was borrowing and merging/fusion among people who performed these various musical systems. This subject has not been researched to any depth, although it has been mentioned quite often within ethnomusicology and music education.

Generalized terms like "fusion", "world music" and "syncretism" have been used to describe hybridism. Most of the studies available are on the cultural implications of hybridism. It is difficult to find any study that would provide fundamental understanding, as a musicological method, of the processes that take place in it, the trajectories involved and, how such understanding could contribute fundamentally to the problem of sustaining traditional and indigenous musical systems. The latter has become a cliché in the face of a real world moving very quickly towards the homogenization of music.

If we look at mergers in non-musical phenomenon (e.g., languages, agricultural crops etc.) there seems to be a recognizable dichotomy in the trajectory. First, there is a "mix" mode, seen, for example, in the lingual languages (pidgin, patois, creole, etc.) where words and syntax are used to produce the same effect in either of the merging languages. Usually, the new language rides on the power and propulsion of the main language, be it English, or French or Spanish and so forth. In Singapore, for example, there is "Singlish" which is English, on-loaded with words and syntactically formulated phrases from the local languages and dialects in Singapore. Likewise, in most Asian countries, where similar on-loading of the English language occurs, as in Taglish in the Philippines, or Chinglish in China and the list can go on and on, we see this similar dependence on English as the transport vehicle. Thus, the mix-mode seems to create an on-loading trajectory, with one half bearing the responsibility for propulsion of the whole.

There is also a "cross" mode in hybridism, seen in many merger-experiments which are deliberately aimed at creating a new product, with its own transport mechanisms. Such merger-experiments include bio-engineered food crops, hybrid animals, hybrid engines, hybrid wines, hybrid computers and many more. The word "hybrid" is blatantly used in many of these conscious "creations". Here we see trajectories that are more of "in-loading", where there are two parts to speak about that work in by-partisan fashion to achieve a common goal. A hybrid car, for example, is one that has two types of propulsion fuels, and therefore, a new type of engine configuration to achieve the same goal – to propel the car forward.

In music there is similar systemic activity, both at the micro and macro levels, where one can identify "on-loading" and "in-loading" trajectories. Sonic Asia Music Technologies in Singapore has been investigating this for over twenty-five years. It is proving to be very complex, but challenging research, because of the highly systemic nature of music itself that emits in territorial sonic environments, but greatly influenced by fast encroaching globalization, erosion of traditional and indigenous musical systems, and advancing homogenization of musical emissions from sonic emitters like radio, television, recordings and performances.

In order to facilitate structured research and development in this area, a laboratory procedure is established for identifying what is common to all music – the "elements of music". The rationale behind the laboratory procedure is that music listening should be a skill (deconstruction) at the same level with skills that performers (re-construction) and composers (construction) have. These skills (construction, re-construction and deconstruction) are used in the broadest of terms encompassing all musical systems, because of the same musical elements that work within these differing musical systems. Unfortunately, we know that Listeners do not have the required technical skills to de-construct music that composers write and performers re-construct.

The musical deconstruction procedure in question comes from a larger laboratory process known as MusicPlusOne. This paper is not going to address this larger entity. However, a casual understanding of MusicPlusOne is necessary to know where the laboratory procedure originated. MusicPlusOne is a hardware/software laboratory based on AV-IT systems configuration and aimed at capturing information on the timeline of the music. The technologies are linked to various laboratory procedures aimed at specific areas of music education, musicology and music technology. As a hardware/software laboratory it enables input and analysis on the timeline of the music from various sources in time and space, with systematic retrieval and editing facilities, so that the student who is training to listen to music, can work directly with the sound, and produce term papers in timeline annotated sound products. The conceptual framework is based on sonic orders<sup>1</sup>, a term that was created as a PhD thesis, and which was accepted by ASEAN as neutral in relation to musical systems<sup>2</sup>. The laboratory pedagogy is built on an index of indicators and variables that is continually expanding to describe better each musical system in terms of their elements. Musical deconstruction is at the heart of the training for the Listener in MusicPlusOne, and it is represented through aural/oral timeline commentaries and one-page timeline graphics. Those who want to know more please send an email to Sonic Asia.

MusicPlusOne has two basic objectives:

1. To provide Listeners a dynamic process to understand music aurally through technologies that they can integrate and access information on the timeline of any piece of music. The current method in music education is to provide such information, in oral or written form, either before or after the musical event.
2. To allow the musical systems of each definable sonic environment to grow and sustain themselves through a working balance in the music chain (composers-performers-listeners) and through informed interactions a related balanced systemic process for the world sonic environment will develop.

The rationale for this approach is directly linked to the way we listen to music and establish mathematical percentages about good, bad, like, dislike and other indicators and variables that we have learnt in music appreciation classes. When we choose to buy a recording, or attend a concert, there are similar processes of choice and reasons for parting with resources. Most importantly, we tend to have opinions about music and its worth. The media industry has understood this and capitalized on this subconscious processes. MusicPlusOne too recognizes this and exploits this capacity of individuals to have their opinion but with proper skills that engage the listeners in the timeline of the music with an inbuilt set of musical indicators and variables that would help each listener draw as much information out of any music listening event. To this end, SOLMI (Sonic Orders Listening Mode Index) was established as a developing model of the listener's mind through which we can create a laboratory procedure that would slow down the listening pace (through repetition) and reinforce the timeline with more information (from experts, practitioners, teachers, research, discussion and self-analysis).

### **SOLMI-STUDY TRACKS Laboratory Procedure**

SOLMI is a prototype software that developed in stages through various tertiary level music courses, taught by the author between 1987 and 2009 - at the National University of Singapore, Singapore Management University and the Singapore Polytechnic. SOLMI has two applications, of which the second is relevant to this paper:

1. To assist the assessor for sonic environment studies in measuring audio samples collected from sonic emitters (radio, television, recordings and performances) according to a strict method, and analyzed for musical emissions according to a Construct Model of the sonic environment of any defined territory. This is not the subject of this paper;
2. To train the music listener through SOLMI and within the immersive pedagogy of MusicPlusOne, in two areas: a. to understand how the common musical elements in different musical cultures/systems/languages work to define and express their music; b. to understand the musical trajectory (on-loading and in-loading) that any work of music takes.

SOLMI lists the elements as Pitch, Rhythm, Timbre, Form and Aesthetic – each of these elements serve as Indicators, and they have their Variables which are still expanding the list, as research and development continues, and applications of MusicPlusOne and sonic environment measurements are made.

Earlier, we maintained that the Listener (in general) tends to give percentages to any music listened to – simple percentages about likes, dislikes, enjoyment, value for money and so on. SOLMI is based on simple percentages. However, there is a major difference: the scoring in SOLMI does not account for “enjoyment” as a valid Indicator. The SOLMI trained Listener is forced to suppress the criteria of “enjoyment” and focus on how the elements of music operate and define the music heard. However, in the SOLMI prototype software (Refer to Figure 1) there is a column marked “Enjoyment” and the Listener is asked for percentage response to it. This is purely for comparative purposes, and it is not part of the over calibration of the SOLMI percentage results<sup>9</sup>.

SOLMI is divided into two sections. In the first section (**Refer to Figure 1**) there are columns for Music Samples, The Elements of Music, one column for Delivery, the Line Score, and to the right of that, the Trajectory Columns. The music that is to be assessed is entered into the Music Sample column and hyper-linked. The Listener double clicks on the sample to hear it. After sufficient listening, using music deconstruction techniques learnt under MusicPlusOne, the Listener then clicks on the relevant column of the “Elements of Music”. A prompt will pop up saying “Enter a Whole Number 1 -5” (1 being a low count and 5 the highest count). The Listener, by entering numbers is scoring how the “Elements of Music” work with each other to deliver a musical logic to that work. There is no blueprint for such a musical logic on a universal basis, and this topic will not be discussed in this paper. At this point, the Listener would have gone through sufficient musical deconstruction training to stay engaged on the timeline of the music and understand the workings of Elements of Music - as the working parts of a musical system. Notice, that there is no request for information regarding history, philosophy and other humanities-based information. These would be available in the timeline files (or tracks) and imbibed by the student, and used, if and when it is needed, for the scoring of the music elements. The teaching of subject matter in relation to music will cloud the ability of listening. It is not part of the MusicPlusOne method.

Allied to the “Elements of Music” is the “Delivery” column, which deals with the perception of the listener as someone listening to the music through a mediated form – in this case it is the recording. MusicPlusOne has another laboratory process to make students experience the difference through practical work. This awareness that a third party (audio engineer, DJ, etc.) could influence the expression of music is important for students to understand, and it must be done by practical sessions in the laboratory.

Once all the columns of the “Elements of Music” and the “Delivery” are marked, the software will automatically calculate the Line Score (to the right of the “Delivery” column) and show a score based on a percentage of 100, in that square. At the same time a Mean Score appears at the bottom of the page. This score is useful if there is more than one work being assessed, or the same musical work being scored by different persons and displayed for comparative purposes – as it will be done later in this paper. The Mean Score, which is the aggregate of all score lines, is also based on an ultimate percentage of 100. Both, the Line Score and the Mean Score reveal what the assessor thinks about the way the “Elements of Music” and the Delivery” work together to explain his/her personal logic of the music – and not if he or she likes the music.

The Trajectory columns, seen in this first section, reflect the worksheet for the trajectory analysis, and that is found the second section, which can be accessed if you scroll right. (**Refer to Figure 2**). The Listener would not be able to enter the figures for the trajectory in the trajectory columns in the first section. This must be done in the worksheet. Once the worksheet columns are scored, the trajectory columns in the first section will be automatically filled in by the software, and the trajectory indicated.

The Trajectory Worksheet is where the On-Loading and In-Loading trajectories are worked out. Once again, the “Elements of Music” form the basic platform for scoring the music. However, in the trajectory worksheet, the main musical systems in the sonic environment of the territory (in this case it is Singapore) are included. In Singapore, the musical systems are represented by the alphabets CIMWO, which refer to Chinese Modal (C), Indian Raga-Tala (I), Malay Modal (M), Western Tempered (W) and Other Musical Systems (O).



Twelve out of the sixteen students who completed the trajectory worksheet and scored *Nasib Panjang* on the on-loading Malay trajectory. This is quite unusual as the work generally sounds Western – the dominant and exclusive features being the Western chord progression and definitive bass patterns that lean to pop music. Yes, the students hear more Malay elements in the music, and not the obvious features mentioned, and that is what went into their scoring. In the MusicPlusOne sessions they had exposure to various genres of recorded Malay music – hybrid and original. Thus, the majority of the students understood more of the elements they heard in *Nasib Panjang* as being part of Malay music, and having a natural role in this piece. It is a positive showing in terms of the course objectives, which respects the listening skill and orientation of any student who trains with and uses SOLMI within the MusicPlusOne laboratory. Their familiarity with Malay music also shows in the overall scoring of the Elements of Music and Delivery at 81.4%, and their “enjoyment” of the music at 80%, showing that SOLMI has been a neutral way to make students do deeper listening to music they would normally not listen to.

**Sonic Orders Trajectory Analysis (Singapore)**

Elements of Music																				Total				Trajectory												
Pitch					Rhythm					Form					Timbre					Aesthetics					Total				Trajectory							
C	I	M	W	O	C	I	M	W	O	C	I	M	W	O	C	I	M	W	O	C	I	M	W	O	C	I	M	W	O	C	I	M	W	O	Trajectory	
	0.20	0.30	0.50			0.70	0.30				0.30	0.40	0.10			0.20	0.40	0.40			0.20	0.60	0.20			1.40	2.20	1.20	Onloading	Malay						
	0.30	0.70				0.10	0.50	0.40				0.80	0.20				0.30	0.70				0.70	0.30			0.40	3.00	1.60	Onloading	Malay						
	1.00					0.30	0.70					0.30	0.50				0.50	0.50				0.60	0.40			2.90	2.10	Onloading	Malay							
	1.00					1.00						1.00					1.00					1.00				5.00			Inloading	Malay						
	0.90	0.10				0.90	0.10					1.00					0.90	0.10				1.00				4.70	0.20	0.10	Onloading	Malay						
	1.00					0.50	0.50					0.30	0.50				0.50	0.50				0.50	0.50			2.00	3.00	Onloading	Western							
	0.40	0.60				0.50	0.50					0.30	0.70	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.70					0.50	0.50	0.10	0.10	1.80	3.00	Onloading	Western							
	1.00					0.80	0.20					1.00					0.50	0.50				0.50	0.50			2.80	2.20	Onloading	Malay							
	0.50	0.50				1.00						0.50	0.50				0.30	0.70				0.50	0.50			1.80	3.20	Onloading	Western							
	1.00					1.00						1.00					1.00					1.00				5.00			Inloading	Malay						
	1.00					1.00						1.00					0.50	0.50				0.50	0.50			4.00	0.50	0.50	Onloading	Malay						
	0.30	0.40	0.30			0.80	0.20					0.20	0.80				0.70	0.30				0.60	0.10	0.30		2.60	1.80	0.60	Onloading	Malay						
	1.00					1.00						0.70	0.30				0.80	0.20				0.80	0.20			4.30	0.70	Onloading	Malay							
	0.60	0.40				0.70	0.30					0.80	0.20				0.80	0.20				0.80	0.20			3.70	0.20	1.10	Onloading	Malay						
	0.20	0.80				1.00						1.00					1.00					1.00				2.20	2.80	Onloading	Western							
	1.00					1.00						0.50	0.50				0.80	0.20				0.80	0.20			3.10	1.90	Onloading	Malay							

Figure 2 – Nasib Panjang SOLMI Trajectory Worksheet

**Conclusion**

Ethnomusicologists generally acknowledge *Asli* music as being a hybrid form, created from the confluence of Western music and Malay musical idioms drawn, in part, from the Minangkabau community, and other modern Malay music developments, over the last 40 years. The MusicPlusOne method trains students to articulate their understanding of music, be it *Asli*, or a Beethoven Symphony, on the timeline, with a hardware/software laboratory with a number of laboratory procedures. Plotting on-loading and in-loading trajectories is one of these. Hybridism is a trajectory that will gather momentum and depth as the world globalizes even further and bring cultures into closer confluence. By plotting the on-loading and in-loading trajectories, Listeners (and others in the music chain) could become aware that hybrid forms do not have to always on-load the Western musical system. For a change, let us see the Western musical system on-loading the other musical systems of the world.

## Explanation of Terms

1. Sonic Order - sonic orders are rules, stated or implied, which govern the relationships among pitch hierarchies, pitch intervals, formal designs, rhythmic rules and modes, timbral qualities or associations, aesthetics (the cultural norms manifested in concepts like dynamics, embellishments, expressions and nuances) and other identity agents which make any genre of music identifiable. The focal point of identity in sonic orders is the intonational system.

2. Intonational System - An intonational system is based on the pitch-interval value of the scale system that generates the music, e.g., the Western equal tempered intonational system is based on a one hundred cent value ascribed to each half-tone. The Asean Committee on Information and Culture adopted the term sonic orders as a definition that distinguishes musical systems based on their musical elements with particular emphasis on pitch intervals and pitch hierarchies. See References for the publication "Sonic Orders in ASEAN Musics".

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***KECAK RAMAYANA* – TOURISTS IN SEARCH FOR “THE REAL THING”**

“On the island of Bali, man becomes the animal of its origins – this is the famous monkey dance called the *kecak*. Over a hundred men portray an army of chattering apes from the Hindu epic poem *Ramayana*. There is no orchestra, only the primeval sounds of the chorus.”

This provoking and in many aspects inadequate statement, quoted from a television documentary called “Animal Instinct”, screened on the National Geographic Channel in 1996, directly leads us towards questions like what the *kecak* actually is on one hand, and what it stands for or how it is used in marketing on the other hand. It is true, that among potential or actual travelers to Bali, the *kecak* is generally known and sometimes even actively marketed by travel agencies as “monkey dance”. However, Balinese artists usually refrain from calling it such, in order to avoid any associations with “primitive”, “primeval” as in the quotation above, or possibly even “animalistic”. The preferred term in the Balinese context is either just *kecak*, or sometimes *kecak ramayana*. In scientific discourse the term *kecak ramayana* stands for the standardized *kecak* performance for tourists as established in 1969, which is performed by about 20 *kecak* groups on Bali today.<sup>1</sup>

Associations do not have to be as extreme as mentioned above; but what the *kecak* surely stands for is a display of “traditional”, “real” and “authentic” Balinese culture, and it is this display with which tourists generally expect to be presented. In this text I want to explore how this “real thing” that many tourists expect to see is *created* by a large number of Balinese local communities and marketing professionals.<sup>2</sup>



**Plate 1. *Kecak* performance by Krama Desa Adat Taman Kaja in 2006**

But first, what is this *kecak ramayana*? The *kecak ramayana* is a dramatic dance performance staged for international tourists in Bali. Shows usually take place at nightfall and will last for one hour. About 100 to 150 men, the *pengecak*, sit in concentric circles around a central lamp, the *damar kecak*, chanting complex interlocking patterns. This vocal ensemble music is sometimes also termed *gamelan suara*, “voice gamelan” (Dibia 2000:4). In addition to performing the musical accompaniment for the performance, the *pengecak* at the same time act as the backdrop for mostly twelve male and female solo dancers. The depicted plot is a shortened version of the *Ramayana* epic, focusing on the journey of the main characters Rama, Sita and Laksmana, the abduction of Sita through the demon king Rahwana and Sita's liberation with the help of allies such as Hanoman, Garuda and Sugriwa. The *kecak* performance often ends with the opportunity for audience members to be photographed next to the dancers.



**Caption: Plate 2. Tourists take pictures together with a member of the *kecak* group after the performance by Krama Desa Adat Taman Kaja, 2010**

There are many Balinese performing arts genres, rooted in a Balinese performance context, which are also staged for a paying, international tourist audience. Some prominent examples would be the *barong* dance, *legong* dance evenings or *wayang kulit* performances.<sup>3</sup> What differentiates all of these genres from the *kecak* is that the *kecak* has no tradition of being performed for a Balinese audience. It is a genre that, from its very beginning, has been performed in a tourist context. In order to give some insight into how this strange situation came about and why the *kecak* is so connected to cultural tourism on Bali, I want to say a few words about the development of cultural tourism on Bali in general, followed by an introduction on how the *kecak* came into being and almost instantly turned into a tourist genre.

Working with and for international tourists has a long tradition on Bali. The idea to promote Bali as a tourist destination was established under the Dutch colonial government. As far back as 1914, the Dutch steamship company KPM started transporting tourists from Batavia to Northern Bali. With the first leaflets promoting Bali as “the last paradise”, Bali soon became a favorite destination for rich world-travelers. In the 1930s, these travelers were regularly presented with Balinese music and dance performances, either staged for their convenience at the few established hotels, or in villages that were situated on the established routes along which the travelers were guided through the island (Picard 1996a: 26). Under president Sukarno, Bali functioned as a show window for the Indonesian nation, and many state-guests were invited to the island. More hotels were built, but tourism stayed exclusive. After 1965, tourism fast changed into mass-tourism. The first economic five-year-plan under the Suharto government, developed in 1969, already included the promotion of Bali as a primary destination for international tourism (Picard 1996a:43). Thereafter, rising figures made Balinese intellectuals afraid of a so-called *pollusi kebudayaan* or cultural pollution. As a result, and in order to prevent a “sellout” of the Balinese culture, Balinese intellectuals met in 1971 and developed a concept for *cultural tourism* or *pariwisata budaya* on Bali (Picard 1996b:144-145). This concept was applied further on but could not prevent a rise in figures in tourism in general.

It is hard to get reliable figures about Balinese tourism today, but all sources agree that tourism is the most important economical factor on Bali, making up approximately 30 percent of the total income, which is earned by 40 percent of Bali's population (Stepputat 2007:2). After a total break-down following the terrorist bombings in 2002, and a significant decline after the second bombings in 2005, statistics show a steady recovery and rising figures (Hitchcock/Putra 2007:161). Although many tourists go to Bali for beach holidays, cultural tourism is still a strong part of the tourism concept on Bali today.

The major factor in the promotion of cultural tourism on Bali continues to be the performing arts. Many hotels throughout Bali offer evening performances, and in the Ubud area every evening up to eight different performances of Balinese music and dance are offered for interested tourists. Most of these evening performances are directly based on Balinese dance or music genres that also have a Balinese audience in other contexts. Not so the *kecak*, which will be evident with a short excursion into the genesis and development of the *kecak*.

The genesis of the *kecak* as dance performance dates back to the 1930s. By intensive study of historical sources from that time I was able to track down the development of the *kecak* into an independent genre to the time between 1932 and 1934.

In many publications to date, the birth of the *kecak* is linked to the filming of “Insel der Dämonen”. This film was shot entirely on location in Bali in 1931. The production team, under the German filmmaker Viktor von Plessen, relied heavily on information, insights and contacts provided by the most well known expatriate of 1930s Bali – Walter Spies.<sup>4</sup> Among many other things, Spies was responsible for the choice of Balinese music and dance performances that would be included in the film. As climax of the film – where the village witch is killed through a great exorcist ritual – Spies chose to present an entire *sanghyang dedari* ritual. The most important source related to the film, and with it the genesis of the *kecak*, is a letter that Spies sent to his brother Leo Spies in 1932 when the post production was still in process. The letter, its content focusing on matters related to the film, included six pages of *sanghyang dedari* transcriptions (text and notation).<sup>5</sup> Neither in this nor in any other correspondence does Spies even mention the term “*kecak*” in relation to the filming process, and indeed by watching the film, one thing is most obvious, which is that there is no *kecak* in “Insel der Dämonen”.

It is true that the filming process triggered an interest in the *cak* choir<sup>6</sup>, both among Balinese artists, Western expatriates and travelers alike. It also might have caused the following fast and dynamic development of the new genre. Yet, the first time that the term “*kecak*” has actually been used is in a publication by Spies from 1934.<sup>7</sup> We can, therefore, conclude that the *kecak* manifested itself as an independent dance form some time after the film and before that publication, that is, between 1932 and 1934.

The most important persons involved in the early choreographic and musical development, away from the *sanghyang dedari* and into the *kecak*, were the Balinese dancer I Wayan Limbak of the village Bedulu and Walter Spies. How the transformation of the sacred *sanghyang dedari* into the secular *kecak* took place, both on musical and choreographic level, is a very fascinating topic to explore, and can be traced with the help of several significant historical sources of that time. Yet, I will not go into this further here.<sup>8</sup> What concerns us more in terms of the *kecak*'s early development is how the performance context has changed.

It would be wrong to state, that the *kecak* is a profane genre that once was sacred, as publications like McKean's “From Purity to Pollution? The Balinese *ketjak* (Monkey dance) as symbolic form in transition” might suggest (McKean 1979). Instead, as has been said before, the *kecak* has from its beginning been a purely performative genre, staged in a secular context, existing parallel to its sacred “mother” genre, the *sanghyang dedari*. The *kecak* in performance was based on Western principles on what an interesting and entertaining dance show should look like, yet making use of solely Balinese music and movement repertoire. It was designed to impress travelers, not only through the choreography and music, but also as an holistic event, creating a certain mystic and mysterious atmosphere. I was not able to find any hints that the *kecak* was *ever* performed for a Balinese audience. Instead all sources from the 1930s lead to the assumption that the *kecak* was, from the beginning, solely created to be performed for a foreign audience.

Several historical sources (texts, photographs and film fragments) show how the early *kecak* after 1934 was performed in a tourist context, and how closely those performances were related to the standardized *kecak ramayana* performances of today. Just to mention one example, the oldest written source describing a *kecak* performance for tourists staged in Bedulu is dated 1936. It is included in Bruce Lockhart's travel diary entitled “Return to Malaya”. I am noting a longer quote from his description in order to show how the *kecak* was presented to a foreign audience at that time. The description reveals that watching a *kecak* meant more than being in the audience of a simple, staged dance performance. Instead the whole performance, including the site, the performers, the additional information given to the audience, was staged in order to create the above-mentioned mysterious atmosphere that would appeal to a foreign audience:

“By the time we reached the temple [...] it was quite dark. We went down some steps, and then in an open court lit by coconut-oil braziers placed on the tops of long posts I saw some two hundred men seated in a circle. They were of all ages. They represented the entire male population of the neighbouring village. [...] We took our places on a little wooden bench under a thatched roof. Limba[k] gave the signal to start, and the two hundred men, naked except for a loin cloth, formed themselves into a squatting human circle full of bronzed bodies from the centre to the circumference. We were seeing the famous 'kechak'." (Lockhart 1936:345)

The *kecak* as it is staged today was established in 1969 (Bandem/deBoer 1981: p. 147). It was heavily based on the newly developed Balinese variant of *sendratari ramayana*, a staged dance performance making use of elements from several dance genres, accompanied with *gong kebyar* music.<sup>9</sup> This *sendratari ramayana* was then combined with the *kecak* musical accompaniment, adding even more choreographic elements for the *pengecak* as well. This version of the *kecak*, with the above-mentioned plot centering on the abduction of Sita, is the standard performance for most *kecak* groups over the past 40 years. The *kecak* machinery has since then been continually and smoothly running. Who then are the people that keep it going?

First, there are the performers themselves. *Kecak* groups are generally community based, either on the *banjar* or on the village level, or organized as a *sekaha*.<sup>10</sup> They are not composed of professional musicians or dancers, instead *kecak* group members are from every profession and all ages. This may include musicians or dancers, but not necessarily. *Kecak* groups perform for two reasons: first, to strengthen the community, and second, to collectively earn money. The artistic standards and aims are sometimes astonishingly low and admittedly so. Priorities are not on a high artistic level, but more on the group dynamics and to have a share from tourist revenues.

In order to sell their performance to tourists, *kecak* groups will work together with stage and hotel owners, who constitute the second strong force in promoting the *kecak*. These are the professionals, who will invite *kecak* groups to perform in their establishments. Groups will get a fixed payment from the stage or hotel, and the danger of facing a loss, if for example few tourists come to see the performance, is entirely with the owners. In order to have their houses filled and profitable, stage and hotel owners keep close contact with the third party, which are the tourist guides and local travel agencies.

Individual tourist guides usually get a percentage of the entrance fee paid by the tourists they bring to the performance. Local travel agencies are paid as well for bringing in their customers. The way these business connections work are best described with the words of I Dewa Oka Merta, manager of the Uma Dewi stage in Kesiman, who compared travel agencies with a girlfriend:

“It is just like having a girlfriend. [...] if you first meet her, [you say nice things like] “do you want to be together with me, do you love me, you love me, don't you?” But after a while, if you don't continue to stay close to her, someone else will and you lose her. It is the same with the *kecak*! Although we have been together for a long time, we still stay close to the agents. Every evening we go to the agents, although we might have five or three of them, meaning, we need to keep the communication going.”<sup>11</sup>

Finally, the guides and agencies are those who have the contacts with the individual tourists and tourist groups. In a survey I conducted in 2006 that focused on the tourism audience at *kecak* performances in Ubud, I found out that advertisements play almost no role in the promotion and marketing of *kecak* performances. The crucial factor is personal relations and recommendations. Tourists will go to a particular performance, for example, because an employee at their hotel has recommended it, and it is likely to be the employee's own group. In the same 2006 survey, I focused on the tourist perspective of the *kecak* performance they witnessed. The most interesting fact is that if tourists are asked what they know about the *kecak*, after watching the performance and reading the leaflet, many classify the *kecak* as a “traditional Balinese dance” or even “trance ritual”. By that, they totally ignore the facts they were confronted with, as this quotation from a *kecak* leaflet shows:

In the same 2006 survey, I focused on the tourist perspective of the *kecak* performance they witnessed. The most interesting fact is that if tourists are asked what they know about the *kecak*, after watching the performance and reading the leaflet, many classify the *kecak* as a “traditional Balinese dance” or even “trance ritual”. By that, they totally ignore the facts they were confronted with, as this quotation from a *kecak* leaflet shows:



**Plate 3. Tourists watching a kecak performance by Sekaha Cak Karang Boma at Uluwatu, 2005**

“Contrary to popular belief, the Kecak Dance is itself not particularly old. It was probably first performed in 1930. Although the chorus had its origins in a very ancient ritual of Sanghyang (trance) dance, which is still performed sometimes in the village. [...] The Kecak tells us the story of the Ramayana.”<sup>12</sup>

Hence, the superficial knowledge most tourists have about the *kecak* is, in large part, not based on false information. Instead, the expectation of what they are presented with heavily influences what they perceive. Many of them are not able or willing to accept the fact that they see something fairly recently created, because they expect something “traditional” or “authentic”.

Even those tourists who are aware of the fact that they are part of a tourist performing context - and not all of them actually are - at least expect that the *kecak* is usually performed in a Balinese context and only by exception for a foreign tourist audience, as the following statement shows:

“Just wondering if someone can recommend a *kecak* performance that isn't swarmed by hordes of tourists and also still seems relatively accurate. Are there any places I could find out about **real** kecak performances that might happen in the coming months.”<sup>13</sup>

With this short article I wanted to show how, in the course of almost eighty years, the *kecak* as it is performed today on Bali has been developed and designed with the sole purpose to attract a foreign audience. It has become a major representative for Balinese performing arts, marketed for cultural tourists visiting the island, and supported by a large network of professional *kecak* groups, stage and hotel owners, guides and tourist agencies. Of course, whenever the *kecak* is promoted and used for travel advertisements inside and outside of Bali it is not presented as a tourist genre, for it would be

unwise to promote it as “a typical display of tourist art, never performed for a Balinese audience”. The *kecak* remains and is actively marketed as a showcase of the Balinese performing arts tradition. In accordance, most tourists believe that what they see is a “traditional”, “authentic” genre that is usually performed for a Balinese audience.

It could be argued that the *kecak* indeed is not “traditional”, because it is not performed for a Balinese audience and never has been. Yet, I do not agree with this view. Performing in a tourist context must be considered a very strong part of Balinese culture, and has been such for over 80 years by now. Therefore, performing the *kecak* for tourists is as authentic and traditional, or “real”, as a *kecak* performance can ever be.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See for example (Dibia 2000:4).

<sup>2</sup> My recently finished thesis with the title “The Kecak – a Balinese Dance, its Genesis, Development and Manifestation Today” contains one chapter that focuses on the *kecak* as an important part of the Balinese cultural tourism machinery. This text is mainly based on information and data from that chapter.

<sup>3</sup> For a short introduction into the most common performances staged for tourists on Bali see Picard 1996a:138-149.

<sup>4</sup> The probably most informative and thorough publication about the person and artist Walter Spies is by Rhodius 1960.

<sup>5</sup> The letter is hosted by the Leo & Walter Spies Archiv in Berlin.

<sup>6</sup> The all-male *cak* choir is accompanying the dance of the *sanghyang* dancers in trance. The musical sounds and movements of this ensemble are the only elements of the *sanghyang dedari* that actually are used for the *kecak* as well.

<sup>7</sup> Spies, Walter: Muziek en Dans in Gianjar, in *Memorie van Overgave der onderafdeling Gianjar van afgetreden Controleur H.K. Jacobs, 30 November 1928 tot 3 October 1934*, hosted at the Algemeen Rijksarchief te 's Gravenhage (ARA), published on microfiche as “Memories van overgave uit de collecties 1849-1962” by the K.I.T. (Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen).

<sup>8</sup> I have dedicated a whole chapter of my PhD dissertation on the topic of how, in terms of music, movement repertoire, choreography among others, the *kecak* was gradually developed out of the *sanghyang dedari*. This analysis is based on material from several different archives: Leo & Walter Spies Archive Berlin, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Leiden, Jaap Kunst Instituut Universit t Amsterdam, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen Amsterdam.

<sup>9</sup> For an introduction into the Balinese version of *sendratari ramayana* see for example Bandem/deBoer 1981:86-87.

<sup>10</sup> The main difference between a *kecak* group on *banjar* (a subdivision within a village, of which every household has to be member) or *sekaha* level is, that in *banjar* organizations membership is compulsory whereas membership in a *kecak sekaha* (*sekaha cak*) is voluntarily.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with I Dewa Made Oka Merta, responsible for marketing of the Uma Dewi stage in Denpasar, May 7, 2001.

<sup>12</sup> This exact text – with differing layouts – is used for the *kecak* leaflet by several stages and groups, for example Api Sila Budaya, Karang Boma, Uma Dewi, Sari Wisata Budaya and Sahadewa stage.

<sup>13</sup> Posting by user “cathpah”, September 26 2007; 21:36. For the whole thread see <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=1474390>, last accessed September 25, 2009). Highlighting by “cathpah”.

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**THE HYBRID MELODIC AND TEXTUAL REPERTOIRES OF SOUTHWEST  
THAILAND'S RONG NGENG TANYONG**

This paper examines aspects of hybridity in the melodic repertoire and texts of *rong ngeng*, a genre of social dance and music found in southwest Thailand that developed as two principle styles: one that resembles an idiomatic style of northwest Malayan *ronggeng* (from which it derives its name) that was introduced to the region prior to the Second World War, and a second that developed as a unique new Thai-language style, known as *tanyong* song, when locals modified and expanded the repertoire during the 1940s and '50s. I begin with a brief explanation of *rong ngeng*'s historical background, followed by a comparison of repertoires in Malay- and Thai-speaking communities, a classification of tunes into four groups based upon their geographical and stylistic sources, an overview of each category, and finally an analysis of some common *rong ngeng* texts.

The 'first-phase' of the melodic repertoire comprised pan-Malayan urban theater tunes and folk songs found in rural performers' repertoires in northwest Malaya that migrated to Lanta Island—situated roughly in the middle of Thailand's Andaman Sea Coast between Phuket and Langkawi—and took root among Malay and Orak Lawoi islanders (the latter a migrant, strand-dwelling people found throughout Thailand's Andaman region). The pioneers of *rong ngeng* on Lanta were itinerant violinists Abu Qasim of Langkawi and Che Mat bin Saad of Satun, who settled for several years, in the mid-1930s, in a Malay-speaking fishing village known then as Tanjung.<sup>1</sup> Abu Qasim and Che Mat's students, through peregrinations and migrations, propagated *rong ngeng* and taught new performing communities along the mainland Andaman coast. Many of those communities were Thai-speaking and would become central to the transformations that would remake *rong ngeng* as *tanyong* song.

*Tanyong* song was not a form of public performance prior to its incorporation into *rong ngeng*. It was an informal, maritime-region style of lullaby, courtship, and work song, analogous to *sinandung* or *nasib* ballads found in Malay fishing communities of the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra. According to oral accounts, it first appeared in this new form around 1942 or '43, when Lanta's performers were pioneering the spread of *rong ngeng* to new areas of the mainland. A young, bilingual, female singer-dancer from Tanjung named Isao is reported to have been the first to sing those melodies in *rong ngeng* performance, and adapt existing Malayan melodies to Thai. Though largely forgotten today for her role in the transformation of *rong ngeng*, Isao was also important to its dissemination. After she married and moved to Langda, her husband's Thai-speaking village on the mainland, she trained several young women who became some of the earliest proponents of *tanyong* song, and established mainland Krabi as an active region for this new style.

**Comparison of Malay-and Thai-speaking Communities' Song Repertoires**

While the history of *rong ngeng*'s diffusion among Andaman communities is a rich topic for discussion, I will proceed to the subject of the formation of its melodic repertoires beginning with comparisons of performances by contemporary Malay- and Thai-speaking groups. Over the past forty or fifty years, these repertoires have decreased in diversity, many tunes have become dormant or extinct, and no new material of any significance has been added. By all accounts, what we see today is a small snapshot of 1950s and '60s heyday-era *rong ngeng*.

This paper specifically focuses on longer performances of between eleven and thirty-three tunes, mostly held for local consumption at wedding celebrations or 'vow fulfillment' ceremonies in rural communities in Krabi, Trang, and Satun provinces.<sup>2</sup> I exclude from these analyses another common type of performance: the brief three-to-five-song cultural show found mostly in urban festivals, as those provide fewer insights into the breadth and nature of *rong ngeng* repertoires.

In the past, groups played almost non-stop from sundown to sunrise, but today's performances are generally shorter. Thai-speaking groups, whose performances still take place fairly frequently (their most active during long school holidays when most weddings are held), begin around 8 P.M. and end around 1 AM or later. These performances alternate short sets with a disk jockey playing popular modern Thai dance music. Long sets by Malay-speaking groups are infrequent and typically end

earlier. Lanta’s Orak Lawoi *rong ngeng* performers, for example, play for only about one hour, often preceding a longer set of *berana*, a genre of percussion-accompanied festival songs.

Figure 1 compares performances by Malay- and Thai-speaking groups where the average number of songs for each is shown as dark bars, and the average number of unique songs is shown in lightly-shaded bars. Malay-speaking groups play approximately sixteen songs per evening, while Thai-speaking groups average around twenty-two. Malay-speaking groups, whose repertoires are more diverse, rarely play the same song twice in the same night. Thai-speaking groups typically repeat their most popular songs several times throughout an evening, so that only about half of their performances are unique pieces.

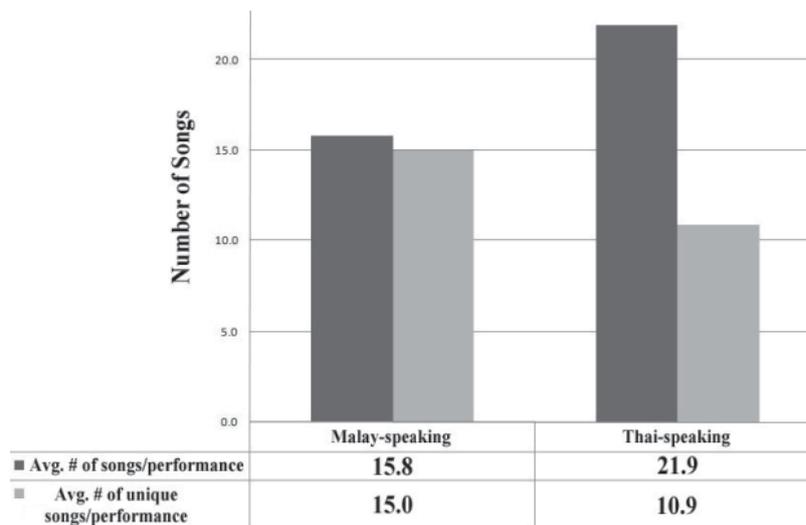


Figure 1: Average number of songs and unique songs per performance: Malay- and Thai-speaking groups

Figure 2 shows the relative distribution of the full twenty-seven tune *rong ngeng* repertoire among Malay- and Thai-speaking groups which I have separated into four categories based primarily upon stylistic and geographical sources. They include:

1. *Wai khru* tunes that comprise a formal set of three opening pieces in typical *rong ngeng* performances;
2. Northwest Malayan folk tunes found in Perlis and Kedah;
3. *Bangsawan* theater tunes that originate in, or popularized through, early-twentieth century Malayan theater;
4. Andaman Coast *tanyong* tunes

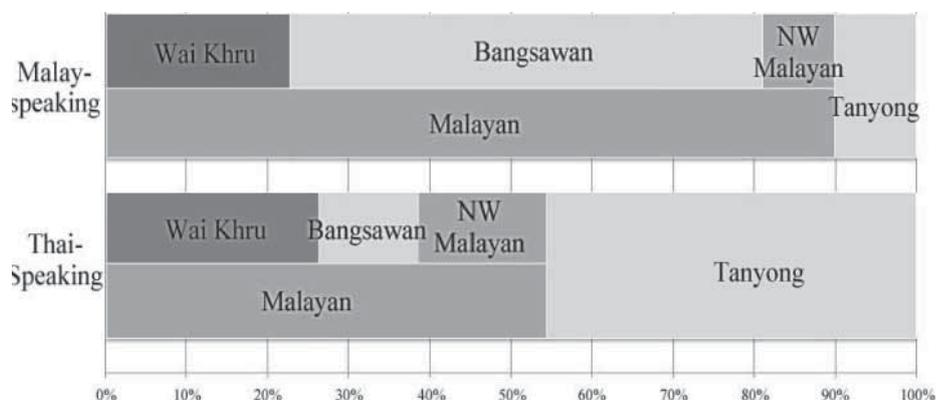


Figure 2: Average presence of four song types in *rong ngeng* performance: Malay- and Thai-speaking groups

The preceding graph illustrates how *bangsawan* and *tanyong* tunes comprise the largest percentages of either Malay- or Thai-speaking groups' repertoires. Malay-speaking groups may be seen to have predominantly *bangsawan*-style repertoires and play only a small number of *tanyong* tunes, whereas Thai-speaking groups have an almost inverse relationship, with a repertoire that is nearly half locally-created *tanyong* repertoire.

As this categorization comprises non-homogeneous types, a bit of clarification is needed. While the first three categories are all of Malayan provenance,<sup>3</sup> the *wai khru* tunes are somewhat of an exception as they belong stylistically and historically to either the second or third classifications. However, as their unique ritual status has no counterpart in Malaysian *ronggeng*, they are considered separately. Category 3, which encompasses original compositions for theater as well as (often updated) folk tunes appropriated into theater, is already manifestly hybrid, but arrived in Thailand as collection of contemporaneous popular songs.

## **Rong Ngeng Repertoire Categories**

### ***Wai Khru***

Each *rong ngeng* performance begins with an approximately five-minute long ritual instrumental set called *wai khru*.<sup>4</sup> This set comprises three tunes, "Lagu Dua", "Mak Inang" and "Burung Putih", played in that precise order, performed by musicians and dancers alone without singing or social dancing with dance patrons. While these songs originate in Malayan folk music and theater, their aggregation as part of a reverential opening ritual is unique to southwest Thailand. *Ronggeng* in Malaysia did not have these rituals, but folk theaters on both sides of the Malaysian-Thai border (and in regions further afield) did. In this category, I also include "Lagu Tabik", a closing song performed at the end of the night in which the performers bid farewell to the patrons.<sup>5</sup>

In its proscriptions and the ritual offerings and incantations that immediately precede it, the *wai khru* reflects other south Thailand folk performance genres and is distinctive from fixed or semi-fixed sets of opening tunes that occur in other regional *ronggeng* forms. For example, Perlis *canggung* groups begin with "Canggung" (or "Ala Canggung"), which is often referred to as a *sembah guru* song (a direct translation of *wai khru*). In Kedah and Penang, the song "Joget Serampang Laut" (a likely source for the *rong ngeng* tune "Lagu Dua") is often played to *buka panggung*, or 'open the stage', and in North Sumatra, *ronggeng* groups play a three-song opening set of mixed styles called *bismillah lagu*. None of those tunes, however, have an equivalent ritual dimension to that of *rong ngeng*.

### **Northwest Malayan Folk**

Through modern media and social contact with immigrant communities,<sup>6</sup> folk performers in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth century Northwest Malaya had opportunities to hear a variety of musical styles. One popular early-twentieth century form along the maritime Malaya-Siam border was *makyung laut* musical theater; whose name and performance characteristics suggest an antecedent in *makyung*, a popular Pattani/Kelantan Malay court and village theater form that itinerant troupes propagated throughout the peninsula and parts of Indonesia. While *makyung laut* ('sea' *makyung*) is extinct today, folk performers in Perlis and Kedah view it as a significant source for indigenous northwest Malayan folk tunes.

Malay communities in Perlis and Kedah were exposed to immigrants and travelers from the Andaman region who introduced several Thai-language folk theater forms during that period including *nang talung* (a form of shadow puppetry), *manora* and *likay pa*. They also saw *bangsawan* troupes from Penang who introduced a cosmopolitan theater music that synthesized music from various Asian and Western sources. Over time, the melodic, rhythmic, and textual strands that local performers adopted from these forms became detached from their original contexts and were incorporated into new styles. One of the most significant forms in the northwest came to be *canggung* folk song and dance. Said to be a descendent of *makyung laut* (Rejab 1962), it appeared around the late 1930s or early '40s as a *ronggeng*-like popular social dance, and was a collection of various local folk and popular forms that carried a strong Perlis identity.

There are six tunes common to *rong ngeng* and northwest Malayan folk repertoires: (1) “Canggung” and “Yangong” which are two variations of an iconic song found in Perlis and southwest Thailand; (2) “Senandung Sayang” (“Love Ballad”), a *nasib*-style ballad which has nearly disappeared in Perlis but remains popular in Andaman *rong ngeng* as “Sinadong”; (3) “Ayam Didik” (“Mother Hen Teaches Her Young”), another iconic northwest Malayan song rarely played by Thai-speaking groups in southwest Thailand; (4) “Cinta Sayang” (“Love”), which is rare in *rong ngeng* today; and two *rong ngeng* melodies that are not (or no longer) found in Malaysia, (5) “Lagu Dua Palit” (“The *Dua* Song of Perlis”), and (6) “Sayang La” (“O Love”) which is said to have originated in a melody called “Layang-Layang.”

### **Bangsawan**

*Bangsawan*’s wide geographical distribution makes it difficult to pinpoint particular songs’ origins and their point of entry into its repertoires. Penang was an important fountainhead for this theater on the Malayan Peninsula, and its proximity to northwest mainland states of Malaya made it a primary source for the live groups and recorded media that disseminated urban popular music to rural and semi-rural areas of Kedah, Perlis, and subsequently to southwest Thailand.

The *bangsawan* repertoire encompassed a heterogeneous collection of tunes that were played as theatrical accompaniment to a variety of story types based on Malay, Chinese, Indian, Arab, and European tales, or as *extra turns*—songs played during scene changes before a closed curtain, often to showcase a popular singer (Tan, 1993). In contrast with local folk songs, they were often formally more complex, made greater use of catchy melodic figures, and in the theater and recordings they featured accompaniment by piano or other Western instruments. In structure and style, they often bore resemblance to contemporaneous Western songs, particularly North American “Tin Pan Alley” songs. In their migration to northwest Malayan rural areas and to Thailand, they generally maintained their forms and melodies (with some variations), but were adapted to the typical *ronggeng* and *rong ngeng* ensembles consisting of a violin, two frame drums, and a gong.

The extant *bangsawan* repertoire in southwest Thailand represents just a small selection of that which the earliest performers introduced in the 1930s. It represents some of *rong ngeng*’s most commonly played tunes (in both Malay- and Thai-speaking repertoires) and a few rarely-encountered ones, some of which only exist in the memories of retired performers. The following two lists show, in alphabetical order, the titles of common or fairly-common tunes, and the less-common or discontinued *bangsawan* tunes in *rong ngeng* repertoires, along with their closest-related Malayan titles, wherever they differ, in parenthesis. All of these tunes appeared as Malayan gramophone recordings by well-known singers during the late 1920s and early ‘30s (just prior to their introduction to Thailand).

#### Common and Fairly-Common Tunes

“Che Mamat” (“Che Mamat Parang Tajam”)  
 “Che Minah Sayang”  
 “Kayuh Sampan” (“Dayung Sampan”)  
 “Siapa Itu”  
 “Siti Payung”  
 “Tarok Tok Tek” (“Trek Tek Tek”)

#### Rarely-played or Discontinued Tunes

“Aladom”  
 “Che Siti” (“Ayuhai Chek Siti”)  
 “Mak Inang Lembut” (“Mak Inang Pulau Kampai”)  
 “Mas Merah”

### **Tanyong**

The name *tanyong* came to describe the *rong ngeng* sub-genre from the idiosyncratic manner in which *rong ngeng* singers began phrases with the Malay words *bunga tanjung* ‘cape flower’, a fragrant blossom variety that is an icon of Malay poetry and song.<sup>7</sup> The fact that *rong ngeng* and the earliest strains of *tanyong* first developed in a village known as Tanjung is a felicitous coincidence.

Unlike in Malaysia where “Bunga Tanjung” is the title of both ‘traditional’ *asli* and up-tempo popular *bangsawan* tunes, in *rong ngeng* there is no particular melody or title with that name or any pieces that correspond to those Malayan songs.<sup>8</sup>

The term *tanyong* is often applied to any *rong ngeng* piece sung in Thai, but as this paper has shown so far, many of those tunes have Malayan provenance. Therefore, for this discussion, *tanyong* may be narrowly defined as songs whose melodies have no “clear” Malayan counterpart and are widely believed to originate among Thai-speaking Andaman communities. In the regional *rong ngeng* repertoire, the following list of tunes conforms to that description:

- “Pari Hat Yao”
- “Lagu Mai”
- “Pari Phuket”
- “Pari Satun”
- “Pari Panyi,” also known as “Lagu Khlai”
- “Burung Timang”
- “Soi Kham”
- “Pari Dek”
- ‘Champion’

Commonalities appear among titles of several *tanyong* tunes, specifically in the use of *pari* and *lagu* (glossed here as ‘song’)<sup>9</sup> which in southwest Thailand are exclusively found in the context of *rong ngeng*. *Pari*, which has been shown to define a particular rhythm accompaniment, appears mostly in conjunction with place names, for example: “Pari Hat Yao” (“Long Beach Song”), the best known *tanyong* song and iconic of *rong ngeng* in contemporary Thai-Andaman society which ambiguously refers to three beaches in southwest Thailand.<sup>10</sup> The pieces titled “Pari Phuket” (“Song of Phuket”) and “Pari Satun” (“Song of Satun”) are named for Thai provinces,<sup>11</sup> and “Pari Panyi” (“Song of Panyi”) is named for an island in Phangnga province. The sole exception is “Pari Dek” which means “Children’s Pari”. The *lagu* tunes include “Lagu Mai” (“New Song”) and “Lagu Khlai” (“Changed Song”), the latter of which is the same melody as “Pari Panyi.”

*Tanyong* tunes are less heterogeneous than the previous categories and many share similar characteristics. Their musical structures are similar to other regional two-part (AB) folk tunes with repeating antecedent/consequent melodies built upon tonic and dominant cadences. They mostly feature four-measure phrases comprised of stepwise melodies with some syncopation, and are played at moderate tempi. Three *tanyong* tunes consist of B section melodies that are transpositions of their A sections. Although this paper focuses on repertoires and texts, there are several *tanyong* melodies that show evidence of hybridity: “Pari Satun” and “Pari Dek” have phrases that bear some resemblance to Malayan folk melodies. In addition, “Soi Kham” incorporates elements from *likay pa* and is said to have originated in a Thai-speaking community whose performers played both genres, and the melody of “Champion” is partly an appropriation from a Central Thai song style called *talung*.

### Hybridity in Texts

*Tanyong* is sung in a local variant of *phak tai*, the Southern Thai dialect that is replete with Malay loan words.<sup>12</sup> It uses a variation of Thai *klong* poetry that has been adapted to fit *rong ngeng* melodies through adjustments to poetic feet, word and line length, repetition, or the addition of local speech-like vocables to provide emphasis or emotion.<sup>13</sup> Locals use standard Thai nomenclature to describe its formal elements: one line is a *wak* and a strophe is a *thon*.

In *tanyong*, the juxtaposition of Malay and Thai is most conspicuous in the first *wak* of each pair of *thon*. A very common opening line goes like this:

*Bunga tanyong kampong lae nong yang dok re*

This *wak* may be bisected into Malay and Thai halves. The first half, comprising the first three words, is Malay, and the second half is Thai. The Malay includes the reference to *bunga tanjung* (meaning ‘cape flower’ and pronounced in the local dialect as *bunga tanyong*), and the term for

village, *kampong*. The Thai half of this example, *lae nong yang dok re*, may be glossed as “see the young woman, like the rhododendron flower.” (*Tanyong* songs are traditionally courtship verses.)

Together, the two halves produce a rather awkward translation. However, I suggest that the *wak* is not meant to be interpreted literally, but rather as a representation of Thai-Malay hybridity. It is indexical of Malay-ness for the first half and evocative of a local Thai identity (through the use of local idiom and references to local flora) in the second. More abstractly, these words may be seen to inscribe the diachronic progression from a predominantly Malay culture to a Thai one that characterized social transformations in the region over the twentieth century, during which time *rong ngeng* was a central entertainment form.

A few more points may be made about this *wak* and the remainder of the *thon*. The final two words that give the plant name—in this case *dok re*—are variables that may be substituted with the name of any local plant or flower, which then forms the rhyme scheme for the remainder of the *thon*. This is where a singer’s skill in improvising is often displayed, and measured, with the most acclaim given to those who create multiple *thon* from a single type of flora before moving on to a new one. Some common first *wak* examples include:<sup>13</sup>

*bunga tanyong kampong lae nong yang ton khrai* ... “like the lemongrass”  
*bunga tanyong kampong lae nong yang ton dipli* ... “like the chili pepper plant”  
*bunga tanyong kampong lae nong yang dok kaeo* ... “like the orange jasmine blossom”

The following illustrates a complete *thon*, and how the rhyme scheme continues in the second *wak*, which may be glossed as “...I am willing to love the sea girl [but] there is no boat to take me to find my dear.” Typically, this part of the *thon* is Thai, though, depending upon the texts, it could incorporate Malay terms as well.

A) *bunga tanyong kampong lae nong yang dok re*  
 B) *samak rak khon thale, mai mi reua ja khe, pai ha nong*

In summary, although ‘hybrid’ can be a problematic term, particularly because everything is a hybrid to some degree, it is germane to this discussion of *rong ngeng* song repertoire as it describes changes that occurred relatively recently and in observable forms. Furthermore, this repertoire coalesced at the geographical junctions of Malay and Thai realms during a period of significant social, political, and economic transformations to a Thai-dominant society.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Now known by the Thai name, Ban Hua Laem.

<sup>2</sup> Based upon data collected by the author between 2006 and 2009.

<sup>3</sup> The term *wai khru*, or ‘saluting the teacher,’ is a common term for various musical and non-musical opening rituals in Thailand. In Malay it is referred to as *buka panggung* ‘opening the performance space’.

<sup>4</sup> “Lagu Tabik” is also performed by the troupe alone, without patron participation. Furthermore, it represents the fourth of *rong ngeng*’s four major rhythm types (*changwa*). The other three are each represented in the *wai khru*. I discuss these aspects in my forthcoming doctoral thesis.

<sup>5</sup> From a multitude of places near and far such as the Indonesian archipelago (Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi), Siam, South India, Southeast China, Arabia, Western Europe, and the Americas, as well as internal migrations among peninsular peoples.

<sup>6</sup> *Mimusops elengi*, in Thai, *dok pikun*.

<sup>7</sup> Better known is a 1970s remake of the latter song by popular singer Sharifah Aini that uses the same arrangement but with modern instrumentation.

<sup>8</sup> Lagu is Malay for ‘song’.

<sup>9</sup> One in mainland Talibong in Trang Province, one near Langda and Khlong Yuan in Krabi Province, and another in Phangnga Bay in Phangnga Province.

<sup>10</sup> While Satun and Phuket are modern political divisions in Thailand, in practice these names to refer to their market towns and environs. Thus, folks would speak of Satun and Langu in separate terms even though they are both districts within Satun Province and “Pari Satun” would be specific to the town, not the province. Some refer to Phuket by its former name Thungkha and the *tanyong* tune as “Pari Thungkha”.

<sup>11</sup> Thai-speaking communities in the Andaman have numerous loan words from Malay that appear non-uniformly throughout the region and are not always found in other regional variations of *phak tai* dialects.

<sup>12</sup> Klin’s 1995 study of *tanyong* song provides numerous poetic examples.

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**STRIKE UP THE BAND: STRAITS CHINESE MUSICAL ECLECTICISM AT THE  
END OF THE COLONIAL ERA**

This shortened version of my conference presentation is part of a larger ongoing research project on the musical history of Malacca's Straits Chinese community. "Straits Chinese" here designates a Baba-Malay- or English-speaking community, also called Baba (collectively), Baba-Nyonya (Baba for men, Nyonya for women), or Peranakan (local born), as distinct from the local- or China-born Chinese-speaking community.<sup>1</sup> The paper, which focuses on the 1920s and '30s through the 1960s, combines archival, visual, and ethnographic evidence to interrogate the conventional notion that Straits Chinese culture is inherently "eclectic." Local newspapers<sup>2</sup> provide a general, perhaps even predictable, picture in which social life for colonial elites revolved around a very British constellation of private sports and social clubs that organized galas, variety shows, and balls. Wealthy Babas sponsored amateur musical and theatrical groups that often performed to raise money for charitable causes.<sup>3</sup> Ballroom dancing mania reached Malacca in the early 1930s and by mid decade there were two Cabarets.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there were public cinemas and amusement parks to entertain the general public.

Old photographs were a significant source of data for this project<sup>5</sup> and paved the way for many fascinating conversations, through which I discovered musical networks I had no idea existed, even after twenty years of fieldwork in Malacca. These ethnographic interactions led to a number of key insights: first, the process of dating photographs, identifying participants, observing who played with whom, examining changes in instrumentation, dress, and context support the perception that Baba musical culture in Malacca was highly eclectic. Second, the musical networks that emerge raise interesting questions about musical access: who learns what, where, and why. Third certain individuals transcend social divisions to create spaces within which normal rules of engagement are suspended. And fourth, photographs provide important clues to some of the less obvious socio-political subtexts that permeate this fascinating and complex world at the end of the colonial era. In the original presentation I used fifteen photographs to illustrate my argument. Within the limits of these *Proceedings*, however, I have reduced the number to five.



**Plate 1. Malacca Hotspurs Association, Music Section, Oct. 1920: Postcard in the collection of Edwin Yeo**

I will begin with the Malacca Hotspur Association's Music Section, posing for a group photograph in October 1928. One of the most active Baba social clubs in Malacca with sports teams and amateur dramatic and music sections, The Malacca Hotspur Association was registered under the Societies Ordinance in 1925 and was described as "now defunct" in September 1937.<sup>6</sup>

In typically British fashion, we see three committee members sitting front and center in black jackets and ties. In the center is Captain Tan Soo Hock, J.P. (1883-1936), commander of the Chinese Company of the Malacca Volunteers Corps. The 23 musicians, all wearing white tuxedos and black bow ties, are holding their instruments, most of which are stringed: violins, ukuleles, banjos, mandolins, guitars. They are framed by a trap set at one end and a single saxophone at the other.

There were many similar organizations around this time, sports clubs, literary associations, etc., catering primarily to particular constituencies (Eurasians, Straits Chinese, etc.). Some sponsored music and dramatic subgroups that staged public performances, often in support of good causes. For example, the Hotspurs' first dramatic production, "Kok Cheng and Kok Chye," described as a "Malay play" with musical and comedic interludes called "extra turns" (i.e., a *bangsawan* performance), was first presented on this same fund-raising occasion. A later collaboration between the Hotspurs' orchestra and dramatic section, "The Prodigal Son," first performed on 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1933, raised \$310 (50% of ticket sales) for St. David's Hospital.<sup>7</sup> Two months later they traveled by steamer to Singapore to give two additional performances in aid of the Non-European Unemployment Fund.<sup>8</sup> Smaller groups called "parties," occasionally made it into the newspapers. One such, the Dandy Coons, was described in January 1933 as "another very useful and accomplished Straits Chinese Amateur Party.... They are a clever set of Amateurs, comprising a party of about 14 members and have a very wide repertoire of up to date hits. Purely a minstrel party on the usual orthodox lines they are likely to be in great demand at social functions in the near future."<sup>9</sup>

The scene in the Hotspurs' photograph looks typically colonial, except that above the musicians' heads is a banner proclaiming that the Association is performing in aid of the Shandong Relief Fund (which dates the photograph to October 1928). Further above the banner is a large portrait of Sun Yat Sen, framed by *dui lian* couplets in Chinese – "The revolution has not yet succeeded" and "Comrades still need to make greater efforts" – and two flags of the Republic of China.<sup>10</sup> This is interesting, because it hints at a poignant subtext in which the very "British" Babas (sometimes even called "The King's Chinese"), few of whom could speak or read Chinese, were raising funds to support a cause of Chinese nationalism. At this moment when overt Guomindang activity was banned by the British but raising funds for "disaster relief" in China was not, use of the late Dr. Sun's image was a powerful local statement of Chinese nationalism in the face of Japanese imperialism in China.<sup>11</sup> We know that Guomindang members were active in Malacca at this time and also that networks of personal association were extremely complex. For example, Capt. Tan Soo Hock was well-enough acquainted with Ho Pao Jin, a China-born community organizer and Guomindang activist, that in 1936 the latter (Ho) translated a eulogy from Baba-Malay into Chinese at a memorial service for the former.<sup>12</sup>

My second photograph provides a window into the quotidian world of the Baba community, specifically the family of Yeo Soo Leong, a prominent Baba who liked music and occasionally sponsored *bangsawan* performances at City Park amusement gardens.

Yeo didn't play himself but bought instruments for his children to amuse themselves with and entertain guests. Here we see his children posing with their instruments by the air well in the center of their typical Baba house, comfortable, but not ostentatious. In birth order, we see Kuan Hock (b. 1919, violin), Geok Hoe (b. 1920, guitar), Geok Keng (banjo), Kuan Jin (b. 1922, guitar), Kuan Ghee (ukulele), and Geok Chu (ukulele). The date is probably closer to 1935 than to 1940, according to a fourth sister, Geok Hean (Amy, b. 1934, not in this picture). Amy remembers that even during the Japanese Occupation (1942-45) her siblings played to entertain Japanese officers (pers. comm., 21 August 2005). They had music lessons and knew how to read notation. For the boys, musical competency was a window to the outside world; for the girls, it was something that remained within the family.



**Plate 2. The Yeo Family String Band, mid-1930s: Photograph from the collection of Persatuan Peranakan Cina Melaka**

By the late 1930s there were two popular music parties in Malacca, Oleh Sayang (formed in 1937) and the Nightingales (a splinter group formed in 1938). There was a rivalry between the two groups and little mixing of personnel after the initial split. Harry Ong (b. 1926) recalled, “I was in the Oleh Sayang. You see, my father [Ong Kim Seng] was one of the officials, so I had to join them. He was one of the committee members.... The Nightingales split from Oleh Sayang, but my father stayed, so, of course, I had to stay. I was a singer then. I still remember singing that song, ‘Somewhere over the Rainbow’ .... We played some *kroncong* music, because at that time there was no such thing as pop. We had functions and played some European songs” (pers. comm., 25 June 2009).<sup>13</sup> The Yeo brothers joined the rival group, the Nightingales.

Here we see them in their smart uniforms: Kuan Hock (violin), Kuan Jin (ukulele), and Kuan Ghee (side drum). The handwritten date on the face of the original photograph (in Edwin Yeo’s collection) is incorrect.<sup>14</sup> A note affixed to a copy of this picture in the possession of Kuan Jin’s older son, Victor, says: “The Nightingales, 10 Feb. 1940. Prime mover of the founding of the Nightingales in 1938 was Mr. Wee Eng Leong [the trumpet player to the right of center]. Founding President was Mr. Teo Chong Lum [center right] and secretary was Mr. Chua Biow Liat [center left].... To be expected, rivalry with the sister party was intense. Both parties regularly held concerts in aid of charity. The dawn of the Pacific War extinguished both parties.” This is clearly a formal group portrait: the dignitaries stand in the center in white tuxedos and band members are all wearing uniforms. The string orchestra model of the Hotspurs has given way to a more jazz-inflected arrangement. I have not yet identified those in the back row, but it is noteworthy that two of the front row musicians are not Babas – one is Malay (Mohammad Tamby Chik, saxophone) and the other an upper-class Eurasian (Bernard Zarzadias, string bass) – showing that musicians intermingled across race (if not yet class) lines. Their repertoire, like that of Oleh Sayang, was *kroncong* and popular “European songs.”



Plate 3. The Nightingales, ca. 1940: Photograph from the collection of Edwin Yeo

Although *kroncong* music remained popular in Malacca after the Japanese Occupation, there was an influx of American popular music available on disc and, more widely, on the radio (VOA began broadcasting in February 1942, Radio Malaya in 1946). Photographs from the 1950s reflect the growing jazz influence as saxophones, clarinets, trumpets, trap sets, and pianos begin to proliferate. By 1954, big band music was all the rage in Malacca and a new amateur dance band was formed. Like the Hotspurs earlier, the Victory Orchestra performed to raise money for charity. For example, in April 1955, the orchestra planned to “celebrate its first anniversary with a dance at Capitol Dance Hall [and] donate all proceeds of admission tickets to the Malacca Branch of the British Red Cross Society.”<sup>15</sup> That same year, it raised over \$2,500 Straits dollars for the Seck Kia Eenh Buddhist temple’s building fund.<sup>16</sup>



Plate 4. Victory Orchestra, mid-1950s: Photograph from the collection of Edwin Yeo

We can clearly see the changes in instrumentation in this photograph. A young man in a pale tuxedo, white shirt, black pants, and colored bow tie, stands behind a microphone, ready to sing. Behind him a 15-piece big band, similarly clad, is playing. The string core has completely disappeared and the orchestra looks like a typical big band of its day with musicians sitting behind individual stands: saxophones and clarinets in the front row; trombone and trumpets in the middle; and string bass, trap set, guitars, and a piano at the back.

Significantly, although this was considered a Baba organization, Baba friends could only identify a few faces in the band: the Ong brothers, Harry (guitar) and Ronnie (singer), Yeo Kuan Hock (string bass), and one local Eurasian, Roosevelt de Costa (guitar). It was not until I sat down with a Chinese musician, “Ah Chai” (Datuk Soon Kim Hock), that I discovered many of the players were Chinese-speaking, not Baba. From right to left, front row: Loo Kok Chee (Cantonese), Sim Mow Yeow (Hokkien, hidden behind Ronnie Ong), Kiko (Filipino, a professional musician from City Cabaret), Tan Chong Kye (later boss at Capitol Cabaret), and “Ah Sai” Tan; the two outer players in the middle row remain unidentified, but the trumpet players are (r. to l.): Sim Beck Hian (Hokkien, nephew of Mow Yeow), Benny Gomes (Goan, a professional musician, also from City Cabaret), and Kenny Soo (Hainanese). Unlike the Baba musicians and their private music lessons, most of the Chinese musicians, like Sim Mow Yeow, cut their musical teeth in the Chinese-speaking community’s Seng Cheong or Meng Seng Charitable Organization marching bands.<sup>17</sup>

The Victory Orchestra provided a forum not only for musicians of many race/class backgrounds to mix, but also for professional musicians to mix with amateurs. There was another world of professional music-making in Malacca centered around City Park and Capitol Cabarets, in which professional “permanent” musicians mixed with amateur part-time “replacements.” Photographs of small combos at Capitol Cabaret give us a tiny insight into this scene. Both Yeo brothers, Kuan Hock (violin) and Kuan Jin (string bass) played regularly at Capitol Cabaret, more likely – because of their social status – as replacement musicians than as professionals.

This was not the only “parallel world” in which Baba musicians like Yeo Kuan Jin moved. In “the good old days” a local song dueling form called *dondang sayang* was shared and enjoyed in Malacca by Malay, Baba, and Eurasian music lovers alike. It was especially popular at weddings or house parties: pairs of singers would vie with each other to see who could be the most entertaining or clever verbal artist accompanied by a small ensemble comprising violin, *rebana* (frame drum), and a gong. The 4-line quatrains, sung in Malay, were often superficially witty but the best ones also contained several deeper layers of meaning (see Thomas 1986). *Dondang sayang* was not only greatly appreciated by the wealthy Babas of Heeren Street, it was also the primary entertainment of a less visible class of Straits Chinese who lived in rural areas outside the town center. According to Doris Chong (b. 1941), in “the old days, *dondang sayang* was the only entertainment in the kampung; only once in a while a mobile theater came. Those days a lot of people sang *dondang sayang*. The Heeren Street people were *orang kaya* (rich people). Their club is very expensive, so people with no money can’t join. The people in Tanjung Minyak, Cheng, and Bukit Rambai, the *orang miskin* (poor people), all mixed around, but not with the Heeren Street crowd” (pers. comm., 16 July 2009). While Doris’s characterization of the separation between Heeren St. and kampung Babas was largely correct, a few transcended this class barrier.

In my final photograph, taken in the late 1960s, we see Yeo Kuan Jin sitting on the front porch of his house at #81 Bukit Cina Road flanked by Baba Kim Teck and his Malay *dondang sayang* partner, Cik Mohammad Amin. Baba Kim Teck (real name, Chia Ah Chin), Malacca’s most famous *dondang sayang* singer (and Doris Chong’s father-in-law), was born in Tanjung Minyak, one of the kampungs outside Malacca. To Cik Mat Amin’s right are two Malay musicians, Ismail (*rebana*) and Sahak (violin). The handwritten date on this photograph is incorrect, because the boy playing gong is Victor, Kuan Jin’s older son, who was only born in 1958. Kuan Jin’s house, away from the Heeren Street neighborhood, was a well-known meeting place for Baba and Malay *dondang sayang* aficionados.<sup>18</sup> Even Ah Chai, the Chinese saxophone player, remembers going to Kuan Jin’s house with Hassan, a Malay friend from City Park Cabaret, to play *dondang sayang* and to eat afterwards.



Plate 5. *Dondang sayang* on the porch of #81 Jalan Bukit Cina, late-1960s:  
 Photograph from the collection of Edwin Yeo

## Conclusions

So what do we learn from this wealth of visual evidence? Well, first, Baba musical tastes were, indeed, international and eclectic, but we can see clear changes over time in terms of musical tastes, influences, instrumentation, dress, and even ways of posing for the camera. Second, Babas were better connected with the Chinese-speaking community in the 1920s and '30s than we imagined. Third, Babas seem to have had more access to the learning of stringed instruments, whereas a significant number of wind and brass players came from the Chinese-speaking community and learned in the bands at Seng Cheong and Meng Seng. Fourth, the Baba affinity for strings meant that certain types of local music, *kroncong* and *dondang sayang*, remained consistent favorites over time.<sup>19</sup> Fifth, many groups formed and sponsored by wealthy Babas included Malay, Eurasian, and later Chinese musicians. Sixth, the otherwise rigid boundaries between race, class, and professional-amateur statuses are more permeable when musicians play together on the basis of shared musical affinities. And seventh, *dondang sayang* and perhaps even *kroncong* might have died out had it not been for the wealthy Babas who sponsored groups and sessions. They provided a space where Malays and Babas (both Heeren Street and kampung) – and the odd Chinese and Eurasian – could meet and keep these traditions alive. That *dondang sayang* has happily found new life in Malacca recently as a Malay kampung performing tradition sadly erases the long-standing Baba history of cultural permeability.

At the same time, there are anomalies I can't yet explain: for example, who was the Malay saxophone player in the late-1930s Nightingales photograph? My guess is that he was an English-educated Malay, perhaps a school friend from Malacca High School, which many young Babas attended. While he could not have learned saxophone at Seng Cheong or Meng Seng, which only served Chinese-speaking youth, there was a Cadet Corps band at the High School, active from 1921 to the early 1940s. There are also gray areas I don't yet fully understand, such as the world of professional musicians and the Babas who moved in and out of it with ease. And there are questions I can't yet answer: I am intrigued by the overlap between certain professional musicians who played in cabaret bands at night and who organized and/or played in funeral bands during the day. Although I have no photographs of funeral bands *per se*, I have interviewed several elderly Chinese-speaking and Eurasian professional musicians who played in both contexts. It seems clear that while wealthy Baba musicians might well play at the cabaret, playing in a funeral band was something else altogether.<sup>20</sup> Was this because of class or simply a matter of instrumentation? Ah Chai made a

point of telling me specifically that the Yeo brothers were “*orang kaya* [rich people] who played at Capitol Cabaret, but never played funeral music” (pers. comm., 7 July 2009).<sup>21</sup> I have a feeling that funeral bands are crucial to better understanding class dynamics, the world of “blowers” (reed and brass players) in particular, and the underground economy of one class of professional musicians. These are all topics that I will continue to explore in my ongoing research project.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The nuances between the terms “Straits Chinese,” “Peranakan,” and “Baba-Nyonya” have been examined at length by others including Rudolph (1998) and Hardwick (2008).

<sup>2</sup> The *Malacca Observer* ran from November 1924 to December 1927 and the *Malacca Guardian* from January 1928 to December 1940.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Mr. Chan Teck Chye, “a beloved Municipal Councillor [and] one of the richest men in Malacca... owns considerable landed property, yet is a comparatively humble man,” was also the patron of the Chan Teck Chye Orchestra, “a band of talented musicians,” who played at many public events and fund raisers (*The Malacca Guardian*, 30 April 1934, p. 10).

<sup>4</sup> City Cabaret opened in December 1934; Capitol Cabaret in May 1936.

<sup>5</sup> I began with an eclectic treasure trove of visual evidence hanging on the walls of the Peranakan Association of Melaka (PPCM). This led me to Edwin Yeo, younger son of the late Baba musician Yeo Kwan Jin (1922-96). After several years of coaxing, Edwin finally dug out 25 old photographs that had belonged to his father.

<sup>6</sup> *The Straits Times*, 13 June 1925, p. 8, and 12 September 1937, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> *The Malacca Guardian*, 9 January 1933; 13 February 1933, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *The Straits Times*, 17 April 1933, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> *The Malacca Guardian*, 9 January 1933.

<sup>10</sup> Sun Yat Sen, who created a national front with the Communists, died in 1925. The Nationalist party was taken over by Chiang Kai Shek, who ended the united front and mounted the Northern Campaign that reunited China. This fascinating historical moment was carefully watched by Overseas Chinese throughout Asia who organized a massive anti-Japanese boycott when the Nationalists ran into the Japanese in Shandong.

<sup>11</sup> The Shandong Relief Fund, headed by the hugely influential Tan Kah Kee, was shut down after three months by a British government that was getting increasingly nervous about the growing strength of the Chinese Nationalist Party in Malaya.

<sup>12</sup> The memorial event took place on May 23, 1936 (*The Straits Times*, 26 May 1936, p. 13). Ho Pao Jin, a fascinating transnational Chinese figure in his own right, was a prominent Malacca resident, but had formerly been leader of the Shanghai Student Union in 1919, a student and later faculty member at Fudan University, and recipient of a Ph.D. from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. At this point in his life, he had turned his formidable organizing skills to actively promoting Chinese-language education in Malacca.

<sup>13</sup> “Somewhere over the Rainbow,” music by Harold Arlen and lyrics by E.Y. Harburg, published in 1939, was written for the movie *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) and made famous by Judy Garland.

<sup>14</sup> The group was formed in 1938 and there is a date, 1939, in the center of the bass drum. That said, it is hard to believe that Kuan Jin (b. 1922) is 17 in this photograph.

<sup>15</sup> *The Straits Times*, 18 March 1955, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> A commemorative plaque at the Seck Kia Eenh temple in Gajah Berang lists the Victory Concert Orchestra and various Malacca Chinese Dramatic Association productions among the major donors for the years 1955-58. Both Victory Orchestra and the MCDA were Straits Chinese organizations. The Orchestra’s contribution of \$2,542.55 was the second largest donation recorded on the plaque.

<sup>17</sup> The Meng Seng Charitable Organization was founded a few years earlier than the Seng Cheong Society. While the latter had a cultural focus, the former was specifically charitable in orientation. As with Seng Cheong, the early organizers were active Guomindang nationalists. The two organizations existed in friendly competition. Sim Mow Yeow later became the bandmaster at Meng Seng.

<sup>18</sup> As we saw from the Yeo family string band photograph, Kuan Jin, came from the Heeren Street-Tranquerah Road neighborhood, an area nicknamed “Millionaire’s Row” in British times because of the number of wealthy Baba families who resided there. Kuan Jin left the affluent neighborhood when he married and went to live with his wife’s parents, near Bukit Cina (China Hill, the largest Chinese burial ground outside China). Heeren Street (now called Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock) runs into Tranquerah Road (now Jalan Tenkera). The former is named after Tun Tan Cheng Lock, a wealthy Baba and one of the architects of Malaysia’s Independence. The two families are connected: Tan Cheng Lock married Kuan Jin’s father’s sister, Yeo Yeok Neo.

<sup>19</sup> Yeo Kuan Jin also played string bass in *kroncong* group called Malindo until shortly before his death in 1996. The group was sponsored by a wealthy Heeren Street Baba, Ong Sek Choo, and used to rehearse out at his seaside bungalow in Klebang until the mid-1990s.

<sup>20</sup> There does seem to be a palpable prejudice against funeral bands: when I was doing my Ph.D. fieldwork in the early 1990s I remember being told, in no uncertain terms, by more than one Eurasian musician, “Play with whoever you want, just don’t join the funeral bands.”

<sup>21</sup> Ah Chai (Datuk Soon Kim Hock, b. 1942) started playing cymbals in funeral bands at the age of 15, earning \$3 per funeral. After he learned to play saxophone (which he did by joining the Seng Cheong and Meng Seng bands), he earned \$5-6 per funeral. He became a permanent professional musician at City Park at the age of 17 and played with both Yeo brothers from time to time at Capitol Cabaret. Today he owns the largest musical instrument store in Malacca and provides sound systems for large public events. Though he is proud to be the only saxophone player in Malaysia who has been awarded the title “Datuk,” he still hangs out with his saxophone buddies at a lean-to coffee stall around the corner from his store.

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**WAYANG JAWA (WAYANG MELAYU) ANCIENT MALAYSIAN SHADOW PLAY (WAYANG KULIT): ARISTOCRATIC HEGEMONY IN A HYBRIDIZED FORM**

At least three different types of shadow puppet theater (*wayang kulit*) existed in Peninsular Malaysia until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, but only two types survive today. These surviving types are called the *wayang kulit Kelantan*, a popular folk village style from the northeast state of Kelantan, and the *wayang kulit gedek*, another folk style from the northwest states (Kedah and Perlis). The third type of Malay shadow puppet theater is called *wayang Jawa* (or *wayang Melayu*). It was performed only for the Malay aristocrats, mainly in the northern states of Kedah and Kelantan and, in past centuries, in the Malay Sultanate of Pattani in southern Thailand. This form is extinct today. However, it dates from at least the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and most likely earlier, and it contributes to the historical background and tradition of shadow puppet theater found in Peninsular Malaysia. Its importance, historically, stems from its development, nurturing and performance under the patronage of Malay royalty in the northern Malaysian states of Kelantan and Kedah from about the late 1700s up to the years of World War II.

This paper addresses the hybrid character of the *wayang Jawa* as it was performed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and some possible reasons for its demise. A look at its development under royal patronage, some of its major theatrical and musical characteristics, and its condition by the late 20<sup>th</sup> century will be the focus of this paper. It has always been strongly influenced by the Javanese *wayang kulit purwa* and, hence, the name *wayang Jawa* was used to denote it.<sup>1</sup> However, this form also retains some of the traits of the popular folk form called *wayang kulit Kelantan*, which developed in the same general region of the Peninsula. Hence, this paper will look at characteristics across national boundaries from Malaysia to Indonesia, and across stylistic types and culture (or sub-culture) groups that encompass the palace and the village traditions in Malaysia.

As noted above, this type of shadow play flourished under royal patronage and existed as entertainment only for aristocrats in the Sultanates of Kedah, Kelantan and, formerly, in Pattani of present day southern Thailand. The well-known Kelantan puppeteer (*dalang*) Pak Nik Man, who was interviewed in the 1960s-70s, noted that the royal families of Kelantan and Kedah did, indeed, support the *wayang Jawa* up until the outbreak of World War II. Performances and court patronage ceased during the Japanese occupation of Malaya but began again after the war, and at the time of Malayan Independence (*Merdeka*, 1958) it was performed as occasional entertainment for special purposes such as weddings, birthdays and other celebratory events of the royalty.<sup>2</sup> By the late 1960s and into the 1970s there were only two *dalang* of *wayang Jawa* in Kelantan, two in Kedah, and two in southern Thailand who still remembered how to perform this type of shadow play.<sup>3</sup> Today, however, with the loss of court patronage and the passing away of *dalangs* who knew and performed this shadow play, the *Wayang Jawa* is extinct for all practical purposes. Historically, the importance of the *wayang Jawa* in the Malaysian shadow play tradition lies in its ties to the Malay aristocracy in terms of its cultural and functional context, and its ties to both Malay and Javanese sources with regard to literature, theatrical conventions and music. This paper examines some of these ties.

**Background**

In general, the written history of the shadow play in Malaysia is obscure at best. Nevertheless, Sweeney, in his work on the *Ramayana*, notes that in the 19th and early 20th centuries, many Malay puppeteers were sent to Java to learn the art of Javanese shadow theater.<sup>4</sup> This information comes from interviews and research by early British government servants and colonial academic researchers (such as haji Mubin Sheppard and Amin Sweeney).

Some of the early documentation about the *wayang Jawa* informs us of the following facts:

- The historical work, “The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires” edited by Armando Cortesao in 1944 (*Hakluyt Society*, London, 1944, Vol. I, pp. 177 and 268), tells us that the technique of shadow play was known, practiced and enjoyed in 15<sup>th</sup> century Malacca (Kelantan’s suzerain at that time) (...“These mummers show a thousand graces by day and night. At night they make shadows of various shapes.... [Malaccans] are fond of mimes after the fashion of Java”...)
- An article published in 1972 in the *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1972) states that the shadow play ‘appeared’ in Kelantan, coming from Pattani, during the late 1700s (the reign of Long Yunus, 1763-98), and no Javanese puppets or stories were known then in the northwest of the peninsula, a Malay *dalang* named Demukmin was sent to Java to study *wayang kulit*,... he eventually returned home,<sup>5</sup>
- The last patron of the *wayang Jawa* from Kelantan royalty, Tengku Khalid, in a 1960s interview, noted that the Sultan Mohamed (who lived from 1800-35) did not like the state of the *wayang Jawa* at that time, and so his younger brother Long Zainal Raja Banggol sent two *dalangs* to study in Java, these were Demukmin and Ibrahim. Demukmin returned home after seven years to further develop the *wayang Jawa* tradition on the Malay peninsula,<sup>6</sup>
- It is known that early documents about the *Wayang Jawa*, in manuscripts dating from the pre-1800s in European museums, show Javanese stories written out in language with traits of Kelantan dialect, which also indicates that a shadow play tradition somehow influenced by Java existed even before the *dalang* we know about who went to study in Java in the 1800s,<sup>7</sup>
- Testimony comes from the last patron of the *wayang Jawa* in Kedah, Tengku Kassim, the first Prime Minister’s brother, who was interviewed in 1968. Tengku Kassim stated that formerly the Kedah royal family ‘eagerly sought *wayang* manuscripts’ [from Java], and that the Kelantanese royalty had large collections of manuscripts of shadow play stories, some of which are held today by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.<sup>8</sup>
- Finally, the British scholar Amin Sweeney, in his work on the Malay shadow puppet play (*Ramayana*, p. 24), tells us that “it is clear that the *wayang Jawa* as we knew it [in the 20<sup>th</sup> century] is the product of a prolonged influx of Javanese influence lasting into the twentieth century”.

The puppeteers who were sent to Java returned to their homes in the northern states of Peninsular Malaya with story manuscripts in hand as well as knowledge of the theatrical conventions, and the orchestra and music in the Javanese style, that is, the style of the *wayang kulit purwa*. Back in their home settings and with the support of local aristocrats, these *dalangs* continued to develop the *wayang Jawa* shadow play, using a mixture of the Javanese elements they learned in Indonesia as well as the Malay features of shadow play as found in their native environments. This presentation will briefly look at some of elements of this shadow play.

### **Drama & Theatrical Conventions**

The stories told in the *wayang Jawa* are primarily those of the *Panji* cycle, and the Hindu epic the *Mahabharata* relating the adventures of the *Pandawa* clan. The *Mahabharata* and stories of the Pandawa family are also common in the Javanese shadow play. Some old Javanese language is used by the Malay puppeteers in the recitation and chanting of certain passages of text in a story. However, the predominant language used in the dialogue and monologue in the *wayang Jawa* is the regional dialects of the Malay language used in the states of Kelantan and Kedah. Some *wayang Jawa dalang* claim that there are well over 1000 flat leather puppets in a complete set, encompassing all the characters needed to tell the *Panji* and *Pandawa* stories. The puppets used, to this day, retain a form, style and design very similar to the Javanese leather puppets as seen in Plate 1.



**Plate 1: Wayang Jawa flat leather Puppets**

The stage for the *wayang Jawa*, however, follows the traditional Malay folk shadow play stage, which is a small roofed hut, raised on stilts with 3 solid walls. The un-walled side is covered with a white screen (*kelir*) stretched over a frame for viewing the shadows of puppets by the audience. A number of banana tree trunks (called *penggalang dunia* [wall of the world]) are laid on the floor at the base of the screen and parallel to it, and support the puppets on and off the screen.<sup>9</sup> This configuration of the screen, the banana stems at floor level and the musicians sitting behind the *dalang* are identical in both the Malay folk form and in the *wayang Jawa*, but slightly different from the Javanese performance venue for shadow play.

The manipulation of the puppets and the opening rituals<sup>10</sup> are also very similar in both types of Malay shadow play (the folk form and the *Wayang Jawa*). However, the pace of the puppet movements and the story progression in the *wayang Jawa* is slow, possibly taking this aspect of style from the Javanese form.

### **The Orchestra and Music**

Turning to orchestra and music, we find that elements from diverse sources come together to produce a hybrid instrumental ensemble. Just as many of the theatrical conventions of the *wayang Jawa* exhibit a mixture of Javanese and Malay elements, the music and orchestra, too, are a blend of traits from not only two, but I would suggest three different sources.

Firstly, those Malay puppeteers who went to Java to learn the *wayang kulit purwa* from the late-18<sup>th</sup> through the early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, would have seen the instruments of the Javanese *gamelan* and heard its music. However, whether they would have learned any of the music is unknown. Yet, the Javanese *gamelan* and the function of the instrumental parts in the music still appears to be relevant as a source of influence, especially in the use of specific kinds of knobbed gongs as noted below (see The Music).

Also, the *wayang Jawa* puppeteers, working in the milieu of the palace traditions in Malaya of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, would have seen and heard the instruments and music of the *gamelan* as played by the Malays in the courts of Pahang and Terengganu during the time period in question. The early Malay *gamelan*, its music and the dance was known as the *joget gamelan*, and was cultivated in the courts of Pahang and Terengganu. This *gamelan* and its music, then, might also be a very likely source of influence on the instrumental ensemble and the music that developed for the *wayang Jawa*.

The final source of musical traits seen in the palace-oriented *wayang Jawa* is the Malay folk form of *wayang kulit* performed in the villages. Growing up in the rural areas of the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia, the *wayang Jawa* puppeteers would have seen the folk form of shadow play as it was performed throughout the states of Terengganu, Kelantan, Kedah and into southern Thailand. This folk form today is known as the *wayang kulit Kelantan* (formerly called *wayang Siam* in Kelantan; but, also called *wayang Kelantan* in present day Thailand), and it too forms a basis for the development of the hybrid music ensemble and music for the *wayang Jawa*.

### The Musical Instruments

A brief look at the instruments of the *wayang Jawa* orchestra, as seen and heard in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, will illustrate these influences.

As it was seen and documented in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the *wayang Jawa* orchestra consisted of:

- two large bronze, hanging knobbed gongs called *tetawak*,
- one or two *mong* pot-shaped gongs of medium size (high pitch and low pitch),
- one gong-chime of six small gongs in a single row set horizontally in a wooden rack called *canang* (6 pitches),
- a pair of hand cymbals called *kesi*,
- two *gendang* drums played by two players, and
- one 2-stringed *rebab*.

Considering first the large hanging gongs, the Javanese *gamelan gong agung* and *suwukan*, two of the primary time-marking gongs in *gamelan* music (diameter of 100 cm or more and 60-80 cm, respectively), are very large in size compared to the gongs used in the ensembles of the *wayang Jawa* or the Malay *gamelan*. The two hanging gongs of the *wayang Jawa* ensemble and the Malay *gamelan* are nearly identical in shape and size, and although they are overall smaller than their Javanese counterparts they are very similar in musical function to those of the Javanese ensemble. Interestingly, the name used in the *wayang Jawa* for these hanging gongs is '*tawak*' or '*tetawak*' which is taken from the Malay folk shadow play tradition, the *wayang kulit Kelantan*. This folk form uses the typical *tetawak* hanging gongs of Malaysia (about 40-60 cm in diameter) with a very deep rim and an unpolished, black exterior.

The *mong* is a medium-sized pot-shaped gong, about 18–20 cm in diameter with a rim about 6–8 cm in depth. It is placed horizontally in a wooden rack and hit on the boss with a padded beater. In *wayang Jawa* music, the *mong* serves a time-marking function, beaten consistently on every 4, or sometimes 8, beats in the colotomic unit, depending upon the piece played. The instrument that serves this same function in the Malay and the Javanese *gamelans* is the *kenong* (marking the end of 4- or 8-beat time units). However, unlike the *mong*, the *kenong* is very large (25 cm high x 35 cm in diameter). The small, pot-shaped *ketuk* (not found in the Malay *gamelan*) that marks the end of 2-beat units in Javanese *gamelan* music seems an unlikely source of influence, although its size and shape are closer to the *mong*.

The *canang* is a gong-chime made up of 6 small, pot-shaped gongs (diameter about 15–20 cm, with a shallow rim 3–5 cm wide). Two musicians in the *wayang Jawa* ensemble play the *canang* in an interlocking style to produce a resultant melody. It is possible that this gong-chime might be a variation of the *bonang* of the Javanese and Malay *gamelans*. However, the *bonang* usually comprises two rows of pot-shaped gongs played by a single player. While the *bonang* generally plays an embellished version of a main melody in a *gamelan* piece, in contrast the *canang* plays a short melodic ostinato that tends to sound like an imitation of a *bonang* part in *gamelan* music (a sample is shown in Figure 1 below). A pair of small hand cymbals called *kesi* (about 10 cm in diameter), identical to those found in the Malay folk shadow play ensemble, completes the idiophone section of the *wayang Jawa* ensemble.

As seen in the foregoing description, many of the hanging and pot-shaped gongs and the small hand cymbals have a time-marking function in the music, performing the colotomic unit in the music and ultimately denoting specific musical forms. For example, in the Javanese *wayang kulit* repertory, the time-marking instruments (*gong agung*, *siyem*, *kenong*, *ketuk* and so on) produce the particular musical forms known as *Sampak*, *Srepegan* and *Ayak-Ayak* that are used in the *wayang kulit purwa*. Likewise in *wayang Jawa* pieces, the *tetawak* hanging gongs, the *mong* and *kesi* are the time-marking instruments, playing

repeated, concatenated gong units that are divided and sub-divided binarily as in Javanese *gamelan* music. These gong units, or colotomic units, provide the time and structural framework in the music for drum rhythmic patterns and for melody (whether sung or played on the *rebab*).

The double-headed barrel-shaped drums called *gendang* are ubiquitous in Malaysia. They are usually played in pairs by two different drummers in an interlocking style, and appear in large and small sizes (called *gendang ibu* ['mother drum'/large size, about 55cm long] and *gendang anak* ['child drum'/small size, about 52cm long]). A short-bodied version of this drum (about 35-40 cm in length) with the characteristic Y-shaped tuning laces, is found in the Malay *gamelan*, while the full-sized *gendang* is found in the *wayang kulit Kelantan*, the *wayang Jawa*, and many other ensembles in Malaysia.

The *rebab* of the *wayang Jawa* orchestra presents an interesting example of the fusion of the Javanese and Malay styles in a musical instrument. The Malay *gamelan* of Terengganu and Pahang is not known to include a *rebab*. However, in the *wayang Jawa* ensemble and the Javanese *gamelan* the *rebab* is essential, and in *wayang Jawa* it has some modifications that appear to follow the Javanese model.

By comparison, the typical Malay *rebab* found in Malaysia is very long from its foot to the upper tip, measuring about 3.5 to 4 feet high (117 to 127 cm). As seen in Plate 2, the upper end towers high above the head of the player. The body of this instrument is about 21 cm wide and 28 cm high. The neck is very thick with 3 strings running the length of it and attached to 3 short tuning pegs. The overall construction as well as the exterior decorations and the use of 3 strings with short tuning pegs very distinctly mark this instrument as the *rebab* found in Peninsular Malaysia. The Javanese *rebab* is much smaller in all dimensions (about 108 cm high, the body about 19 cm wide x 20 cm high), with two strings running the length of a thin neck and attached to very long tuning pegs.

Comparing these *rebabs* from Peninsular Malaysia and Indonesia to the *wayang Jawa rebab*, we find a Malay *rebab* that has been cut down in overall height so that the upper end of the decorative head is just in line with the player's head, and only two strings are used as in the Javanese model (see Plate 2).



Plate 2: Traditional Malay *Rebab* (left) and Wayang Jawa *Rebab* (right)

### The Music

The *wayang Jawa* musical pieces known in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century reflect stylistic characteristics that are found in all of the musical forms discussed here, that is, the Javanese *gamelan* pieces for *wayang kulit purwa*, the Malay *gamelan* pieces for *joget gamelan* dances and the music of the *wayang kulit Kelantan* folk form.

One of the most important elements concerning all of these musical traditions is the use of a colotomic (or time-marking) unit that is played by the idiophones in the respective ensembles, including

the large hanging gongs and several types of pot-shaped gongs placed horizontally in a wooden rack. In the Javanese ensemble these instruments include the hanging *gong agung*, *suwukan* and *kempul* as well as the pot-shaped *kenong*, *ketuk*, *kempyang* and the hand cymbals. In the Malay folk shadow play ensemble the deep-rimmed *tetawak* is the largest of the hanging gongs, while the two pot-shaped gongs called *canang* and the *kesi* hand cymbals complete the group of time-marking instruments. As described above, the *wayang Jawa* ensemble uses the hanging gongs similar to those of the Malay *gamelan*, as well as the pot-shaped gong called *mong* and the small *kesi* hand cymbals. Furthermore, the colotomic unit in all of these musics is predicated on a cyclical, repeated time unit marked at the end by the lowest-pitched gong of the ensemble and marked internally by specific higher-pitched gongs that subdivide the time cycle in a consistently binary way to produce specific musical forms for given pieces. The repeated cyclical time unit in a given piece is concatenated and serves as the framework for the drum rhythmic patterns and the melodic parts. The melodic parts may be played on other idiophonic instruments (as in the Javanese and Malay *gamelan* styles) or by the *rebab* bowed lute, the human voice of the puppeteer or, in the Malay folk shadow play, by a quadruple-reed aerophone known as the *serunai*. Other common elements found among all of the musical traditions noted above include the interlocking performance style played on the *gendang* drums, and the heterophonic performance style between the voice and the *rebab* bowed lute, or the voice and the *serunai* shawm as in the folk form.

Specifically in the *wayang Jawa*, the vocal parts sung by the *dalang* or the melodies played on the *rebab* are accompanied by drum rhythmic patterns and ostinato-like melodies played on the 6-gong *canang*, all of which are underpinned by a given colotomic (or gong) unit. As noted above, this colotomic unit is played by *tetawak* hanging gongs, the *mong* pot-shaped gong and the *kesi* cymbals. Two drummers play interlocking rhythmic patterns on the two *gendang* drums, and two *canang* players perform an interlocking rhythmic/melodic pattern to produce a repeated resultant melody. When the puppeteer sings, a heterophonic accompaniment is usually provided by the 2-stringed *rebab*.

A small repertoire of *wayang Jawa* musical pieces was known among the performers in the 1960s and 70s. The *Dalang* Pak Nik Man of *wayang Jawa* fame, active in the 1960s through the 1980s, noted that specific musical pieces were required to accompany certain scenes, character-types or actions. One frequently used piece entitled *Jubang Embun Satu* offers an example of the musical style typically found in the *wayang Jawa* as performed in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. An excerpt is shown in Figure 1.

Lagu *Jubang Embun Satu*  
(instrumental piece, Intro. & one gong unit) Transcribed by  
Patricia Mosakky

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows the 'Canang resultant melody' on a treble clef staff, followed by 'Gendang anak/ibu' and 'Kesi (cymbals)' on a common time staff, 'Mong (single gong tone)' on a bass clef staff, and 'Tetawak (anak/high tone; ibu/low tone)' on a bass clef staff. A tempo marking of  $\text{♩} = 120$  is indicated. The second system continues the notation for all five instruments. The third system shows the final measures of the excerpt, with the Canang staff ending with a double bar line.

Figure 1. Lagu Jubang Embun Satu

In this instrumental piece, which accompanies the walking movement by refined female characters, the *rebab* is not present, but rather the *canang* is used to play an 8-beat repetitive melody (like an ostinato). The time marking instruments (*tetawak*, *mong* and *kesi*) delineate the musical form, which is a gong unit (colotomic unit) of 32 main beats. The *gendang* drums provide the percussive interlocking rhythmic patterns. These main component parts of the music, that is, the melody, the percussive rhythmic patterns and the musical form for the piece *Jubang* may be seen in Figure 1 below. The *kesi* is played on nearly every beat at the 8<sup>th</sup> note level, the *mong* marks every 4<sup>th</sup> downbeat with a single gong tone, the high pitched *tetawak* is struck on beat 16 and the low-pitched *tetawak* sounds at the end of the gong unit on beat 32. Within the time structure of this gong unit, the melodies of the *canang* and the drum rhythmic patterns are spun out in rhythm and harmony with the movements of the puppets and the narration and song of the *dalang*.

### State of the Art Form Today

It was noted near the outset of this paper that the *Wayang Jawa* is essentially extinct today. This form of shadow play, with its hybrid features, has not survived into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The problems faced in traditional Malaysian theater, music and other traditional art forms are many and encompass social, economic, religious, administrative, and educational issues.<sup>11</sup>

The traditional arts in general do not provide a viable livelihood for performers and probably never have done so. Nearly all practicing shadow play puppeteers, musicians, dancers and actors of the traditional performing arts have always relied on other work to support themselves and their families. For example, only a handful of puppeteers of the popular folk shadow play survived into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These were the *Dalang* Hamzah bin Awang Amat (from Kg. Gerong, Kelantan), *Dalang* Dollah Baju Merah (from Kubang Kerian, Kelantan) and the *Dalang* Pak Noh (from Kg. Asun, Jitra, Kedah). Of these, only *Dalang* Hamzah made his living exclusively from *wayang kulit* by performing (at home and abroad), making and selling puppets and musical instruments, and teaching at a Malaysian university and at the national arts academy in Kuala Lumpur. It is interesting to note that he also performed the oldest and most conservative style of folk shadow play. Likewise, the musicians and puppeteers of *wayang Jawa* did supplemental work to support their families, whether it was fishing, farming, driving a pedicab, working as an artisan of some kind, or serving as a shaman (*bomoh*) for healing ceremonies (as was the *Dalang* Pak Nik Man, the shaman for the royal family of Kelantan). Yet, at the same time the *wayang Jawa* puppeteers and musicians also received support from the royal families in the states of Kelantan and Kedah.

In Malaysia orthodox religious practices among the Malays generally sees many aspects of the shadow play in a negative light, especially in the use of Hindu-derived stories such as the *Mahabharata* [in the *wayang Jawa*] and the *Ramayana* [in the folk *wayang kulit Kelantan*]. Also, the presence of pre-Islamic animistic, Buddhist and Hindu prayers and incantations, such as those found in the opening and closing of the stage rituals, is not looked upon favorably. Yet, performances of the existing folk forms are allowed and continue to this day.

To a certain degree censorship exists, which is expressed in the requirement to obtain a permit or license to do a performance of traditional theater (including contemporary theatrical arts as well). In the rural areas at least, standards are not set for the local police authorities to issue such permits. Usually one or two weeks are needed to get the permit, and often a permit is issued at the whim and discretion of the local authorities.

More importantly, in the past there has not been a systematic educational channel for teaching young, talented people the traditional performing arts, including music, dance and theater. The folk performing arts, and the palace *wayang Jawa* in earlier times, were (and still are) taught by rote method in their natural environments. Only since about the mid-1990s are there performing arts programs at universities and at a national arts academy that include traditional forms of theater, music and dance. Related to educational issues is the traditional transmission of knowledge about a given form, which is based on a system of apprenticeship in an oral tradition. In the villages, teaching itself is done by rote method, and skills are handed down to small numbers of students in a kind of vertical descent line, rather than with wide distribution. Sometimes an experienced performer's knowledge dies out when he dies, which appears to be the case with the *wayang Jawa*.

Scholars on Malaysian traditional theater note that in the villages the audience is often discouraged away from performances because the performers cannot get a permit to perform in a timely manner, or other issues arise. In addition, there is intense competition from cinema, television, videotape and DVD industries today. Overall, diminishing interest in traditional theater leads to smaller audiences and depleted income for the performers. A non-sustainable situation invites less performances, and in the case of the *wayang Jawa* no performances and no performers. The last two puppeteers of *wayang Jawa* who performed in the 1960s up to the early 1990s were the well-known *Dalang* Pak Nik Man (also the royal shaman in Kelantan), and another lesser known puppeteer from a village near the town of Kota Bharu in Kelantan. They are both deceased today.

All of these problems touch the *wayang Jawa*, to a lesser or greater degree, but it would appear that the critical reasons for the demise of this style of shadow play are social, economic and educational, especially the education of young performers, which never seemed to have happened in this shadow play tradition, at least from the early- to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century onward. For nearly 150 years the royal families of Kedah and Kelantan created and supported a style of shadow play that was unique and performed exclusively for them. It is possible that this art form and its connection to Javanese culture lent a heightened sense of esteem to an aristocracy in a country ruled by a foreign colonial power until 1957. The Malay aristocrats dictated the development of a particular style for their exclusive use, and then withdrew their support for a theatrical tradition with unique features that did not speak of a traditional Malay folk style or a traditional Javanese style, but something in between, a hybrid form that met its demise very quickly, within a period of perhaps 50 years.

It is interesting to note that although the *wayang Jawa* style was quickly diminishing in performance and existence from approximately the days of World War II to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, at the same time the folk forms of shadow play in the states of Kelantan and Kedah maintained a high degree of interest, performance and popularity through the post World War II years until at least the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The folk forms are still performed, and the *wayang kulit Kelantan* style is taught today at the national academy of arts in Kuala Lumpur, at one time at the Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang, and still in the villages of its homeland, the state of Kelantan. Now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the *wayang Jawa* performers are deceased and the form is extinct, mainly, it appears, for social, economic and educational reasons as noted above. Without the support of the socio-cultural group, the Malay aristocracy, who gave patronage and sanction to the development of this style of shadow play, it was not able to survive.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Sweeney, Amin. *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow Play*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Interview in 1977 with the *wayang Jawa dalang* (puppeteer) and *bomoh diraja* (the official traditional shaman of the royal household) Nik Abdul Rahman bin Haji Nik Din (better known as Pak Nik Man).

<sup>3</sup> Sweeney, *The Ramayana*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Sweeney., p. 24-25.

<sup>5</sup> Haji Mubin Sheppard, Pa' Dogol and Wa' Long, *JMBRAS*, xxxviii, I (1965) pp. 1-5 (as reported in Sweeney, *Ramayana* (1972), p. 20).

<sup>6</sup> Sweeney, *Ramayana*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Sweeney, *Ramayana*, p. 22. Noted here are *Shair Anggreni* (pre-1835); manuscript *Kuda Sumirang Seri Panji Pandai Rupa*, published in Kelantan 1931 with a preface stating the manuscript is at least 150 years old; and *Description of a Kelantan Wayang Manuscript in the National Museum, Copenhagen*, by P. Voorhoeve, dated late-18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>8</sup> Sweeney, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Shahrum, *Federation Museums Journal*, 1970, p. 54

<sup>10</sup> An important feature before the performance in the shadow play in Malaysia is the customary practice of the ritual opening of prayers and food offerings presented to the spirit world to clear the air of any bad elements and to ensure a good performance. Incantations and prayers along with a tray of prepared foods is offered to the other-worldly beings, while the puppets and musical instruments are bathed in the smoke of burning incense. This opening ritual appears to be very similar in both the *wayang Jawa* and the Malay folk forms, and in fact may even be similar to such rituals in the Javanese shadow play.

<sup>11</sup> Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof, *Panggung Semar, Aspects of Traditional Malay Theatre*. Chapter 14. Kuala Lumpur, Tempo Publishing (M) Sdn. Bhd, 1992.

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**FROM THE *KULINTANGAN* TO THE ELECTRONIC KEYBOARD: TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY MUSICAL PRACTICES AMONG THE SAMA IN SABAH AND THE SULU ARCHIPELAGO**

Throughout the southern Philippines, the indigenous Muslim-Filipino ethno-linguistic groups conserve and innovate within their own traditions. However, intermingling with neighboring insular Southeast Asian countries and the encroachment of western culture are factors that contribute to processes of acculturation. This paper addresses how internal innovation occurs when a people uses new technological advances in order to create new or recreate traditional cultural practices. External acculturation occurs when outside influences provide materials for the culture to innovate. Migrating between Malaysia Timor and the Sulu Archipelago, Philippines, the Sama, an Islamized maritime ethno-linguistic group, are frequently exposed to technological advances that better their livelihood conditions in the sea. Whether it is technology to improve fishing techniques or electricity for their stilts houses in shallow sea waters, the Sama have included these exotic introductions within their coastal environment.

Non-Sama musical instruments that are used to recreate traditional Sama instrumental and vocal music are indicative of the acculturation of modern technology. Because of the growing decline of traditional instrument makers and the development of alternatives for the commodification of music, we can identify three forms of contemporary Sama music:

- 1) the synthesized re-creation of traditional *duldang* folk songs and *kulintangan* music;
- 2) the contemporary *pakiring* pop music genre, and
- 3) western musical arrangements with iconic Sama musical elements.

As a region historically known for its political instability, the Philippine-Sama musical instrument manufacturers, musicians, and singers work abroad. Because musicians are required for celebratory occasions, Sama musicians remaining in the southern Philippines have found affordable means to supply their community's demands for performances of traditional and contemporary music. Hiring musicians using the electronic keyboard is affordable for low-income families because it requires the compensation of three performers as opposed to compensating the entire traditional five-musician gong ensemble. Hence the electronic keyboard has largely replaced music of the traditional *kulintangan* gong chime and the *gabbang* bamboo xylophone.

In Malaysia Timor, the original Philippine Sama musicians and singers become local celebrities. Within these burgeoning musical industries, the Sama are conserving traditional and creating contemporary forms of music that can be considered bi-national. Because the Malaysian government funds tourism foregrounding ethnic diversity, Sama musicians incorporate iconic references to traditional Sama music through orchestral music that are performed in tourist DVDs. Overall, the innovation occurring in the *kulintangan*, *duldang* and *pakiring* genres creates a complex level of hybridity. In this paper, I argue that the Sama musical identity can be exhibited through new contemporary genres created for economic reasons. As a Filipino-American ethnomusicologist, I analyze performances of Sama musicians from an outsider's perspective based on previous fieldwork and DVD audio-visual examples. I conclude that these musicians contribute to a Sama identity through their contemporary popular music reflecting their seafaring lifestyle.

### **Historical-Cultural Background**

In the southern Philippines The Sama reside in Tawi-tawi, Southern Palawan, Basilan, Davao, Zamboanga and Sulu. Throughout Insular Southeast Asia, communities are found in areas such as Kota-Kinabalu, Semporna, Sandakan, Kalimantan, Samarinda and Celebes. According to most Philippine ethnographic sources, the Sama are renowned seafarers who are respected for their

navigational skills.<sup>1</sup> Their location in these coastal areas enables them to migrate throughout the archipelago. Hence, most Sama feel that although political borders currently divide Malaysia and the Philippines, historically the region was open to the free circulation of peoples. From the late 1970s and into the present, the Sama from the Sulu archipelago have legally and illegally migrated to Semporna, Malaysia to seek occupations with higher wages. Because the Malaysian government offers strong financial support to the Sama migrants, many of them migrate for these benefits. Thus, Sama cultural arts have extended as far as Malaysia with the making of instruments and the maintenance of various cultural practices originally from the Sulu Archipelago.

### Trends of Music

Recently, Sama musicians have re-created older musical traditions such as the Tagunggu *kulintangan* gong-chime tradition and the *duldang* vocal songs through musical instruments like the Technics KN5000 electronic keyboard. According to Philippine ethnomusicologist, Jose Maceda, this instrument can duplicate the sound of conventional musical instruments as well as create novelty sounds. Therefore, it is a musical instrument that has widespread use in popular, jazz, and rock music. Since 1976, the electronic keyboard has been modified to produce multiple sounds (Maceda 1991, p. 169-170).

When the Philippine economy drastically declined during the 1970s, the material for making traditional musical instruments in the Sulu archipelago plummeted. As a result, musicians utilized the electronic keyboard because of its affordability during this early period of Philippine-Sama migration to other neighboring Insular Southeast Asian countries. Popularized by Hainun, a Sama musician who migrated to Malaysia Timor, the *pakiring* is a contemporary form of popular music that incorporates *igal* dancing and vocal music favored by the younger generations. The *Most Requested Pangalayan Songs*, a locally made music video DVD, features the contemporized version of *Loloh*, one of the most popularized *pakiring* dance songs.

In the synthesized version of *Loloh*, the musicians have incorporated a I-IV-V chord progression and a musical introduction to this song. In lieu of this progression, a pre-recorded lively common time drum pattern is laid underneath the melody. As for instrumental music, the *tagunggu* piece *Tungkil*, originally played on the *kulintangan* to accompany *igal* dances has now been synthesized on the Technics KN 5000. With the use of pre-recorded sounds, the drum set option is a substitute for the rapid 8 beat cycle originally played on the *tambul* and the bass sound is used to mimic the *agung* pair as the drone. The electronic keyboard becomes a single substitute for the various traditional instruments. This accessible means is an attractive solution, especially in areas that are below poverty level.

Music has a ritual function for most Sama celebratory occasions. In the past, five musicians were needed for a *tagunggu* ensemble because it was the main musical accompaniment for weddings and festive occasions. According to Hamka Malabog, my Sama Dilaut research assistant from the University of the Philippines, Diliman, because of the declining economy, most families planning to have a wedding or any celebratory event cannot afford the full *tagunggu* ensemble (Ellorin, 2008, p. 66). As a result, most musicians use the electronic keyboard to reduce the number of musicians from five to three (two singers, a male and female, and a keyboardist). This economy makes it more attractive for aspiring musicians to learn the electronic keyboard and popular *pakiring* songs.

With musicians using the electronic keyboard, more Sama youth are familiar with the contemporary synthesized versions of traditional *duldang* vocal music and *tagunggu* gong music on the electronic keyboard rather than the original versions played on *gabbang* or *kulintangan*. For example, in June 2008, while conducting fieldwork research in Tawitawi, I attended a *pagkawin* or wedding and witnessed a band trio combination of a male and a female singer with an electronic keyboardist playing the melodies and underlying chord progressions as an accompaniment to contemporary and traditional compositions.

Traditionally, during Sama weddings, members of the family and guests dance *igal* to entertain the newlywed couple. Based on my observation, half of the younger Sama female dancers between the ages of 13 to 25 preferred to dance to the synthesized *duldang* and *pakiring* compositions.

When the elder women danced, they felt uncomfortable dancing to *pakiring*. Instead, the synthesized rendition of *Tungkil* was more acceptable for them. Therefore a generational dichotomy in music exists between the younger generations of Sama having a preference for vocal music accompanied by electronic instruments; while the older generation prefers *kulintangan* music.

### Icons of Traditional Sama Music Through Tourism In Semporna, Malaysia Timor

In Malaysia Timor, Sama musicians in Semporna have released professionally made commercial DVDs with videos of iconic Sama cultural images for tourism purposes. Every year in April, the Sama hold their annual Regatta Lepa festival in which colorful *sambulayang* flags decorate the houseboats (*lepa*) with *tagunggu* musicians accompanying *igal* dancers dancing on boats. Participants in this festival compete to win prizes for the most decorative *lepa* (Sabah Tourism Board, 2005, p. 28).

Tourism DVD music videos feature clips of this festival along with scenic views of Semporna in the background showcasing Sama cultural arts under the Malaysian flag. Several ethnic minority settlements in Malaysia have experienced a similar form of exoticism through tourism. In Margaret Sarkissian's book *D'Albuquerque's Children: Performing Tradition in Malaysia's Portuguese Settlement*, she writes about the process of the Portuguese community evolving within their traditions for the sake of tourism. "The community has carved out an identity by borrowing someone else's novelty and gradually transforming it into a "tradition," the individual elements of which have been drawn from different times and places according to the needs of the moment." Similarly, the quality of the music in the Sama DVDs is professionally recorded with western musical accompaniments similar to Indonesian *kroncong* and *dangdut* music using violins, flutes, South Asian *tabla* and Middle Eastern *dombak*. Incorporating images of the Regatta Lepa festival shows how the Sama musicians and the community are working with the Malaysian Department of Tourism to boost the economy of Semporna. In the music video entitled, Regatta Lepa, a Sama choir described the intricacy of the decorated *lepa* boats and the colorful *sambulayang* flags. Towards the end of the video the choir sings about how proud they are that the festival is part of their countries heritage.<sup>2</sup>

While promoting tourism in Malaysia, Sama artists originally from the Philippines become celebrities performing this orchestral tourist music. Originally from the municipality of South Ubian, Tawitawi, Philippines, Den Bisa gained popularity in Malaysia as both a Sama and Filipino recording artist. Throughout his career, Bisa has recorded songs in three languages: Sama, Bahasa Melayu and Filipino (Ellorin, 2008, p. 61). In his video, *Igal Bangsa Addat Ta*, dancers perform a choreographed *pakiring* routine dressed in Sama attire consisting of the *badju* or male jeweled tight fitting jacket, the *alal bimbang* a female blouse with jeweled embroidery designs on the blouses' bust section, and *janggay* or long brass fingernails. In the song, Bisa makes references to the attire that the females are wearing as well as the movements of the male dancers when dancing *pakiring* for the Malaysian nation.<sup>3</sup>

By juxtaposing these cultural icons in his music, Bisa's video exhibits a form of indexical ethos in which he is referencing Sama cultural aspects in a Malaysian setting. Examining this phenomenon through these professional DVDs is essential to understanding contemporary Sama music that shares similar trends found in other insular Southeast Asian popular music.

### Conclusion

Sama musicians innovating within their musical traditions for economic reasons are reflexive of how the Philippines and Malaysia view their economic status. For the Sama musicians in the Sulu archipelago, the lowest in the caste system of southern Philippine society, synthesizing traditional music is an affordable alternative to duplicating the *tagunggu* gong ensemble tradition and the Sama *duldang* vocal genres. Sama musicians have been inspired to create their own synthesized pop music as *pakiring*, while respecting the older generation with the synthesized version of *Tungkil*. Because of frequent migration to Semporna, Philippine Sama musicians who become popular through these musical innovations in Malaysia gain international notoriety.

In Malaysia Timor the Sama continue to find other forms of occupation to improve their economic situation. Tourism has attracted many visitors to Semporna while encouraging the local musicians and artists to continue preserving their culture, including the Regatta Lepa festival. Producing professional DVD's is another commodity because they provide a safe and exciting image of Semporna to attract tourists. Choreographing large dance routines and using cultural icons provide the Malaysian Sama a source of income that highlights positive aspects of their culture. Highlighting Malaysian Sama culture through tourism DVDs that are imported to the southern Philippines has instilled a sense of pride and dignity to the Sama who still live as an impoverished minority in the Sulu Archipelago.

In conclusion, the electronic keyboard is the most feasible alternative for Sama musicians in the Sulu archipelago to create new and conserve old forms of music. Philippine Sama use the electronic keyboard to create music for multi-generational occasions in their impoverished communities. Professional DVD's made in Malaysia Timor are examples of how the Sama's elevated lifestyle realized through tourism are influential in the growth of their musical traditions including contemporized western music. Referencing Sama musical icons through this commercialized music genre could be interpreted as the Malaysian Sama asserting their cultural identity in a pluralistic society. As a bi-national music genre, Sama music is a cultural art form producing new forms of cultural capital within the waterways of the Sulu and Celebes Seas.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> [www.bangsamoro.com](http://www.bangsamoro.com). Accessed May 1, 2009. p. 1

<sup>2</sup> See youtube clip: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Da7C21PkGck>

<sup>3</sup> See youtube clip: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvEtuL\\_BS4w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvEtuL_BS4w)

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**THE RISE AND FALL OF 'RED' ACCORDIONS: INSCRIBING CHINA INTO  
SINGAPORE'S 'HOMELAND'**

For article see published Proceedings

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## **THE THAI *MENORA* IN PENANG: RECREATING LOCAL IDENTITIES THROUGH HYBRIDITY**

### **The Malaysian Siamese and the *Menora***

The term 'Siamese' refers to the Malaysians whose ancestors migrated from Thailand in the nineteenth century. There are about 60,000 Malaysian Siamese who live in the northern states of Kedah, Perlis, Penang, and Kelantan today. The term 'Siamese' is used by the community and differentiates them from the Thai citizens of Thailand.

The Siamese comprises less than one percent of Penang's multiethnic population where Chinese, Malays, and Indians form the dominant communities. In the nineteenth century, the Siamese came to Penang from Kedah and Perlis, which used to be tributary states of Siam. The Siamese were mainly farmers who settled in the vicinity of Wat Chaiyamangalaram in Pulau Tikus. Land for the temple was given by Queen Victoria in 1845 to promote trading relations with Siam. Today, this Siamese community continues to maintain its traditions, language, as well as family and cultural ties in Thailand. Nevertheless, as Malaysian citizens, the community has adapted to the other ethnic communities, socio-cultural changes, and to the narratives of the state. Siamese temples, cooking styles, performing traditions, and street names are evidence of the small community's influence in Penang.

The *Menora* or *Nora* is a form of folk dance theatre which is still performed by the Siamese communities in Penang, Kedah, and Kelantan. Differences in performance styles signify how the Siamese have adapted differently in these three states. In Penang, the *Menora* is not only performed during Siamese festivals but at religious celebrations and temple festivities as well. Special ritual performances are held for honouring teachers and for fulfilling vows, or when an apprentice graduates as a *Menora* performer.

The Rombongan *Menora* Siam Malaysia is the only troupe in Penang and has always been a family affair. It was founded by *Menora* Khai and Pak Chan Dee, who subsequently passed down the troupe to their sons, Perm and Wan Dee respectively. The troupe is now managed by Perm's daughter Suni and her husband Chem who are trained *Menora* performers themselves.

### **Origins of *Menora***

There are different local myths regarding the origins of the *Menora* in Southern Thailand, Kedah and Kelantan. In Penang, performers relate the origins of the *Menora* to Mesi Mala who is believed to be the founder and first performer of *Menora*. Mesi Mala was a Thai princess who was sent away by her father as she was always singing and dancing by herself. She travelled on a raft with the king's minister Phran Bun and her nursemaids to a faraway island. There Mesi Mala and her followers produced their own dance and music. They became famous and performed in many places. When invited to perform by Mesi Mala's father, they returned home. Her spirit prevails during performances and invocations are addressed to her and other deities before the show begins (Interview Ah Perm, 23 January, 1986).

### **Continuities with the past**

Penang *Menora* practitioners believe that the main stories, characters, costumes, dances, music, musical instruments, and structure of the performance have been passed down from Mesi Mala's time and are still maintained today. Most of the stories are derived from Thai folk literature while some episodes may be borrowed from the *Ramayana*.

The main character in the performance, also known as *Menora* or *Nora*, refers to the heroine in the *Sudhana-Manohra* story found in the *Jataka* tales of the Buddhist Canons. In the tales, *Manohra* is a bird maiden (*kinnari*) who is captured by *Bun* (the hunter) and given to Prince Sut'on as a gift (Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof 1982).

The *Menora* dancer's costume is said to denote this mythical bird and is elaborate complete with the *sert* (crown), *sap sua* (beaded shawl), *hang hong* (beaded tail of bird), and *lep* (finger nails bent backwards). The costume, accessories, and sword are believed to have been presented to Mesi Mala by her father. It is also said that the clowns Phran Bun and Phran Thep wore red wooden half-masks so that they would not be recognized by Mesi Mala's father when they first performed for the King. (See Plates 1 and 2.)



Plate 1: Costume of the *Menora* Resembling the Mythical Bird



Plate 2: Clowns Phran Bun and Phran Thep wearing half red masks

Mythology connected to the *Menora* indicates that Mesi Mala witnessed a dance in the heavens consisting of 12 basic dance movement positions. They include movements to pay respect to the teacher, as well as movements of the *kinnari* bird, goose walking, flower opening, rabbit dancing and others.

The main musical instruments were originally used by Mesi Mala to imitate the sounds of the forest. The drums *klong* and *thap* sound like fruits falling on the water; the pair of bamboo sticks *krek* sound like bamboo trees swaying in the wind; other instruments such as the *pi*, *cing*, and *mong* imitate the cries of the forest animals. As in other folk theatre in Asia, musical pieces accompany dancing and singing sequences. They also accompany actions such as walking by the various characters.

The traditional performance structure is still maintained in Penang. All performances begin with a prologue comprising the *Berk Rong* (Consecration of Performance Area) when offerings are made to the spirits. The shaman then places candles and *sirih* leaves on each instrument and in front of the *sert* to pay respects to the spirits before *Long Roong* (playing instruments) takes place. A musical prelude is performed to announce that the show is beginning. The shaman pays respects to Mesi Mala through song, and prays for a safe performance. This is followed by the apprentice dance. The *Menora* then dances the *Ram Naa Man* (Curtain dance). Then the story begins.

*The Ram Phrak Phai* (Final dance by *Menora* seated) marks the end of the story. The shaman thanks the deities for a good performance, and asks for blessings for the audience in a closing ceremony (*Boo char*). The temple committee presents gifts to the shaman. Holy water is distributed to the devotees to cleanse themselves.

As Wan Dee stresses, training to be a *Menora* continues to be difficult as in the past. The apprentice has to learn all roles and can only wear the crown after he graduates as a *Menora* performer at the age of twenty-one (Interview Wan Dee, 20, July, 2009).

### Adaptations to the Penang environment

In Penang, the *Menora* has been localized and adapted to attract the multiethnic community. Besides Thai festivals, it is performed for the birthday celebrations of local deities such as the *Datuk Gong*, a type of Malaysian earth god to whom Muslim characteristics are attributed. I had the opportunity to observe the *Menora* troupe's performances to celebrate Datuk Meriam's birthday in a small fishing village in Butterworth in July 2009. The fishermen pray to Datuk Meriam (in the form of a canon) for protection when they go out to sea. It is believed that the canon belonged to the Sultan of Kedah and was used to fight the British. The spirit in the canon brings protection and luck to fishermen. The *Menora* troupe is invited annually to perform as it is believed that the Datuk Meriam prefers the *Menora* to the Chinese opera as he is Muslim. As in other Chinese temple celebrations, the *menora* performances are performed for 2 or 3 days and nights. The function of the performances has indeed been localized.

The *Menora* has also adapted to other performance traditions in Penang. While the *Menora* was originally performed on a makeshift stage on the ground, Wan Dee and Perm used the raised stage as in the Chinese opera stage with backdrops and side wings. This allowed performers to rest behind and change as many of them came from Alor Star and Taiping to perform. Wan Dee's son painted the first backdrops and side wings (Interview Wan Dee, 20 July, 2009).

Additionally, Ah Perm and Wan Dee introduced Malay, Hokkien, and other languages into the performance so that the multiethnic audiences could follow the performance. At the beginning of the performance to celebrate Datuk Meriam's birthday, the shaman said his prayer for a safe performance in Hokkien and Malay. A summary of the story of the day was announced in Hokkien and Malay after the prologue. Ah Perm stressed that in predominantly Chinese areas of a town, the clown acts as translator as well. The clowns' role can be seen to be extremely important, they must be able to speak Hokkien or Cantonese, the dialects of the local Chinese and a sprinkling of English in addition to Malay and Thai. Whenever the king or queen spoke in Thai, the dialogue was translated into Hokkien and Malay. The clowns also involved the audience by asking them questions and having them respond to these questions. (Interview Ah Perm 23 Jan, 1986; Wan Dee, 20 July, 2009). The mixing of languages enables the audience to follow the story. They exemplify everyday interactions in the market and coffee shop where many languages are juxtaposed at once. They are also expressions of being Malaysians.

Finally, the *Menora* performers have also adapted to globalization. New instruments such as the keyboard have been introduced as the troupe has not been able to train performers who can play

the *pi*. The keyboard plays all the melodies today. Nevertheless, as it is not a traditional instrument, it is placed behind the side wings and not on stage together with the other traditional instruments.

### Conclusion

The *Menora* theatre in Penang has not only retained many of its traditional elements but has adapted to other local religious and theatrical practices and languages. It emblemizes the cultural identity of a community which has adapted to local Hokkien and Malay traditions, yet remaining Siamese.

Through the *Menora*, I have tried to show that the articulation of a Malaysian Siamese identity is not fixed and is constantly being reconstructed. It is exposure to the Other that shapes local identity. The Malaysian Siamese identity has been reworked but remains bounded by selected traditions. This identity is not associated with Thailand as a nation as Malaysia is home to the community. However, the notion of being Siamese is important. This Siamese identity is expressed through the maintenance of language, festivals, food, music, and performances which have been localized.

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*Menora* Wan Dee, 20 July, 2009



Tan Sooi Beng

## THEME TWO

### ***SILAT* (MARTIAL ARTS) OF SOUTHEAST ASIA**

Two panels comprising five papers addressed the theme of *Silat* martial arts of Southeast Asia (unfortunately, the 6<sup>th</sup> panelist, Edy Utama of W. Sumatra, was unable to attend). Margaret Kartomi (Monash University) began this half-day session on *silat* by looking at the nature, history and distribution of martial arts displays (*pencak*) and duels (*silat*) in Indonesia, while Bussakorn Binson (Chulalongkorn University) discussed the distribution of this martial art form in Southern Thailand. Gisa Jaehnichen (Universiti Putra Malaysia) addressed the current state of affairs of *silat* in two Malaysian locations: Stong, Kelantan and Kuala Penyu, Sabah. Similarly, two differing regions were covered in Paul Mason's (Macquarie University) discussion of the transmission of knowledge in the context of teaching methods and performance of *silat* in West Sumatra and West Java. The last paper on this theme was given by Uwe Paetzold (Robert Schumann University of Music) who took an even broader view of where *silat* has spread today, covering not only West Java but also *silat* in The Netherlands and other parts of Western Europe.

Finally, all panelists came together to further discuss issues and questions that arose earlier when individual papers were presented. In the spirit of a roundtable discussion led by Uwe Paetzold, the audience was invited to join the discussion on all aspects of *silat* including the influence this martial art form has had on dance in Indonesia in particular. To illustrate *silat* movements and dance movements derived from this martial arts form, the graduate student Indra Utama from the Cultural Centre of the University of Malaya, gave demonstrations during the breaks between the panel sessions. In a follow-up informal session the next day, videos on *silat*, produced in Germany, were shown by Uwe Paetzold.

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### **SILAT: OBSERVATIONS FROM STONG (KELANTAN) AND FROM KUALA PENYU (SABAH)**

In this paper, I want to present two cases of *silat* music. They can help to understand the great variety of *silat* performances carried out by different communities in Malaysia. The observations took place during several field trips between December 2007 and March 2009.

Over a time span of three generations, timber production brought Malay workers to Stong (Kelantan), a small settlement near the highest waterfalls of Southeast Asia. Later on, their families followed from various places. Experiences from the east coast and from Pahang merged with local practice. One example is the performance of *silat* as wedding entertainment. Some details about musical structuring and ensemble coordination will be analysed.

In Kuala Penyu (Sabah), the Brunei minority performs *silat* with an ensemble of *gulintangan*, 3 large gongs and one drum. Music practices as well as functional understanding are very different from the case in Stong although the performance purpose remains similar.

Both examples and questions related to them can contribute to the discussion about the philosophical background and actual cultural reality of *pencak silat* in the Malay Archipelago.

#### **First case: Kampung Stong**

The tradition of *silat* in the small village of Stong, where it is performed as a wedding performance, is not as strong as in some other places, where certain *silat* schools dominate. Strong *silat* schools usually have an indicative repertoire of special movements, music and an individual ideological mindset which are often added to the general interpretation of *silat* as an art of attack and self defence.

In Kampung Stong, a village that was created in 1966, all musicians migrated from the coastal area of Kelantan. They could gain their knowledge from different teachers through contact and observations of various *silat* schools which performed in that area. Nevertheless, they are able to re-define their role in the interior village, to fulfil their duties and to develop their own style. Although some of the young men and women who perform *silat* aim to reach a different level of knowledge on techniques to compete with East coast groups from Kelantan, Terengganu and Pahang, the musicians are not in a competitive mood. They strongly prefer “*Seni Silat Cantik*”, *silat* as “beau art”. To them, other qualities such as the creation of a pleasant whole performance and a satisfying perception of the performance by a well educated audience are more important than sportive effectiveness and competitive strength.

My paper will focus on some selected observations of the musicians regarding their musical communication and their apparent understanding of *gendang silat*. One of the most remarkable elements is the rhythmic application of various patterns and the relationship between melodic articulation and movements.

#### **Short history of Kampung Stong**

Kampung Stong is named after the famous Gunung Stong, where the even more famous Jelawang waterfall is situated. The waterfall is 305 meters high and is the highest waterfall in Southeast Asia. The story of Kampung Stong is not yet written, but Mohammad Daut bin Awangah, one of the first inhabitants and the former village head, together with five other families from Pasir Mas, could frame the main milestones. Especially in Pasir Mas near Kota Bharu, the growing population in the 1970s made life very uncomfortable as farmland was insufficient and already depleted. At that moment in the early 1970s, a former logging company headed by a Chinese businessman from Gua Musang, offered land to settlers, who wanted to farm the land around the lumbered areas. The settlers built houses and streets along the riverbanks thus connecting the area with the railway route from Kota Bharu to the South.

Prior to the 1970s, the next station Dabong, was a 7 hour walk through jungle trails. In the early 1970s, a gravel street was built. It was only in the late 1980s that bridges were constructed to connect the new D29-street to Gua Musang and Raub crossing the Gunung Stong State Park. Until 1974, the area was dominated by communist forces, which consisted of Malay and Chinese soldiers. They acquired absolute control over the new settlers by counting the numbers of workers, guests and family members daily. Since 1976 the national Government forces took over and re-organised the administration. Communists were caught, chased out of the country or killed.

In the second wave of settlement after 1970, Hassan bin Mat, a multitalented musician from Kampung Mengketil Machang near Pasir Mas, arrived. Besides *gendang silat*, he plays rebab as well as all kinds of drums used for main puteri, wayang kulit and makyong. Furthermore, he is a well known instrument maker. In 1984, the family of Yusoh arrived with his three sons Demaran, Ismail and Ramli, who all became musicians taught by Hassan and co-educated by musicians who crossed the area from Pahang to Kelantan and back. Ramli, the youngest son, is a well known serunai player and a serunai maker of the whole district. Many people consider him to have magic skills as he is able to catch fish with his pure hands. These four main musicians form the core unit of most of the traditional events in Kampung Stong. They are teaching their sons and other relatives. Other than in the urban areas, they use very little audiovisual equipment. Today, more than 20 practising musicians live in Kampung Stong. They are all farmers by profession.

### Rhythmic features

Before I started to conduct research on Malay rural life, I studied all the accessible literature, among them literature on *silat* and randai. I found information on *gendang silat* and one of the following rhythmic and metric examples (midi example 1) accompanied by the explanation that consists of two important points: 1) we find duple metric patterns (2/4 or 4/4) and 2) the gong is almost played off beat (Matusky & Tan, 2004: 238).

Experiencing the playing style and *silat* practice in Kampung Stong after some detailed lessons with Hassan bin Mat and the Yusoh brothers, I want to add: 3) In some areas, triple meter clearly exists, and 4) in this case, the gong is not played off beat. Furthermore, it seems also too simple to call the percussive patterns resulting from distinct rhythms of *gendang ibu*, *gendang anak* and gong just “interlocking”. Actually, I found them very complex in terms of following a certain shape of timbre in each metric unit – hence I imagine possibly various degrees of “being interlocking”. The exact sound differentiation of beats and their meaningful combination is an important dimension of the whole, which is not only a question of the beat order but also of the conscious application of sound colouring through beating techniques and dynamics.

The order of beats played with and without beater on different heads and the underlying gong beat create a tension building structure of sound colours:



**Figure 1: Tension building structure of sound colours in a triple meter unit. Note beams in the same direction mark the movement to the same side of the two drums, which face each other. This movement co-ordination contributes essentially to the musical communication in the course of the performance.**

The picture above shows the pattern from the view of two drummers facing each other, which is a learning position. Later on, drummers do not depend on the sitting position and can play as far as they can listen to each other. They then take up breathing and phrasing according to the audible

information given without visual control. In the scheme (figure 1), stems of notes in the same direction mark the same side of the drums in mirroring position, that is, for the *gendang ibu* the right and for the *gendang anak* the left hand. The compound outcome (figure 2) could be notated as:



Figure 2: Rhythmic pattern in triple meter.

Only when becoming very fast, the pattern is shortened and compensated. But as far as I could observe, turning triple into duple meter does not happen often and it is not representative for *gendang silat* in Kampung Stong. However, I could find similar triple meter structures in *gendang silat* in a video made by the Jabatan Muzium dan Antikuiti (Kemeterian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Warisan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, without year) to introduce *randai* and its relationship to *gendang silat*.

Another example of triple meter was found in a video made about a gathering of the Pahang State Administration. The invited musicians played a slightly different but clear triple meter percussion pattern which seems to be related to the way of playing in Kampung Stong.

The young *silat* performers in Stong, who were trained by 85 year old Che Abdul Rahman bin Awang Teh from Stong and Yusof bin Musa from Pasir Mas, (who comes occasionally for a visit), prefer their local *Seni Silat Cantik* (Zawry bin Ramli, 2009). All of them are able to drum. They do not try to modernise the repertoire through fragmentation and insertion of *lagu silat* as they see on television from *silat* groups that have become famous. It is important to them, not to be confused with those groups.

### Melodic features

The principle of “Buah and Bunga” commonly applied to the description of the serunai playing style is another issue that is worth re-examining. As Ramli bin Yusoh, supported by his brothers who all play serunai explained, each melodic movement indicates the speed and turns of the *silat* performer. Thus, the so called “heavily ornamented” melodic lines alternating with “dead” notes of longer duration are actually essential for directing the *silat* performers in their movements. Therefore, we may have to question whether we should call such appearances simply “ornaments” due to the fact that they are not ornamenting but directing. Ramli insists that these fast moving phrases are not just improvisatory but codified and following a certain rule of melodic shapes. Changing pitches on notes with longer duration indicate turns in the vertical direction while faster melodic movements mark turns in the horizontal direction.

For example, the still free metric introductory section is able to “draw” audibly each small hand, finger and head movement. A long trill and its ending show the beginning and the end of waving fingers to pull the strength of concentration into the body.



Figure 3: Free metric introductory section of the serunai and entering percussion.

In this example (figure 3), we can follow two times the described finger movements with changing vertical positions and finally a turn in horizontal direction. The free metric introduction leads the *silat* performer into the right starting position.

From this viewpoint, we may also re-examine, whether our perception of “accompaniment” is appropriate. From my observation, I can assume that music and *silat* movements are correlated to an extent that they have to be seen on the same level of mutual communication. Therefore, music does not accompany but leads movements and movements do not simply illustrate but stimulate music.

### Second case: Kuala Penyu

Kuala Penyu in Sabah is situated 135 km Southwest of Kota Kinabalu. Important towns in the neighbourhood are Beaufort, Menumbok and Membakut. Almost all villages have road access and are connected by ferries. The 58 villages of the district by the same name are inhabited by Dusun Tatana, Brunei, Bisaya, Kedayan, Bajau, Chinese and other minority groups, among them small groups from the Philippines, who are working in the service sector.

Here, I could observe a group of Brunei musicians recommended by Damit bin Saat from the University of Sabah. Brunei people are a majority in the district, especially if the Kedayan people (who are culturally closely related to them) are added.

*Silat* performances seem to be “accompanied” by an ensemble consisting of a *gulintangan*, two *tawak-tawaks*, one *canang satu* and a *gendang*. In that specific case, the *gendang* was replaced by a *kompang* positioned on a chair and played with sticks like a Yemeni *mirfa*, a practise I have also noticed in a performance of *silat* music by musicians from Negeri Sembilan. *Silat* ensembles in Brunei are considered to contain one *gulintangan* set, two knobbed gongs *dua bandingan*, one *canang satu* and one short cylindrical drum *marwas*. This standard ensemble obviously does not apply to all Brunei associations and can be changed.

The group in Kuala Penyu differed in tuning from the given standard as well (figure 4). The tone stock of the *gulintangan* comprises two sets of overlapping rows with these approximate intervals:

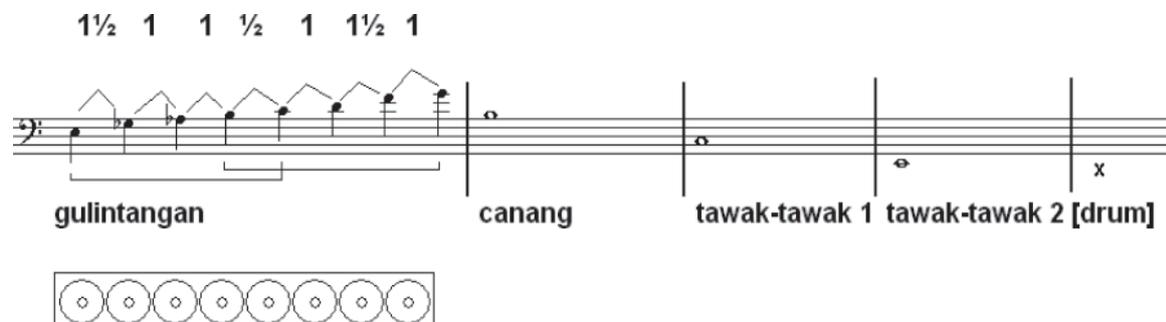


Figure 4: Tuning of instruments used by the Brunei group in Kuala Penyu.

The repertoire contains 12 different pieces, which differ slightly in tempo and melodic introduction. They are all in duple meter and the tempo does not show much variance in one piece. Besides the ensemble, the tuning and the repertoire are clearly different from *gendang silat* in Kampung Stong. But above of all, the function of this kind of *silat* music is remarkably dissimilar. The melodic line does not direct any movements. The whole sound appearance seems to aim for mental and a general physical stimulation through its repetitive, loud and quite fast pulsing patterns. Tension building elements are produced through different dynamic accents of the gongs, which can be played and muted in various ways.

Another interesting point is that *silat* music ensembles of the Brunei people in Kuala Penyu also play for *silat* performances, weddings and festivals of the Bisaya or the Dusun Tatana. Obviously, the sportive and competitive aspect of this martial art is more important to the performers and the audience. They understand themselves as part of the sportive undertaking and feel strongly responsible for the success of their candidates in competitions. The *seni cantik*-aspect is less emphasised.

## Discussion

Although I could take up only a few very fresh impressions and thoughts about my observations, these two examples show the great variety of *silat* as an art, as a sportive competition and finally as a tool to stabilise mental strength, which seems to be the joint feature. *Silat* as it is described and analysed in most of the still few academic sources should be categorized into different research perspectives from which it is seen such as 1) Attack and self defence, 2) Sport, and 3) Art.

This division, although only for academic analytical reason, allows us to observe one and the same subject in its various qualities and functions. While putting all these perspectives into one level, differences in its appearance and the communication patterns of the performers remain often not clear or even contradictory.

If I want to observe the performance from the aspect of the musicians, I have to be clearly aware of their role in a certain part of the performance. The roughly named perspectives can change in the course of a longer performance. Additionally, they should be refined and further differentiated according to the actual situation and the personality of performers. Thus, musicians can play very different roles following the starting perspective and progressive changes of a given performance. Remarks and explanations found in earlier descriptions do not yet consider this flexible dealing with musical roles in a satisfying way. Another point which I want to highlight is the use of certain terms. *Silat* that is in most cases regarded as Malay art of self defence is actually a Malay category of attack and self defence. The “art factor” comes in much later and forms another layer of understanding.

Although everything can be called an art, which is somehow equipped with a set of complicated rules, we all know that this naming is different from a philosophical meaning of art as a term for a social phenomenon. Speaking about attack and self defence does not point automatically towards a competitive idea of a sport. First of all it might be a real attack and self defence that is measured in terms of its effectiveness. The competitive idea is again another layer of understanding. Competitive sport replaces the serious fight in peaceful times as it may be the case with all other types of sport fights. Sportive performances live on playing roles and roles need role attributes which help to demonstrate body control and aesthetics in shaping a performance that can be clearly evaluated. Thus accompanying music can be seen as an attribute of the roles under special circumstances.

If the music becomes an indivisible part and plays a leading role as I could experience in Kampung Stong, we can see that *silat* as an art implies all aspects of an artistic performance including its expressive skills to communicate nonverbal contents and – going beyond the primary appearance – an artistic mindset derived from basic philosophical ideas. As an art, *silat* depends strongly on a co-educated audience which is able to enjoy more than a simple winner-loser construction.

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## THE COLLABORATIVE ART OF SELF-DEFENCE AMONG THE SUKU MAMAK OF SUMATRA AND A THEORY OF THE GENRE'S ORIGINS

### Introduction

This article focuses on the art of self-defence among the forest-dwelling Suku Mamak people. It presents a theory of the origin of this genre, which is widespread in Southeast Asia and details a Suku Mamak performance, explaining the collaborative nature of its performance and transmission.

*Pencak silat*, a Malay art, is of unknown age. Arguably its origin, development, and spread coincided with the growth of the Malay language and identity in Sumatra during the first millennium CE. As the archeological evidence shows, the cradle of Malay language and culture was located in the lower reaches of the Musi River in the Buddhist-Hindu kingdom of Sriwijaya (seventh to thirteenth centuries CE), with its capital in or near present-day Palembang, and in the latter centuries in the Malayu kingdom on the Batang Hari River at Jambi (Andaya 2008, p. 11). During that era the Old Malay language spread and subdivided into its many language varieties throughout coastal Sumatra and much of the rest of the island and beyond, along with associated cultural forms that probably included a prototype of the martial art of *pencak silat* practiced in Malay- and Minangkabau-speaking areas to this day.

As in the case of the Suku Mamak, traditional performances of *pencak silat* usually comprise two parts: a slow sparring display with artful stylistic embellishments (*gerak bunga* [M, I], *gerak bungo* [Minang.]),<sup>1</sup> followed by exciting episodes of open hand combat between a pair, or pairs, of protagonists. Generally the musical components of a traditional performance are secondary to the display of self-defence, but they are nevertheless highly significant. A pair of *pesilat* can still present a performance if no musicians are available, but the level of excitement generated and the collaborative, improvisational performance quality is naturally heavily reduced. The musicians, who play a pair of double-headed drums plus an optional melody instrument (usually a shawm) and optional gong[s], closely follow the fighting rounds as they improvise the sonic backing of the performance, anticipate or reinforce the surprise moves of the combatants, and even intervene in the *pesilat*'s decision-making as they respond to attacks and counterattack.

Many traditional *guru besar silat* (master teachers [M, I]) possess the mystical powers of a shaman as well as advanced practical skills and pedagogical ability. They teach their trainee *pesilat* (performers) that *pencak silat* is not just a martial art but also a cosmology, and claim to transmit certain secretive combat techniques that are based on deep observation of animal behaviour and the elements of nature—fire, air, water, and earth, as in the case of the *irama serama angin* (“magic wind rhythm”) performed by Suku Mamak musicians.

The late Suku Mamak *guru besar* Pak Kuning Harum Bunga Tanjung, who possessed mystical *ilmu macan* (“tiger knowledge”) and *ilmu gajah* (“elephant knowledge”), has befriended a succession of tigers in the forest, from whom he has learnt certain stances and movements while observing them playfully pouncing and cornering their prey. These movements include the slow, stealthy *langkah panjang macan* (“long steps of a tiger”) and the *gerak serangan macan* (“the tiger attacks movement”). The result is the development of *silat* movements such as *gerak serangan macan* (“the tiger attacks”), and the slow, stealthy *langkah panjang macan* (“long steps of a tiger”). He also teaches his followers the *burung putih* (“white bird”) and *ular sawa barendam* (“descending python”) movements. He said that a *pesilat*'s main aim is to anticipate, evade, and sidestep his opponent's attack by performing agile hand and foot movements, tumbling, striking, kicking, and blocking. To show respect and not to give away their secrets, his followers avoid looking directly at their opponent, averting their gaze to the ground as they perform.

The Suku Mamak people are Animists and therefore *belum beragama* [I] (“not yet Muslim”). Thus, when Suku Mamak and Minangkabau *guru silat* teach the philosophy of the art, they emphasise the animist belief in the need to venerate Nature and the ancestors in order to gain inner strength (*tenaga dalam*, a Hindu-Buddhist concept, Barendregt 1995, 117).

### A Traditional *Pencak Silat* Evening in a Suku Mamak Forest Village

This article focuses on a *pencak silat* performance at a healing ceremony held outside a village headman's home in the shady, isolated forest village of Talang Jerinjing, southwest of Rengat on the Indragiri river in Riau.<sup>2</sup> The residents are semi-nomadic Suku Mamak people who stay temporarily in the village from time to time, though they usually prefer to live in the forest collecting food and forest products. On this occasion they were preparing for a series of mystical healing ceremonies for a female patient with swollen chin lymph nodes, led by a shaman (*kumantan*) who was also a *guru silat*—Pak Kuning Harum Bunga Tanjung (*alias* Pak Kuning). For the performance, collaboration was required between the *guru silat* and his young adept followers, the pairs of *pesilat* protagonists themselves, the *pesilat* and the musicians, the whole team of artists and the hosts and elders who organized the ceremonies, and between the artists and the audience. The men and boys assembled around 4pm in the headman's house for the event, with some women and girls watching from the balcony.

After the preliminary formal greetings from the *pesilat* and novices to the master, Pak Kuning spoke for a half an hour or so about the nature of *pencak silat*. He explained how the techniques that he taught are actually the outer form of the “inner force” (*tenaga dalam*, a Buddhist-Hindu concept, as mentioned above), which helps his followers improve their moral and physical fitness, knowledge of etiquette, and ability to recognise danger and sidestep a physical attack. Garnering the power of a *silat* performance was one way of treating the patient, as it could attract the good spirits of the ancestors and the natural environment to come down and bless all those present.

Pak Kuning then began the performance session by singing an evocation to the spirits of tigers, the king and queen of the forest (*raja macan*)—the patrons of *pencak silat*. For protection from evil spirits he also threw rice grains over his followers, the musicians, the hosts and elders, and members of the audience.

A pair of *pesilat* took centre stage, and opened the slow *pencak* section of the performance with a *sembah*—a respectful bow to the spirits of nature, other performers, and members of the audience, seen and unseen. With averted gaze, they squatted on their feet and raised both hands to forehead level as they performed the graceful gesture. They then slowly moved around a clockwise circular formation on crouched legs (Plate 1), then in an anticlockwise circle. Crouching on one leg, they extended the other leg to the front with both hands outstretched, performing elegant, ornamental stretching movements (*gerak bunga*, “flower movements”) of the fingers, hands and arms which are the basis of the slow, controlled movements in the commencing *pencak* section. The women, girls and other children watched the young performers admiringly from the house balcony.



Plate 1. A pair of Suku Mamak opponents move slowly around a circle in the initial *pencak* section of a performance. (Photo by H. Kartomi in Talang Jerinjing, Riau, 1984).

In the second stage of (adversarial) collaboration, Pak Kuning's followers divided into pairs of opponents. After saluting each other in a respectful greeting, the *pesilat* then began the *silat* section of the performance (Plate 2).



**Plate 2. A salutation between a pair of *pesilat***  
(Photo by H. Kartomi in Kampung Talang Jerinjing, Riau, 1984).

They assumed a basic stance called *berlabeh* (*balabeh* in Minangkabau), in which they lowered the body and rested its weight on the knees while holding one hand in front of the chest, and performed the smoothly gliding steps (*langkah*) that mark an accomplished performer in short sequences of movements called *jurus* or *jurusan*, of which there are a total of around fourteen (Pak Kuning, pers. comm., 1982). They practiced stepping smoothly and gracefully toward and away from their opponent, changing the stance of the whole body with each step. Sometimes they were forced to devise spontaneous responses to unexpected modes of attack. They made offensive and basic rolling moves that were simple and swift, kicks that were firm and elegant, and *bunga* that were beautifully executed.

The pairs of combatants also collaborated with the musicians, who played cyclic, interlocking rhythms on a pair of cylindrical, double-headed drums - the larger *gendang ibu*, "mother drum" playing the *penyelalu* ("continuing rhythm"), the smaller *gendang anak* ("child drum") playing the *peningka* ("lead rhythm") (Plate 3), and a 28cm-diameter brass gong (*tetawak*) which was beaten and damped on every eighth beat at slow tempo and on every fourth or second beat at fast tempo.<sup>3</sup> They dispensed with the optional shawm (*su'une*) on this occasion.<sup>4</sup> Collaboration with the musicians increased the complexity of the *pesilats'* task, because they now had to adapt their movements to the regular interlocking rhythms and occasional, unexpected, explosive bursts of sounds made by the drummers.

Meanwhile the pairs of *pesilat* performed a local variant of the *sembah* salutation while gazing directly at his opponent, with one performer raising his right hand and crooking his left hand on his hip. The pairs of protagonists then approached each other warily in a clockwise then anticlockwise circle formation, raised both hands and prepared to attack. The other protagonist warded off the attack, or counter-attacked by hitting, kicking, throwing, locking him into a fixed position, parrying, and/or side-stepping.<sup>5</sup> The drum players played passages of continuously interlocking rhythms that belied the growing tension between the pairs of *pesilat* as each tried to outwit and physically overcome the other. Sometimes the musicians simply played louder and more furiously to match the mounting tension occasioned by a series of attacks and counterattacks, but at other times they deliberately tried to confuse the combatants, mainly to make an episode more exciting for the audience and to assert themselves as collaborators. For example, sometimes they distracted the *pesilat*, or sonically warned

one or the other to avoid an impending attack that they could see coming, forcing the combatants to use all their ingenuity to improvise solutions, usually by performing a surprise move, such as back-flipping, or somersaulting away. Even these moves were marked musically by the drummers, whose sharp jagged rhythms spurred the combatants on to present more surprises.<sup>6</sup> One *pesilat* attacked from the *balabeh* position, punching his fist toward his opponent, who resisted it by raising his left palm at right angles. Then one tripped the other up which made him fall to the ground, but he was able to kick his opponent in the groin, which made him decide to somersault away.



Plate 3. A pair of Suku Mamak *gendang* (drum) players performing interlocking rhythms with each other in a *silat* performance. (Photo by H. Kartomi in Talang Jerinjing, 1982).

The protagonists then further increased the level of tension by brandishing a *keris* (short Malay dagger) against their opponent.<sup>7</sup> As the expectations of the audience built up to fever pitch, the excited men and women in the audience spurred the *pesilat* on by calling out admiring or amusing comments. Sometimes there was a lull in the proceedings and the *pesilat* reverted to calm circling in a clockwise then an anticlockwise direction again, accompanied by soft, interlocking drumming. Then one man would suddenly attack again and the other counterattack, with the musicians varied the rhythms, tempo, and dynamic levels of the music to match.

Each *pesilat* aimed to attack and win some skirmishes, but not all of them. As Pak Kuning explained (pers. comm., 1982), a performance should continually build up tension and resolve it, but ultimately it should impress its onlookers, seen and unseen, as an exciting, balanced event. Etiquette requires that the *pesilat* aim to maintain good relations with their opponents, perform well so as to attract the spirits to attend, heal the patient and entertain members of the audience (including the women), and to apply and test the various *jurusan* in case they needed their skills in a real fight.

Diverse traditional forms of the art and knowledge of their philosophical and religious meaning, as among the Suku Mamak, were still strong until the 1980s, but so many of the forested areas of Indonesia have been logged since then that many people who lived in or on the edges of the forests could no longer maintain a living, and have moved elsewhere.

## Conclusion

A prototype of *pencak silat* probably developed into its many variants and spread with the expansion of the Malay language in Sumatra and beyond during the first millennium CE. Arguably, the Suku Mamak people, who live nomadic or semi-nomadic lives in small isolated settlements in the forest, preserve one of the oldest forms of the art in the Malay-speaking world, while the settled Minangkabau people have developed techniques and forms that exemplify the addition of layers of sufi Muslim meaning that is several centuries old. Thus, many ethno-linguistic groups in Malay-speaking areas of Southeast Asia have developed their forms of the art.

However, the key everywhere to its successful practice and transmission lies in the collaboration between the master teacher-mystic, his pairs of *pesilat* followers, the musicians, the elders and religious leaders who provide the resources and organize the performances, and—not least—the members of the audience. All work together toward the common goal of producing and enjoying a performance that is satisfying on communal, spiritual, and artistic levels. Only with such community collaboration can novices acquire the philosophical understanding, knowledge of movement routines, elegance of movement, fighting skills, and the ability to improvise responses to an opponent and signals from musicians. Only then can they coordinate all the factors that contribute to the ideal ethical, religious way of life of a *silat* adept. The traditional forms of *pencak silat* that were still strong until the 1980s are still practiced in forest lands, but so many areas have been logged that many groups who lived in or on the edges of the forest can no longer maintain a living, with the result that fewer areas practice the traditional forms of the art.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> I = Indonesian; M = Malay, Minang. = Minangkabau, Ar = Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> This account is based on my field notes and photos of a daytime *pencak silat* performance in Talang Jerinjing in November 1982, plus some photos of similar performances by Minangkabau performers in Solok and Painan.

<sup>3</sup> In some Suku Mamak *pencak* performances, a pair of hanging gongs are played in colotomic (punctuating) fashion every 8 or 4 beats, and in fast *silat* scenes they serve as a temp-keeper, played on every second beat.

<sup>4</sup> The larger drum in the performance measured c. 60 cm by 35 cm diameter, and the smaller drum approximately 45 cm in length and approximately 30 cm in diameter. The players locked them into place with their left leg for ease in playing as is common in Riau. The diameter of the gong measured c. 35 cm. The Suku Mamak *su'une* that I examined had a coconut-leaf double reed, a wooden tube with a lower flair, and six small front finger holes.

<sup>5</sup> This method resembles the Minangkabau *silat* teaching method discussed in Barendregt, 1995, p. 120-121.

<sup>6</sup> In different areas, the basic *berlabeh* stance varies; e.g., the: *balabeh alang babega* in Minangkabau, which resembles the hovering of a preying eagle (*alang, elang*) (Barendregt 1995, p. 121).

<sup>7</sup> Weapons used in other areas include a *rencong* (short Acehnese dagger), sword, knife, sickle, or machete.

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### SOME MACRO- AND MICRO-VIEWS ON THE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN *PENCAK SILAT*, MUSIC, AND DANCE IN WEST JAVA, AND THE NETHERLANDS

In this article, I will access musical, choreographical, and contextual dimensions of the so-called "world of *Silat*" (*dunia Silat*), or "*Pencak Silat* culture" (*kebudayaan Pencak Silat*), of West Java (Indonesia), and the Netherlands, from two opposite perspectives. Starting with a 'macro-view' for each region, I will sketch some aspects of the "glocalized" (Robertson 1998) developments of this art complex. After this, I will resume with some 'micro'-perspectives on the regional focal points mentioned, trying to give some ideas on aspects of "*Silat* in everyday life", and discuss some questions related to features and cultural characteristics of this "world of *Silat*".

#### *Macro-Views on the current "kebudayaan Pencak Silat" in West Java*

In the late 1930's, CLAIRE HOLT (1938/R 1972) used the description "dances of the *pencak randai*-family" for the complex of particularly coherent movement arts of West Sumatra. Summarizing the many different appearances of *Pencak Silat* in West Java, the present author especially wants to pronounce the interrelations between the art forms of *Pencak Silat*, and those arts that grew off the dances of the *Ronggeng*-traditions. Therefore, for West Java we can analogously speak of a 'family' of the "*Ibingan Penca – Tari Ronggeng*" dances (PÄTZOLD 2000:367-368). Today, we need to acknowledge a certain loss not only of those dances which once grew off the "*Ibingan Penca – Tari Ronggeng*, like the *Ketuk Tilu*, and the *Jaipongan*. But the art variants of the *Pencak Silat* itself gradually are falling into disuse, too. One can still find training performances of certain schools that use *Kendang Pencak* music, and performances of the "*Adu Domba*" ram fights in the *Parahyangan* area, that use the same kind of music, as well as *Pencak Silat* performers, to "whip up" the arena.

Furthermore, one can still find *Pencak Silat* performers, accompanied by *Kendang Pencak* music, during rural weddings, and circumcision parties. But, in particular within the national levels of competition contexts, the art form of *Pencak Silat* has heavily changed, and the music accompaniment is gone. During the last decade since the introduction of the strictly standardized competition regulations of the "Indonesian *Pencak Silat* Federation" (IPSI) – on which I already reported in a paper during the ICTM World Conference in Sheffield in 2005 – some severe 'publicity problems' related to the "macro" layers of 'official' Indonesian *Pencak Silat* culture can be observed:

- First, the regaining of advisory power within the leading organisational personnel of the "Indonesian *Pencak Silat* Federation", in particular in the hands of former President Suharto's son-in-law, and Ex-General, Prabowo Subianto, further led to nation wide standardization,
- Second, the barely covered verbal attacks of Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono towards Prabowo Subianto during the early days after the attacks on the "Ritz Carlton" and "Marriot Hotel" in Jakarta in July 2009, when "SBY" insulted Prabowo being the major wirepuller behind these 'terroristic' attacks. This showed how the state of relations between the Indonesian president, who had accepted taking over the ceremonial function of the "*ultimate Pencak Silat master*" ("*pendekar utama*") in favour of this art again, and the president of the national *Pencak Silat* federation should be estimated today.

Though this insult towards Prabowo proved to be inadequate, these processes urge a critical observer to portray at least the 'official' *Pencak Silat* today as a highly political medium. As an art having lost parts of its monetary support, its creative mentors, with an over-standardized performance shape, being directed by a few 'power people' – all together, something less attractive to many public audiences.

These problems are recognized by Indonesian *Pencak Silat* specialists today. Different from the situation at the beginning of our new millennium, today we find national and local activities against this loss of tradition. For instance, in 2006, the Jakarta-based "Indonesian Forum of the Heritage Keepers of Traditional *Pencak Silat*" ("*Forum Pelestari Pencak Silat Tradisional Indonesia*", abbreviated "*FP2STI*") was established. This forum has been put into existence by a group of concerned teachers and specialists. Its status of independence from the current "Indonesian *Pencak Silat* Federation" is doubtful though.

However, it is not merely the question of keeping *Pencak Silat's* heritage 'traditional', as is often expressed at this and other forums. But this time, one would have to acknowledge that the ongoing change is caused by prescribed processes of standardization, and often enough, an accompanying degeneration of 'traditional' cultural embeddings by playing them down.

***The 'Micro-View' Perspective: West Java***

Fortunately, this isn't the full story yet: There are master teachers in West Java today who are trying their best to keep their art alive. Further, since the beginning of the "autonomy of regions" ("*otonomi daerah*") movement, the "*Pencak Silat* Union of Indonesia" (PPSI), a minor organization based in West Java since 1957, has been able to gain ground and profile again, and has reappeared in the public. In this 'micro-view' perspective section, I will shed some light on some of the ways performances of *Pencak Silat*, and related arts, are involved in creating a vital feeling of "joyful liveliness" (*keramaian*), when providing a medium for socialising, for prowess, for expressing and embodying a sense for beauty and ethics, for presenting, and transmitting life energy, in the every day life of local communities. Within this kaleidoscope of performance settings, music is still an important feature.

Provided a group of *Pencak Silat* performers, and a supporting music group, like a *Kendang Pencak*, are present at a wedding, or a circumcision party, guests may feel like displaying the one or other set of *Pencak Silat* movements (*jurus*) to the audience. To do so, they will follow a social ritual: after having been invited to perform by the host, who in turn will have received a hint on behalf of the particular guest intending to perform, this guest will approach the group of musicians first, before entering the stage. He will socialize a while with them, and he will, in a decent way, pass over some "money for smoking" ("*uang rokok*") to them, and may ask them for a particular melody, or set of melodies, to accompany him. The *tarompet* player will then start with the melody requested, or he may select a melody fitting to the performer's physical shape and figure.

The better the musicians - especially the *tarompet* player, the player of the double headed drum *kendang anak* ("child-kendang") - and the *Pencak Silat* performer are accustomed to each other, the better they will be able to support and 'portray' the *Pencak Silat* performers shape and figure musically. 'Portray' here means: They will be able to pick up an allusively fitting melody, follow, or anticipate, the *Pencak Silat* performers' choreographic suspension, and meet with his or her impacts.



**Fig. 1: Pak Djunaedi As'ad, master teacher of the "*Pencak Silat Bendung Keser*" school from the Banten area, is supported by a *Gendang Patingtung* music ensemble. Recorded on May 28th, 1995 by the author. (During the conference, the video, from which this still picture has been extracted, was presented. It shows many of the facets of the "joyful liveliness" just described. The performer, See Pätzold (2007) within the "Sources cited" for further details about this video.)**

***Some 'Macro-Views' on the Pencak Silat scenes in the Netherlands***

Regarding the "world" of *Pencak Silat*, the historical relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia can be said to be – at least in part – ambivalent. We find certain accounts of both native Dutch, and Dutch-Indonesian people, being involved in training "*Pentja*" or "*Silat*" during colonial times in Indonesia. They included members of the Netherlands East Indies administration, police, and military, as well as some civil persons. Almost all of these people seem to have practiced the self defence and inner power aspects of *Pencak Silat*. We find no accounts of Dutch people, having passed ceremonies of joining a school the 'traditional' way, or having learned the arts aspect, while being located in Indonesia up to 1949.

The earliest currently available account from an official Dutch source is the "*Soerat Peratoeran atas Schermoefeningen (Peladjaran Bersilat)*", an internal military instruction manual, published for the Dutch "Marechaussee" army police, in 1915. This instruction book has to be seen as a result of the unpleasant experiences the Dutch colonial army made in hand-to-hand combat with so-called guerilla fighters during the war in Aceh (1873-1903, but actually until 1942). The instructors of the Dutch were Indonesian *Pencak Silat* specialists. Many of them came from the Moluccas, although, as MARYONO (1998/R 2002: chapters 2.5–2.6 in particular) ascertains, many came from other Indonesian regions as well. This aspect of having in part been a subject of collaboration with the Dutch colonial forces, sometimes is neglected within the current Indonesian national perception of the history and development of *Pencak Silat*.

These *Pencak Silat* teachers, of whom most have passed away today, had a hard time when Indonesia reached its full Independence in 1949, and the Dutch retreated to Europe. Being Dutch citizens juristically, nevertheless these people met many problems, either staying in Indonesia, or moving to the Netherlands. Some of those who migrated to Europe kept practising *Pencak Silat* during the 1950's. Some of these "*Pencakkers*", as they were called collectively, stayed in the Netherlands, others migrated further on to other 'Western' countries. The Dutch-'Indo' *Pencak Silat* teachers were called "*Paatjes*", which means "Little Fathers" (a diminutive plural term from the Malay word "*Pak*", or "*Bapak*").

The Internet, E-Mail, and other media, make certain today, that the carriers of the "World of *Silat*" hold a key to an omni-directional cultural exchange in their hands, making it possible for the third to fourth generation students of a school, let's say, in Amsterdam, to exchange and discuss matters with a young student of a rural West Javanese school, sometimes re-establishing ties lost a long time ago. Re-establishing ties, reunifying bonds, and reinterpreting identities amongst these 'grandchildren' of *Pencak Silat* schools from the 1960's and 70's via the Internet, therefore, have become important goals to achieve for many young practitioners, since the late 1990's.

Having argued that it makes some sense to speak of a more or less coherent "*Pencak Silat* culture" in West Java, how does this relate to the situation in the Netherlands? Do we find a comparably wide and interacting net of cultural phenomena there in general, and of performing arts in particular? And if so, what are the common phenomena that should be mentioned?

As for the performance practice of the *Pencak Silat* itself, there are few music performances found within training settings, or public performances, in the Netherlands. Schools that make use of 'traditional' Indonesian music styles – mostly from the media – can be said to have been established since the arrival of new teachers from Indonesia to the Netherlands as a 'second wave' since the late 1970's. In part, they came over to Europe as students to study in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Austria, or in Germany. From about 1985 onwards, these 'second wavers' received some support from the Indonesian National *Pencak Silat* Federation, and its international acting counterpart *PERSILAT* (founded in 1980), which declared a "*Pencak Silat goes to the World*" ("*Pencak Silat Mendunia*") program around that time. This resulted, for the time being, in a euphoric situation, when West Javanese-rooted schools performed in the Netherlands and Germany (that is, the Panglipur school from Garut and Bandung in 1989). The first international *Pencak Silat* championship executed outside of Southeast Asia was also held in Vienna, Austria, in 1986, with guest performers from West and Central Java, West Sumatra, and other Southeast Asian regions, performing in a European country first time ever.

There are other cultural phenomena, that still play a great role in Dutch-Indonesian cultural relationships until today, and that in part do have relationships to the "World of *Silat*". To be named here in first instance, are the many so-called "Night Markets" ("*Pasar Malam*"). The oldest of these is the "*Tong Tong Fair*" in The Hague (Koning 2009), formerly named "*Pasar Malam Besar*", which is held annually since 1959. Arts like *Pencak Silat*, *Gamelan*, Indonesian dances, *Indo-Rock*, and *Kroncong* music took part in such events, and still do. In particular, the early relationships between the Dutch-Indonesian audiences of the *Pencak Silat*, and the *Kroncong* music, can be said to have coincided to a substantial extent in the past. The audiences of these arts consisted of related interest groups of similar age, and similar social and historical backgrounds.

We can also find this pattern of related interest groups in *Pencak Silat* and *Kroncong* music, in the remaining generation who grew up during the time of the independence struggle in Indonesia. They often were the former opponents of those from the first generation we find in the Netherlands. Those who were involved in the "Independence War" on the Indonesian side were listening to patriotic *Kroncong* tunes like "*Sapu lidi*", in which their fallen heroes were commemorated, while those involved on behalf of the Dutch colonial KNIL forces side were listening to entertaining *Kroncong* tunes, like "*Terang boelan*."

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, many Dutch-Indonesian youths in the Netherlands also became adherents to the global wave of Rock'n Roll. Overcoming their parents' choice of *Kroncong* music, while still holding on to some interests in Dutch-Indonesian culture, some of them kept to the movement art *Pencak Silat*. Regarding music, many changed from *Kroncong* to the new *Indo-Rock* music. This music featured electric guitars, and the sounds of the Rock'n Roll music of that era. However, similar to the earlier *Kroncong* music, the new rock music often had texts using the older forms of *Bahasa Indonesia*. By doing so, this *Indo-Rock* provided a new mode for Dutch-Indonesian youths to identify with their particular cultural heritage (Muys 1999). The Tielmann Brothers, The Hap Cats, The Black Dynamites, Oety & His Real Rockers, Electric Johnny & His Skyrockets, The Javalins, and The Crazy Rockers were some of the performing bands of the craze of this time. *Indo-Rock* proved to be successful, especially when performed as a "live" event – and not only in the Netherlands. The commercial success, at least since the early 1960's, was better found for some time in neighbouring Germany. Here, the *Indo-Rock* bands entertained keen audiences along the touristic places in Hamburg (Muys 2003), along the river Rhine, and amongst the bars and dance halls around the U.S. Army locations.

The pattern of "*Pencak Silat*, *Kroncong*, and/or *Indo-Rock*" was kept within the interest groups mentioned, in both West Java, and the Netherlands, until about 1961, when first Indonesian President Soekarno declared Rock'n Roll as an art 'non grata' in Indonesia, and encouraged young Indonesian artists to develop new popular music, that would keep to the 'roots' of local and national Indonesian arts. From then on, the 'common' musical elements within the *Pencak Silat* cultures of West Java, and the Netherlands, faded away: In West Java, for example, the *Jaipongan* became favoured since the mid 1970s instead of *Rock'n Roll* related genres, and both *Pop Sunda*, and *Dangdut*, gradually replaced the *Kroncong*. The Netherlands, hence, were hit by the British "Beat" and "Blues" waves since the mid 1960s, like many other European countries. Therefore, answering the question "Is there a "*Pencak Silat* Culture" in the Netherlands today?", I want to answer this with a "yes – but it appears in the public only at certain circumstances, and times". However, these two "worlds of *Silat*" – West Java, and the Netherlands – today have grown as different from each other as one can imagine, regarding their local settings.



**Fig. 2: During the conference, a video of a *Pencak Silat* plus *Rock'n Roll* / *Indo-Rock* performance by the Brothers Stefan & Remi Sonnevile & Lode Simons (= YCR), entitled "*YCR - Be-Bop-A-Lula*", was shown. This recording was taken during the "Tong Tong Festival" in The Hague, Netherlands, May 28th, 2009. The photo of Uwe Paetzold and Paul Mason was taken by a staff member of the Republic Polytech Singapore team during the presentation.)**

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This outstanding work by O'ong Maryono gives detailed insights i.e. into the Dutch and Indonesian *Pencak Silat* relationships.

<sup>2</sup> This evergreen, originally composed by French lyricist Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780–1857), became very popular in the 1920s and 1930s in Malaysian, Indonesian, and Singaporean communities.

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***SILA*: TRADITIONAL MARTIAL ART OF SOUTHERN THAILAND**

For article see published Proceedings

PAUL H. MASON

Australia

### MODES OF TRANSMISSION: TRADITIONAL WEST SUMATRAN & CONTEMPORARY WEST JAVANESE PRACTICES OF INDIGENOUS MARTIAL ARTS

The current study compares traditional practices of fight-dancing in West Sumatra with the progressive practices of fight-dancing in West Java. The desire to study instances of fight-dancing where both music and movement come together in performance meant that the research methodology had to be adapted to each location. Among the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra, music and martial arts do not come together except in performances for local festivals and religious events. Among the Sundanese of West Java, music and martial arts can be practiced together and are often featured together in regional, national and international competitions, as well as at local festivals and religious events. Research in West Sumatra demanded constant travel to see performances in various villages, while research in West Java permitted a more centralized field site in Bandung.

From a neuroanthropological perspective, this research was motivated by a desire to understand the co-evolutionary and co-developmental relationship between brains and culture. Neuroanthropology is a field of research concerned with the reiterative causality between brains, culture and the environment (Mason cited by Marchand 2010:6). Learning fight-dancing alters neural processes inside the brain as practitioners attempt to acquire new abilities. This act of learning involves physiological, perceptual, and cognitive changes in the student's body. Concomitantly, teaching fight-dancing involves changes in cultural content so that student practitioners can more easily acquire the music and movement. Those changes that make fight-dancing more easy to be acquired enable the art to be taught to a larger number of students at any one time. Neural changes are cumulative and transformative within the lifetime of individuals. Cultural changes are cumulative and transformative across successive generations.

#### Fight-dancing in West Sumatra

The indigenous martial art of West Sumatra is called *Silek Minang*. Traditional Silek Minang (abbreviated as Silek) once relied upon matrilineal transmission such that male children would learn from their mother's brother in the community *sarau* (local prayer hall and living quarters for boys until they were married). Since the almost complete adoption of the nuclear family structure among the Minangkabau, the teaching of Silek in the *saraus* has diminished dramatically and private schools now teach both boys and girls in community halls, sports facilities, university buildings, school grounds, and public parks. Although Minangkabau elders report that traditional training of Silek is losing favour among the younger generation, some traditional schools still remain. Many of these schools remain elusive due to secretive traditions.

The traditional class structure incorporates an overarching ritualized aspect and improvised training tasks. The improvised teaching methods require close guidance by a single teacher. Training is done in pairs with techniques always learnt and applied with a training partner. Teacher-student interactions are intensive and the class-size is generally small to accommodate the large amount of time devoted by the teacher to each student. Teachers use feeling, intuition and a flexible and improvised pedagogy. Working with combat principles, teachers create scenarios to encourage the problem solving skills of their students and to help them develop their own solutions. The time-demanding apprenticeship methods preclude large class sizes. This cultural transmission draws upon non-declarative and episodic memory skills.

Performances of Silek are often choreographed and are almost always in pairs. Ideally, the performance is between a teacher and student or long-standing training partners so that the essential steps are not adrift (Sedyawati *et al.* 1991). Choreographed movements limit potential accidents and sequester the possibility for aggression to escalate. During fieldwork in 2007-2008, only rare instances of improvised performances were observed. In every case, these improvised performances were between elderly men who had trained together since very young.

In performances of Silek Minang, accompanying instruments can include double-sided barrel drums such as the *gendang tambuah*, *gendang sarunai* or *gendang katindik*, hand-held kettle drums called the *talempong*, a *sarunai* (single reed bamboo short clarinet with four finger holes), a *saluang* (a

basic bamboo flute with four finger holes) and/or a *bansi* (a bamboo recorder with eight finger holes). The music is often used for entertainment purposes and bears no strong intrinsic relationship to the movement. The movements of the practitioners are seldom in synchrony with the music. Symbolically, the interlocking rhythms of the accompanying percussion instruments mimic the interlocking footsteps of the performers. Furthermore, the continuous, loud, and rough hum of woodwind creates a highly tense and invigorating mood for both the performers and audience members. The music invigorates and acts to inspire deep concentration and an intensity of action. The practitioners purposely try not to fall in sync with the seductive rhythms of the drums. As much as they can, practitioners focus intently on the moves and potential attacks of their opponent.

### **Fight-dancing in West Java**

The indigenous martial arts of West Java have many names that are today collectively called *Pencak Silat*. The artistic form of Pencak Silat includes music and dance and is called *Pencak Silat Seni*. The teaching of Pencak Silat Seni has become systematized and students learn set sequences of movements from a standardized curriculum. Musicians can sometimes accompany training and are always present in performances. The musicians attempt to capture the feel of a performance through tunes on a woodwind *tarompét* and mimic the punches and kicks of the performances with appropriately placed slaps of the drums. Some schools have started using audiocassettes in training such that the music to the choreographed movements has been pre-recorded. Each track is orchestrated to match a specific choreography. Individual tracks are divided into three sections and each section has a set number of repeated cycles with accents and other musical events to match the movements of the choreography. Only one possible choreography can be performed to each track on the cassette. If students deviate from the preset choreography then they are likely to be out of step with the track. When sold as a package, these cassettes can be used in the training halls of Pencak Silat Seni schools all over West Java and the world. This training aid has further standardized the choreographies practiced by several schools of the same style of Pencak Silat Seni.

The teaching of Pencak Silat Seni involves the systematic demonstration and repetition of discrete movement sequences. Teachers perform short choreographed sequences of movement (*jurus*) which students imitate and gradually string together as they become more proficient. By splicing movement sequences into digestible, perceptually salient units, teachers can ostensibly accelerate the learning process. This teaching model allows for large numbers of students to train with each other at the same time. The model also allows replication verification by the teacher who inspects the students while they perform the same movements simultaneously. Choreographed *jurus* can be repeated simultaneously by large numbers of people and are effective ways of distributing knowledge with great speed. These movement sequences are often named and can be repeated upon demand. This type of learning visibly draws upon the semantic memory skills of the brain, which facilitates the rapid acquisition and transmission of new movement repertoires.

The musical accompaniment to Pencak Silat Seni is generally called *Kendang Pencak* and may include any combination of the following instruments: two sets of double-sided barrel drum called *kendang ibu* (mother drum) and *kendang anak* (child drum) which both include two *kulanter* (small double-sided barrel drums), *kenong* (suspended gongs), gong (hanging gong), ceng-ceng (small cymbals) and the *tarompét* (double reed aerophone). The most popular combination, often featured in PPSI (*Persatuan Pencak Silat Indonesia*) competitions, is composed of two sets of *kendang* drums (*kendang ibu* and *kendang anak*), a gong and a *tarompét*. The selection of instruments is rarely a random choice with most groups having a mandatory ensemble type, e.g. *Kendang Pencak*, *Genjringan*, *Terbangan*, *Gendan Patingtun* etc. (Patzold 2000).

Pencak Silat Seni is most commonly performed as a solo but it can also be performed in duets, or larger groups. Throughout performances, the *tarompét* player can choose to play songs sympathetic to the energy and excitement of the performance and the vibe of the audience. Performances will normally commence with either a *tepak dua*, or *paleredan* rhythmic accompaniment. This section is performed at a relaxed pace and allows practitioners to demonstrate the beauty of their art while providing the audience with the time to enjoy the movements. Between each gong cycle the practitioner performs seven movements that are matched by the accents of the drums. The practitioner sustains their seventh movement on the sound of the gong. *Tepak Dua* is regarded as a traditional rhythm originating from Cimande. *Paleredan*, a rhythm related to *Tepak Dua*,

is considered as the middle of *Tepak Dua*. It does not have as many pauses between movement phrases.

The *tepak tiga* section follows from *Tepak Dua / Paleredan* and is faster. *Tepak tiga* is a steady rhythm that allows the easy timing of movements. The practitioners will perform four movements per gong cycle. These movements are performed at a steady and predictable pace and accompanied by the accents and metric timing of the drums.

The *padungdung* section is the final and fastest section that involves an increase in tempo, the most perceptible examples of circular breathing by the wind-player, and the most virtuosic drumming by the percussionists. There is a steady fast-paced rhythm played on the *kendang ibu* while the *kendang anak* responds to the movements of the performers with corresponding slaps and bangs that imitate the kicks and punches. Musicians and audience can sometimes interject vocally with shouts and shrieks. The *padungdung* is the climax of a performance and normally only lasts for a very brief time (generally thirty seconds to one minute). The end is often a symbolic victory.

### A Choreomusical Comparison

Choreomusicology is the study of the relationship between music and movement. Hodgins (1992) puts choreomusical relationships into two categories, intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic relationships are rhythmic, dynamic, textural, structural, qualitative or mimetic. Extrinsic relationships are archetypal, emotional or narrative.

RELATIONSHIPS		MUSIC	DANCE
INTRINSIC	rhythmic	pulse, accent or meter	accent, meter
			sounds produced by the dancers
	dynamic	volume	movement intensity
		volume of musical gesture	volume of choreographical gesture
	textural	musical arrangement	movement corps
		number of instruments	number of performers
	structural	phrasing or form	corresponding motives or figures, phrases, structures
		qualitative	timbre & tessitura
mimetic	sounds mimicking movement	movement mimicking sound	
EXTRINSIC	archetypal	symbolic aspects	symbolic aspects
	emotional	emotion conveyed in music	emotion conveyed in movement
	narrative	story-telling	story-telling

**Table 1: Choreomusical relationships adapted from Hodgins (1992). Relationships between music and dance can be intrinsic and/or extrinsic. Any particular work may incorporate any number of elements from these two categories.**

An earlier analysis by Smith (1981) identified four types of dance/music interaction that exist along a continuum: analogue, dialogue, structural interdependence, and total independence. Any particular performance may span any of these four theoretical categories. These four theoretical categories have been elaborated by Ungvary, Waters & Rajka (1992):

1. Analogue interactions are direct correspondences between musical rhythm and movement rhythm. These correspondences also invariably operate at higher structural levels (musical movements, large phrase units etc.). These interactions are often referred to as ‘mickey-mousing’.
2. Dialogue interactions involve the divergence and convergence of visual and musical elements. These interactions might occur at various compositional levels (rhythmic, phrasal, gestural etc.).

3. Structurally interdependent interactions where one of the elements (e.g. music) relies on the other (e.g. dance) for its form; either element is inadequate without the other. Genuine interdependence between music and movement requires close interactive work between musicians and dancers (White 2006:66). (e.g. West Javanese Pencak Silat Seni).
4. Totally Independent Interactions are contrived in dance and music that are not produced to explicitly correspond to each other. (e.g. West Sumatran Silek Minang).

In West Sumatran Silek Minang, performers try not to respond to the rhythmic pulse of the percussion otherwise their movements become predictable and less realistic in the combat sense. A change in musical volume or tempo can accompany the introduction of a weapon into a performance, but in general there are few intrinsic relationships between music and movement. Extrinsic relationships, however, exist between the circular breathing of a woodwind instrument and the sustained concentration of the performers. Symbolic correlations can also be found between the interlocking rhythms of the drums and the interlocking footsteps of the performers.

In West Java, there are strong structurally interdependent interactions and intrinsic relationships between the movement and the music. The sounds of the music are performed to match the movement both mimetically and metaphorically. There are also extrinsic relationships between the songs and circular-breathing of the tarompet player and the energy of the performance.

Both Silek Minang and Pencak Silat Seni have been exported around the globe by teachers and practitioners since at least the 1970s. A comparison of their international popularity and dispersion reveals that the progressive schools of Pencak Silat Seni are relatively successful compared to the traditional Silek Minang schools. In both styles, there has been a delay in the export of the accompanying music. The use of audio-recordings is a particularly interesting element in the spread of the performance arts and the alteration of the choreomusical relationships.

In West Sumatra, recordings of music especially catered for Silek are not yet commercially available. The music of Silek has not been exported alongside the movement. In cases where recorded music is played alongside an international performance of Silek Minang, it can often be any style of music from the Indonesian archipelago that is simply played to create extrinsic symbolic associations of place, culture and heritage.

In West Java, Kendang Pencak groups in collaboration with schools of Pencak Silat Seni have started releasing cassette tapes with specially designed soundtracks to accompany an academy's repertoire of preset choreographies. The music of Pencak Silat Seni is only just beginning to be exported and international practitioners are attempting to learn the difficulties and subtleties of the Kendang Pencak. The introduction of specially designed audiocassettes has facilitated the spread of Kendang Pencak music around the globe. As a musical aid to recalling the movement, the cassette-tapes also serve to standardise the choreographies worldwide. Audio technologies contribute to the preservative and constructive processes that facilitate the cultural propagation of practices of fight-dancing. However, the use of recorded music has also meant that the direction of the relationship between music and movement in Pencak Silat Seni is altered such that practitioners are learning to perform their movement to recordings. Practitioners are not relying on musicians to accompany their movement if they are using a cassette.

Music for Silek Minang is almost non-existent internationally, and foreign practitioners of Pencak Silat Seni have still not mastered the complicated rhythms of Kendang Pencak. Music is secondary to movement in Indonesian fight-dancing and practitioners are afforded no special status if they are adept musicians as well as movement artists.

As a performance genre, Pencak Silat Seni and Kendang Pencak have proven an effective combination because of the high levels of functional redundancy in multisensory stimulation. Analogue relationships between movement and sound facilitate audience comprehension. The music of Pencak Silat Seni makes the performance more theatrical and accessible to audiences. This appeal is evidenced by the regular appearance of Pencak Silat Seni at national and international festivals. Punches accompanied by slaps of the drum and virtuosic displays of movement accompanied by the shrill sound of the double-reed tarompet all contribute to the emotive and engaging visual spectacle. The hidden power of music to accentuate music is evidenced by the delay in the international spread of Kendang Pencak music in comparison to the early spread of Pencak Silat Seni movement.

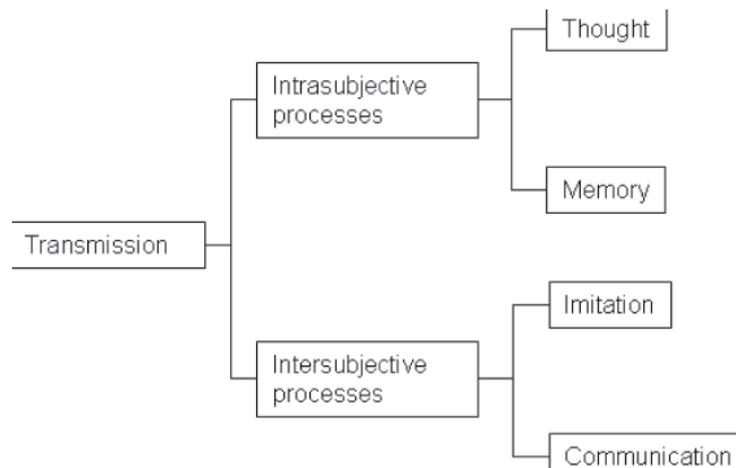
### Constructive and Preservative Processes

Globalisation can be thought of as a laboratory for studying how the formal properties of a cultural activity can affect the distribution of the activity. According to the law of the epidemiology of representations, in non-literate societies “all cultural representations are easily remembered ones; hard to remember representations are forgotten, or transformed into more easily remembered ones, before reaching a cultural level of distribution” (Sperber, 1985:86; 1996:74). Cultural entrainment demands a developmental transformation of the brain and those cultural representations that are most adapted to the constraints of the brain are most rapidly acquired. As a result, an evolutionary transformation of cultural representations can optimise learning processes. Cultural representations that are difficult to acquire do not exhibit a large distribution. Those representations that capitalise upon the learning capabilities of the human brain are rapidly distributed throughout a population. The law of the epidemiology of representations is an appropriate hypothesis for the distribution of practices of fight-dancing, because music and movement is primarily a nonverbal and unwritten activity. In the context of globalisation, we can look at which practices become more widespread, and what kind of underlying cognitive processes are capitalised upon and concurrently developed.

The kind of cognition that is involved in dance has been labelled “Choreographic cognition” (Stevens, McKechnie, Malloch & Petocz, 2000). Derived from the study of artistic expression in Australian Contemporary Dance, choreographic cognition is conceived as a dynamical system that involves the exploration, selection and development of movement material in time and space. This terminology is limited, however, because the kind of nonverbal cognition utilised in dance movement and martial arts can be improvisatory or choreographic. Improvised practices, such as those in West Sumatran training, involve movement material that is conceived and executed in-real time as a work-in-progress. Choreographed practices, such as those in West Javanese training, involve preset sequences of movements that are repeated with a high degree of fidelity. Improvisation and choreography demand different capabilities and are representative of two overlapping but different skill sets (Mason, 2009). *Choreutic cognition* is a more comprehensive term that can be applied cross-culturally to practices of embodied artistic expression and physical activity that are improvised or choreographed. The term choreutic cognition can be employed more broadly to refer to the embodied perceptual, cognitive and emotional processes involved in the visual, spatial, temporal and kinaesthetic aspects of physical activity. Choreutic cognition is a form of non-verbal thinking about time, spatial configurations, trajectories, and the ways in which movements, limbs and bodies relate to objects as well as one another.

Cultural transmission of choreutic practices involves cognitive and social mechanisms that combine preservative and constructive functions in different degrees (Sperber & Claidière, 2006:20-21). Preservative processes refer to those elements of cultural transmission that contribute to the relative stability of cultural representations. Memory, imitation and communication have a primarily preservative function, but “high fidelity is the exception rather than the rule” (2006:21). Representations do not in general replicate in the process of transmission, they transform as a result of a constructive cognitive process (Sperber, 1996:101). The constructive cognitive processes of thought and memory are involved both in representing cultural inputs and in producing public outputs. In the transmission of representations, constructive processes recurrently intrude on preservative processes (Sperber & Claidière, 2006:22).

The intrasubjective processes of thought and memory are the biological vector of the transmission of representations. The intersubjective processes of communication and imitation are the social vector and are partly psychological and partly ecological. In intersubjective processes at the interface of brain and environment, “the representations of one subject affect those of other subjects through modifications of their common physical environment (Sperber, 1985:77). Repertoires of representations—or in the case of fight-dancing, repertoires of movement—are constituted as they are distributed and practiced among peers. These repertoires are situated, distributed, and interactively organised.



**Figure 1: The intrasubjective and intersubjective processes of cultural transmission.**  
Adapted from Sperber (1985; 1996) and Sperber & Claidière (2006)

## Conclusion

Pencak Silat Seni and Silek Minang involve divergent pedagogical methods, incorporate dissimilar musical accompaniment, and thus cultivate two very different forms of choreutic cognition. The interaction of music and movement in Pencak Silat Seni assists the acquisition of movement. Musical cues from specialised Kendang Pencak recordings can prompt students in training. In contrast, the distraction of music in Silek Minang is an obstacle to recalling movement but a learning tool for developing a distinctive kind of awareness. Silek Minang practitioners must learn to concentrate and ignore auditory distractions. Musical aesthetics, however, are but a subsidiary of Indonesian martial arts performances.

Improvised and choreographed movement pedagogies shape the development of a practitioner's choreutic cognition and influence the global distribution of the art. The traditional way of learning Silek Minang draws upon constructive cognitive processes in laborious and time-consuming methods of cultural transmission. Traditional ways of teaching use feeling, intuition, and a flexible and improvised pedagogy that draws upon non-declarative and episodic memory skills. In comparison, the cultural transmission of West Javanese Pencak Silat Seni capitalises upon the efficiency and efficacy of preservative processes. Choreographed movements can be repeated simultaneously by large numbers of people, are effective ways of distributing knowledge with great speed, and employ the semantic memory skills of the brain thus facilitating the rapid acquisition and transmission of new movement vocabularies. Recorded Kendang Pencak musical accompaniment used in Pencak Silat Seni training also contributes to preservative processes. As a result, schools of Pencak Silat Seni have become more widespread and more uniform globally than schools of Silek Minang that often manifest idiosyncratic skill sets and do not cater to large populations of practitioners.

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Paul H. Mason

## THEME THREE

### ARCHIVING AND DOCUMENTATION

The theme of Archiving and Documentation was presented by eight papers, four of which were delivered in the context of a panel organized by Alex Dea (Indonesia). This panel dealt with the problems researchers have storing their field materials before they are publicly archived. Alex Dea addressed many issues facing researchers today who collect the audio/video materials and then need a way to get the materials out to public access. Related to these issues, Endo Suanda's (Indonesia) paper looked at the almost total lack of effort to build an archival system in Indonesia and, indeed, in other parts of Southeast Asia. However, he also discussed his own initiatives in forging ahead with an archive and the technical management of it. The panel continued with a paper presenting a contrasting situation by Bussakorn Binson (Thailand) who spoke about the history of a 1994 project for archiving the music of the renowned Master Prasit Thavon, a project sponsored by Chulalongkorn University's Cultural Centre. The panel concluded with Gini Gorlinski's (USA) presentation focusing on merging ethnographic documentation and educational intent in archives of Southeast Asian materials. Her own collection of audio/visual documentation from Sarawak, Malaysia and the EVIA Digital Archives at Indiana University were used as cases in point.

A second session on Archiving and Documentation included four papers that began with Gisa Jaehnichen's (Malaysia) discussion of Southeast Asian audio and video documents as important resources, noting that a huge amount of audio/video files are sitting on private computers and are not reaching archives of any kind. A close look at an actual audio/video documentation project by Julia Chieng (Malaysia) offered practical insight into the documentation process using her research and documentation of *sape* performance in Sarawak. Another graduate student, Belinda Maria Salazar (The Philippines), spoke in detail about the digitization project of Filipino composers' music scores in the Music Heritage Collection of the Philippine Women's University, while Made Mantle Hood (Australia) addressed issues and negotiations that led to the digitalization and publication of 1950s Central Javanese field recordings made by ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood. Considerable discussion ensued with the possible prospect of connections developing between an organization like the Berlin Phonogram Archive and various local collections in Indonesia in particular.

ALEX DEA  
U.S.A.

## WHO DID KING TUT PAY?

### Prologue

This is an independent paper on the problem of audio and video materials after acquisition but before publicly archived.

The symposium theme of Archiving and Documentation clearly hints at imperatives and threats. This is especially true where a number of individuals (including myself) have worked separately. Even in the best conditions of modern institutions, collections suffer from lack of staff and space. Also, if materials are safely stored in more modern countries, possibly far away, access to those who live locally may be a problem.

I created this panel and am pleased and honored that three other hardworking collectors have agreed to join me to look at issues about who will “save”, who will care, and who will dig into or even recognize the value of audio and video materials. Endo Suanda from Indonesia, Jane Bussakorn from Thailand, and Gini Gorlinski from America each have different approaches with different prerogatives, but they all want the same thing: access and longevity.

My aim is not to put solutions on the table, but to provoke each of you to think about what you are going to do with your own collections. I want you to look at the knotty problems of what to do with those gems which may be threatened by disuse and finally by loss.

### Why King Tut?

I started this talk with the title “Who Paid King Tut?”, a rather tongue-in-cheek jibe. However, as my writing continued, it went a different direction to “Who Did King Tut Pay?” Still rather tongue-in-cheek, but rather more apropos.

### How I Became A Collector

Forty years ago, I was, and still am, performing and studying musical composition. Remembering that in the late 60s where I grew up in as modern as America, access to music except the most popular types, some classical, or a rare blues -- forget about world music – was not readily available. One had to search specialty record shops, and many cities did not have such specialty shops – quite a different time from today where one can easily look into Amazon.com or Google.

At college, I studied western classical music primarily because that was the only theory available, but I was more interested in rock and jazz. In search of other approaches to music, I came upon Hindustani music (because of The Beatles). I was interested in being a performer/composer, so I went to India, and to farther reaches to West Africa. I also heard quite accidentally, a Javanese gamelan performance in California of all places. Eventually, in my naiveté, I found that there was a university where I could actually study theory of non-Western music. It was a fitting setting because there were Japanese, Indian North and South, gamelan, African and even avant-garde teachers. One thing we were taught in the ethnomusicology classes was something called “fieldwork”, and there was the concept of learning performance as a way to understand theory. That sounded fun, so off I went.

During my fieldwork two years in Central Java, I was lucky in the mid-70s to find still living masters from what could be considered “the Golden Age” of Javanese gamelan. Whether golden or not, it is arguable that these masters were the end of an era of performance and knowledge. Cassette tape with relatively high quality recorders allowed me to quickly acquire pieces and to notate by using the forward and backward lever. The notation was to help me understand and analyze the music’s structure but most importantly, to learn to how to perform.

To my great fortune, the masters were willing to be recorded. They allowed me into their personal space. Without much a glance, they got used to me behind headphones and microphones. My problem was not access to the content, but access to the blank recording tapes. I hoarded and searched, pleaded visiting friends to bring blank cassettes.

## **We Are the First Generation of Technical Culture**

After finishing the fieldwork, I again naively wrote and finished a dissertation. Naively I say because a number of friends who did not finish, eventually got nice jobs in arts and culture. In 1980, there was only one job available in America to ethnomusicologists, and it would not go to a green-horn like me (or a number of colleagues). With great trepidation, loathing, and fear, realizing that the “loaf” was over, and that it was time to earn a living, I luckily stumbled upon a job in IT (or what was called DP, Data Processing, at that time). I say luckily because although at that time, I thought sadly that I had lost my dream to understand and explicate the “secret” of Javanese gamelan music, IT is what actually has made it possible for me to live the dream of studying, recording, and performing full-time – without the strictures and tethers of the academic career I thought I sought – for these last eighteen years.

After gaining enough IT knowledge and experience, in 1992, I took a sabbatical and returned to my world music love and home Java. Due to a propitious grant from the Asian Cultural Council who believed I could document with video the last masters, I was able to continue the sabbatical. It allowed me to continue to stay outside of IT and the business “real” life to finally enter the ethnomusicology work into which I had been seduced because of performance and composition. A year after the grant, comes the lucky IT knowledge. I was almost forced by my former employer-company to teach its professional curriculum throughout Asia-Pacific. This IT work has provided me livelihood and has funded all of my work. That’s what started all the trouble.

## **List of My Problems**

I and my colleagues doing fieldwork in the 70s had increasingly improved audiovisual tools. As price became more affordable, technical tools became more available and easy to use for poor students. With a portable video or audio recorder, given enough batteries, we could let the tape run. We could quickly without prior planning, show up at an event, performance, or lesson and capture to heart’s desire.

We are the first generation who because of technology was able to really record and capture the material we wanted to research. The previous generation had to grapple with developing film for movie and stills. The equipment was heavy. The technology of their time limited what they could preserve of the ethereal life of music and of the music of life.

Due to the ease of our technology for data acquisition, without notice, my personal collection became large. Central Java is very rich in cultural performances. I lived in the two towns of Solo and Jogja, studying with masters from all the four palaces. There were many performative ceremonies outside of the palaces too. For years, I never slept in the same bed of my two or even three abodes more than two or three nights running. I was so busy running one place to another in order to make video and although I annotated as much as I could to give the general feeling and facts, I had little time to analyze, research, and publish the material.

I had the free rein, a dream, for an unprecedented eighteen years of data collection. Now unhappily that almost all the masters from the “golden age” have passed away, and I have less interest in data collecting of the current generation of new masters, I finally can begin to research and analyze in detail.

I have collected more than 800 video tapes and many more audio tapes. These include performances, interviews, and lessons with almost all of the great masters – all concentrated and focused in a single cultural location. As ethnomusicologist Bob Brown told me before his demise, I have a “treasure chest”. He reminded me of my responsibility to take care of these materials and to get them out to the public. My big problem is time.

Basically, it’s a job of preservation by duplication. As the report “Archives For The Future” correctly and strongly admonishes, keeping material for the future is a never-ending, probably thankless, job. Fortunately, I have always liked and respected archives, and these eighteen years and before, I have been making copies of my collection. It is by no means complete. I have purchased humidity-controlled camera/photo cabinets; something absolutely required in tropical fecund Java. Even so, some of the material has picked up mildew and some has suffered hydrolysis.

Now, I am dubbing as much as and as quickly as possible onto hard disk. Unlike even the situation in year 2000 when the Archives For The Future team worked, hard disk is relatively cheap now. Whether it will last is a different matter. However, one can always duplicate to a second hard

disk. I have more than 5 Terabytes. It is not enough. One Terabyte only holds about 75 one-hour miniDV video, or with five Terabytes, about 375. You don't want to put so much on one disk anyway because if there is a disk failure, you lose more material. Transferring a miniDV to disk is a real-time job. Given the winding and rewinding, even without making a catalog or annotations, means 800 videos takes about 1,200 hours or 30 working weeks – if you don't get tired or bored by the whole project. I do not have a budget (nor do many archives) to pay someone to dub for me, so I must do it alone. The fun is that I get to see again (sometimes for the first time) the material I have collected. It is also a good time to annotate and index the material. But, who has time to work 30 weeks just for dubbing?

That's not the biggest problem. After the dubbing, who saves the material? No one lives forever and most of us are -- perhaps suddenly -- of the "senior" (believe it or not) generation. Where to put the material? Even if it is accepted into a reputable archive, would it have time to continually reduplicate or retransfer my material into future technologies? Archives' budgets are very tight. Staff is not going to be working only on my material.

Who cares if the material is lost if not kept in an archive? Who saves my material? Even archives have problems to preserve and disseminate information, never mind a well-meaning relative, friend, or partner. No one knows that material as I (or You in your own material). For example, a friend of mine, a film scriptwriter, and film-maker dedicated to ethnographic audiovisual material passed away recently. Even in her best attempts, his wife could not understand which of his stuff was important. Certainly, she did not know where to find his annotations (if indeed there ever had been any). Just another short example of the fragility of historical materials: When one of my masters passed away, the family cleaned up her things, giving away some of it as mementoes to loved relatives. One of her students walking pass the garbage bin noticed a cracked glass frame which inside had a photo of my master. She retrieved this and gave it to me knowing that I had not been able to attend the funeral. In the photo, black and white hand-colored, was the master who was a famous diva and dancer along with three other colleague singers. They looked happy together. This throw-away had important information showing a facet of the competition among those singers. They were not, as assumed, always unfriendly opponents.

This is only two examples of the problem. Who will dig into my material for the context and subtle nuances of an important part of a certain musical culture in a certain time? Who knows how to decipher between the lines? I fear that my diligence of collecting and preserving materials will be lost because no one except me has the information which can help other future researchers.

### **What Would I Like To Happen Now?**

Here are additional problems I face. What solutions are available? What would I like to happen? At the risk of over-confidence or arrogance on my part about the importance of my audiovisual materials, I would like all of it to be easily accessible to anyone, not just to academic researchers. In my frequent travels, I am always startled that the least likely people have desire to learn more about the universe, but they do not know where to start or how to find something which might fire their interest. Doctors, drivers, and police have asked me about and what is around world music. Besides for researchers, I would like my collection to be easy to search and easy to access.

I especially hope that my materials will be used by future Javanese generations. Maybe not by the next generation because in these developing post-post-modern times in Indonesia, they are more focused on Facebook, Blackberry, and Twitter, but I hope for the second, third, or fourth generations. It seems that the classical performing arts I learned to love and loved to learn are waning -- for now. However, I believe that in fifty years, some smart Javanese performer/composer/artist will need to reconstruct or at least to re-understand some of the surface (and possibly the deeper) elements of their own culture and sensibility. For this, my material which now may seem redundant, there are details which maybe even I have not understood. As an example, it may be interesting to see the invisible (now) details of how a certain master had a wry face, or a humorous attitude, or a scoffing silent nod of the head when he praised someone's performance. It is important in the future, after the present is lost and has become myth, to understand that the master was not as god-like as imagined. Not being a god does not disparage the master, but shows us how a human achieves greatness. It allows the future researcher to understand nuances which would not be known through writing or even audio recordings.

### What Should the Next Generation Do?

What I see is that lots of researchers do fieldwork and then get jobs and only occasionally can come back to fieldwork as deeply as they wish. My problem is I have too much stuff. It represents a frozen time at the end of a certain age in Javanese classical arts. I am doing what I can now, to annotate and to index by logging in the important interviews. This all takes time, more than I have for the remaining lifetime. There is a nexus of time between the end of an era, having the audiovisual materials and someone (me as collector and researcher) who knows something about the time-space context.

### What I Wish After I Am Gone

I would like to get my material out to the public access quickly. The material needs to be used. Maybe it's time to go back to armchair researcher/analyzing like the old days in the primordial ethnomusicology when the person going into the wild jungles of forbidding unknown lands in order to collect cultural artifacts was different from the person who peered into and analyzed what was there ... and they understood how to look at that stuff.

### Conclusion

I began by telling you "I have a problem". Now, I end that it is not "I" but "We". We have a problem. We cannot expect our audiovisual materials to be taken care of well. Even if an institution would take our material, there is no certainty that as technology races onward that our stuff will make it into the future. And most importantly, there is no certainty that the knowledge that we have, the notions, nuances, and hidden understandings will be available to future researchers and searchers.

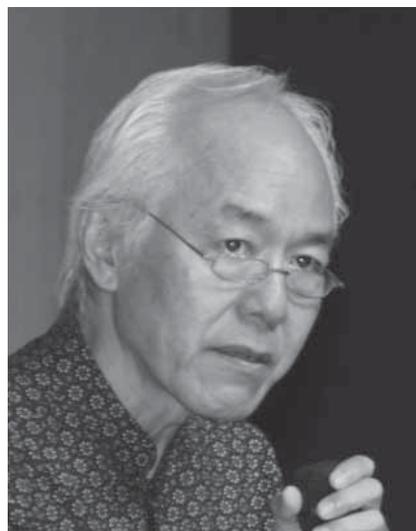
That is why I changed my title from "Who Paid King Tut" to "Who Did King Tut Pay?" His stuff is still around today. King Tut's stuff was lost and then rediscovered. Fortunately, the splendor and good condition of his stuff attracted the someone(s) to dig into the meanings and eventually get the understanding about something about him. Sure, it was discovered by someone, maybe by chance, so surely somewhat must have been paid for his stuff to last so long. Who will look after my, our, stuff? It requires so much time and expense, and care.

Mortality can not be ignored. As a good friend said, "no one gets off with a free pass". So, what are we going to do about stuff?

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**BUILDING A DYNAMIC ARCHIVE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN PERFORMING ARTS  
FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH: THE EVIADA MODEL**

**The Call from the Vault and Archival Conundrums**

It has been nearly 25 years since Anthony Seeger published his prescient assessment of the sustainability of audio and video archives and their significance for the field of ethnomusicology. He reminded us that within the broader scheme of scholarship, it is the recordings—the documentation of performances—that are of lasting value, as they form the foundation of the important yet ever-changing theoretical work through which we, as ethnomusicologists, continue to refine our understanding of what people do with music (or sound) and what music does with people. As usual, Seeger urged fieldworkers to deposit their collections of recordings with an archive where they would be properly preserved, catalogued, and ultimately, made available to scholars, students, and interested individuals worldwide. Moreover, he suggested that by choosing not to archive our recordings, we essentially perpetuate the colonial endeavor. In other words, we extract raw materials from a particular community, process them in a far-away place, throw away the chaff (here, the actual recordings), and return little, if anything, of meaning or value to the people at the source.

I finally heard the call in the 1990s, when I was struck by a wave of disappointment, panic, and guilt as I realized that not only were many of my analog field recordings from the upriver regions of East Kalimantan, Indonesia, and Sarawak, Malaysia well into their second decade of deterioration in the vault (a corner of my closet), but that a good number of the performers on those recordings had died. Propelled by a sense of urgency, I resolved to digitize all of my analog audio and videotapes from Borneo and put them on CD or DVD, which, at a time when the cost of disc space was prohibitive, seemed the best—and most durable—solution. On my next trip to Sarawak, I would deposit copies of the discs with the archive of the *Majlis Adat Istiadat* (Office for Customs and Traditions) in Kuching, Sarawak, where I knew they would be carefully stored. I would also leave sets of the recordings and boom boxes with my adoptive families upriver.

It all sounded like such a great plan, but as I began the process of digitizing and developing a catalogue of the material, I had a number of revelations. First, the digitization was remarkably tedious and time consuming. Moreover, it was not the kind of work that could easily be handed off to a graduate-student assistant or archivist. The recordings were not tidy and, indeed, demanded intimate familiarity with the material simply to itemize them. I knew where one piece stopped and the next started; I could hear when audience members called out names of tunes or made other informative comments on performances; I knew where lengthy selections could logically be broken to fit onto multiple CDs; I knew which tunes could (and should) be grouped for ease of access and for pedagogical purposes. And when it came to logging tunes that either had no names or that were known by different names in different communities (a common phenomenon in Southeast Asia), I was stumped. While I wanted to show the connection between such repertoires, I did not want to violate the integrity of any one group's tradition by calling a tune by anything other than its local name, so some sort of cross-referencing was in order. All in all, the project became tremendously complex, as I found that an abundance of annotation was necessary to make these ethnographic recordings intelligible to future users. I realized that I was trying to tackle single-handedly all matters of preservation, access, contextualization, and archive development. Although I did indeed deposit my materials in Sarawak as planned, the accompanying documentation did not meet my standard. To make matters worse, after about a decade, while the CDs and DVDs to which I had transferred my recordings were still intact, many newer machines could not read them. I was back at “square one.”

**From the Vault into the Digital Storeroom: The EVIADA Project**

At the dawn of the 21st century, scholars and educators, technologists, archivists, librarians, and legal professionals were pooling their expertise on a project that indeed aimed to overcome all of the archival problems—and more—that I had encountered in my own work. That project was the

Ethnographic Video for Instruction and Analysis Digital Archive, or EVIADA, and by the last quarter of 2009 it had not only resolved many long-standing issues for archivists and ethnographers but had established a remarkably valuable, broadly accessible, and growing educational resource.

As outlined on the archive's Web site (<http://www.eviada.org>), EVIADA is a "preservation and access system for ethnographic field video" that is annotated by scholars and available to educators and researchers online. The planning phase of the project was launched in 2001 as a joint effort between Indiana University-Bloomington and University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, with a major grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and significant supplemental funds provided by the two collaborating universities. Work during the planning period focused on the creation of software that would not only enable the display of the videos as media streamed over the Internet, but would allow the attachment of annotations, aligned with particular segments of the videos, as metadata—or more precisely, as "catastrophic metadata"—that would insure usability of the material in the event of loss of the original documents, if not also of the documented tradition.

Following the initial planning phase, EVIADA entered its development phase, which involved four calls for proposals and the subsequent invitation of about four dozen ethnographers each to deposit 10 hours of video with the archive. Each depositor was trained in use of special annotation software in one of four two-week workshops held at Indiana University during the summers of 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2009. Once familiar with the annotation process, the depositors returned to their respective homes and continued their work on their own. Meanwhile, the EVIADA staff continued to refine and expand the capabilities of the software. In October 2009, the first completed collections of annotated video were published online, with the remainder of the collections to be posted as the ethnographers finished their annotations, circulated their work for peer review, made any necessary revisions, and submitted the final product to the archive. In 2010 EVIADA entered its sustainability phase, with the aim of expanding their holdings and, ultimately, of developing a lasting digital archive that not only renders preservation of ephemeral media a non-issue but also provides a permanent solution to many problems of access (both physical and conceptual) typically associated with such unique ethnographic records.

### **Annotator's Workbench: From the Inside**

The video annotation software used by—and designed especially for EVIADA—is called Annotator's Workbench (AWB). It enables its users to link various sorts of instructions and text as metadata to archival-quality digital copies of recordings that have been stored on a dedicated server. The entire package—the video, with attached metadata—is then made available through Internet streaming on the EVIADA Web site.

The signature feature of EVIADA is the remarkable breadth and depth of the digital annotations that—through use of the AWB software—are inseparably attached to the video media itself. Indeed, in their entirety, the annotations of a given collection may be comparable to a book-length ethnographic monograph that has simultaneously been informed by and integrated with the archived footage. As a soon-to-be depositor with EVIADA of a collection of field video from Sarawak, Malaysia, I present here a user's view of AWB with the aim of illuminating some of the technological strides that have been made in the preservation, access, and archiving of recorded media through the EVIADA project.

The layout of the AWB workspace (Figure 1) consists of three core components: a resizable, moveable video pane with its own controls; a timeline that runs along the bottom of the workspace; and a set of text windows that accommodates the annotations. The video pane displays a copy of the depositor's archived footage—highly compressed and assembled as a single media file—to serve as a referent during the annotation process. The timeline gives a linear representation of that footage, with an adjustable scale that allows the user both to pinpoint particular passages for annotation as well as view the position of those passages within the broader collection.

Using the video in the window as a guide, a depositor organizes and annotates his or her footage by marking up the timeline. The highest level of organization is the collection itself, represented in Figure 1 by the top bar on the timeline, labeled "Sarawak, Malaysia-Gorlinski."

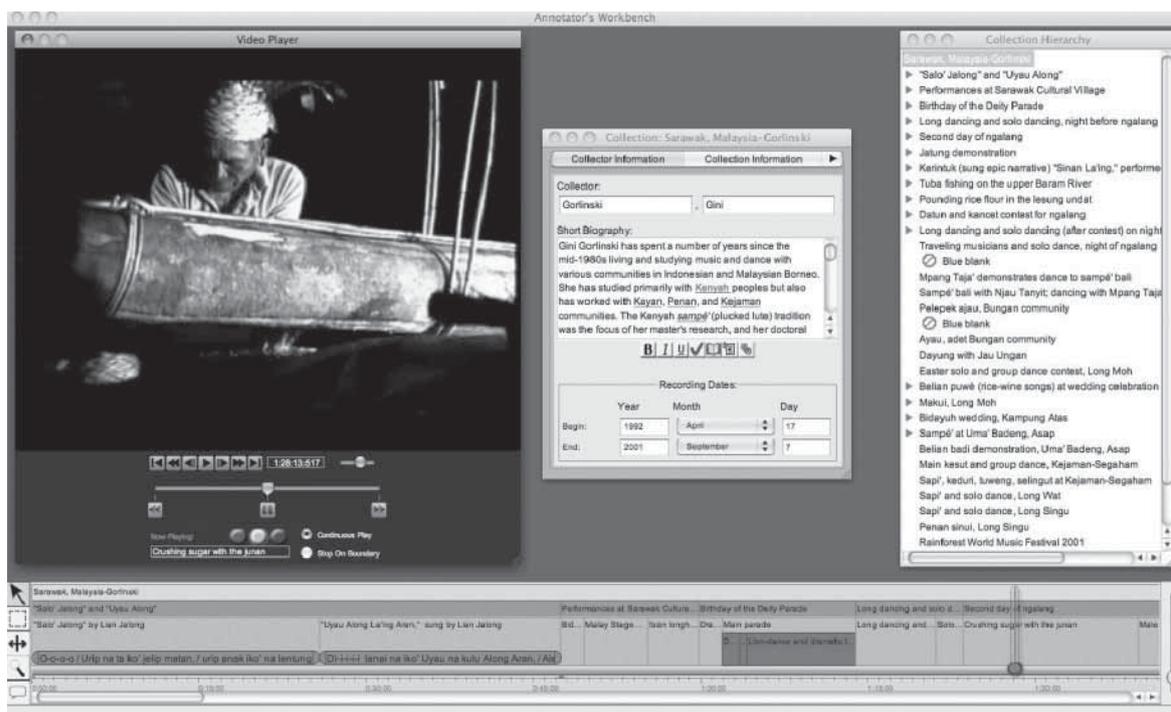


Figure 1. Basic components of AWB software: video screen, annotation windows, and timeline.

By double clicking on the collection bar, an annotation window (Figure 1, center) appears, by default prompting the depositor to enter information about the collector (who, in most cases, is also the depositor). Clicking on the arrows in the upper right and upper left corners of the annotation window guides the depositor through other fields that accommodate a general description of the collection's content and significance; controlled vocabulary (for indexing and keyword searches); names of participants in the documented events; and a list of technical problems that affected any segments of the collection. Most of these fields—or their equivalents—are also available on lower levels of organization.

The first order of mark-ups below the collection level—shown just below the collection bar in Figure 1—is the event. At this level of annotation, depositors use a “drag-and-drop” technique to create and manipulate markers to identify the various events or contexts in which the activities documented in the videos took place. When segmented properly, every moment of the collection is associated with a particular event. The one and half hours of video represented in the timeline in Figure 1, for instance, span five events, the first titled “*Salo Jalong and Uyau Along*” (wedding celebration) and the last labeled “*Second day of ngalang*.”

Once segmented, double clicking any event in the timeline will open an annotation window similar to the one that appeared when clicking the collection bar (Figure 2, upper left).

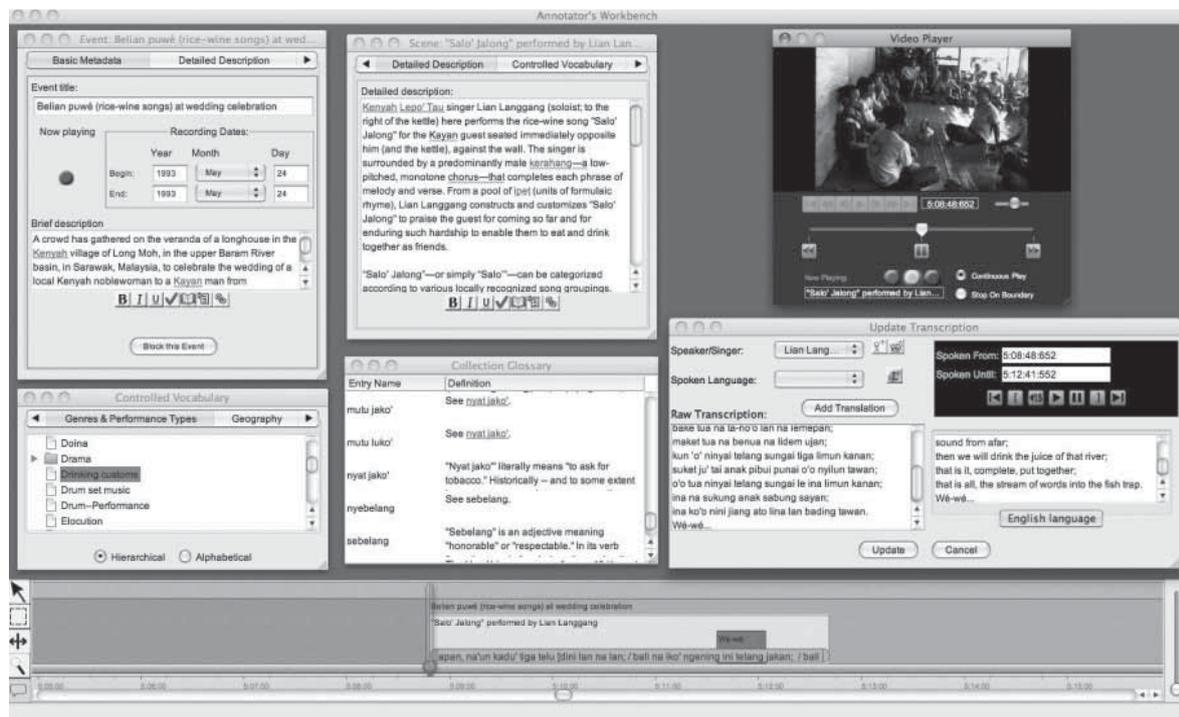


Figure 2. Annotation and controlled-vocabulary windows, video player, and timeline in AWB.

The depositor is prompted first for “basic metadata,” that is, a title and date for the event and a general description of the activities documented. In Figure 2, the highlighted event is titled “*Belian puwé* (rice-wine songs) at a wedding celebration.” Once labeled, the title appears both in the appropriate segment of the timeline as well as in the annotation window. Additional information about the event may be entered in the “detailed description” field, accessible by clicking the tab at the top of the window. Other tabs, again revealed by scrolling horizontally with the arrows, duplicate those on the collection level. There is, however, one new field on the event level: transcriptions. Shown in the bottom right of Figure 2, the this field accommodates both transcriptions and translations (into one or more languages) of verbal expressions in the video. The initial words of any transcription are displayed in a dark gray bar on the bottom of the timeline (“*apan, na'un kadu*’...” in Figure 2).

An event may be segmented further into various scenes, indicated by an intermittent bar beneath the event bar in the timeline. The focal scene in Figure 2, labeled “*Salo' Jalong* performed by Lian Langgang,” corresponds to singer Lian Langgang’s performance of the rice-wine song “*Salo' Jalong*”, which was just one of a number of songs documented in the context of the wedding celebration (the event). The marking and annotation process at the scene level is the same as that used on the event level. There is, however, an additional field for ranking each scene in terms of quality (one to five stars). This ranking comes into play in the ordering of the results of keyword and controlled-vocabulary searches executed by EVIADA end users.

The final level of segmentation is that of the action. Actions appear sporadically in the timeline as blocks within a scene. In Figure 2, the dark block labeled “*Wé-wé*” within Lian Langgang’s performance of the rice-wine song “*Salo' Jalong*,” corresponds to the physical offering of rice-wine, which is accompanied by a conventional intonation of the syllables “*wé-wé*.” The annotation fields at the action level are the same as those at the scene level. Although the lowest unit of segmentation, the action should not be considered any less significant or substantive than a scene or an event. Like any scene or event, actions may be copiously annotated. All in all, the volume of annotations varies notably from one level to another, depending on the nature of the material as well as the organizational sensibilities of the depositor.

The controlled-vocabulary field is as important as it is pervasive in AWB, appearing on all levels of annotation. It is in this field that depositors enter various search terms, drawn primarily from the U.S. Library of Congress subject headings but also from other lists of controlled vocabulary that are especially suited to the indexing of ethnographic documents. These terms will allow end users to find various scenes within their collections. The controlled-vocabulary field contains five subfields:

social and cultural groupings, genres and performance types, instruments, languages, and venue types. Using terms from an ever-expanding list (Figure 2, lower left) provided by EVIADA, depositors simply drag and drop the appropriate terms into the proper fields.

Another feature of the AWB software that is specifically designed to increase the accessibility of the collection is the clickable display of the collection hierarchy, which develops during the segmentation process of the video footage. Every event, scene, and action within the collection appears in the hierarchy window (Figure 1, right). For both the depositor and the EVIADA end user, a simple click of any item in the list opens the annotation window for that segment. Also built into AWB are various hyperlink functions that enable depositors to link text elements in the annotations to other video segments within the collection; to definitions or descriptions in a collection glossary (Figure 2, lower center); or to a collection bibliography. The glossary, built by the depositor in conjunction with the annotations, is especially notable for its flexible format, which may accommodate entries ranging from short definitions of technical terms to lengthy explanations of indigenous music concepts.

Once the depositor has supplied information about him or herself and the collection in general and has completed the segmentation of the archived footage, entered annotations in the various fields on every level of segmentation, selected controlled vocabulary, built the glossary and otherwise added hyperlinks to the text, and compiled a bibliography, the collection is sent out for peer review. After it is returned to the depositor and any necessary adjustments are made in response to the reviewers' commentary, the collection is published online. Finally, the video material has burst from the box in the closet to reach potential users across the globe.

### **The EVIADA Collections: From the Outside**

With incorporation of the video material and annotations into a digital mass storage system, preservation of the original physical media (e.g., tapes, discs) essentially becomes a non-issue, and energies may be directed toward matters of access. Theoretically, the EVIADA collections are available at [www.eviada.org](http://www.eviada.org) to anyone, anywhere, who has a high-speed Internet connection, a username name, and a password. When the archive went live—was launched online—in 2009, accounts were automatically generated (with username and password) for all members of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Others were invited to create an account on the site's login page.

Within the archive, users may search for video material either by keyword or by category. Both search types are grounded in the same controlled vocabulary that the depositors employed during the annotation process. While keyword searches are full-text searches that locate all video segments whose annotations contain the given keyword, browsing, by contrast, locates only those segments to which the keyword was specifically tagged by the depositor. The categories of the browse function correspond to the controlled-vocabulary subfields (e.g., social and cultural groupings, instrument and genre types, etc.) used in AWB, along with two additional categories specifying the recording date and the name of the depositor, respectively. Both keyword and browse searches return a list of the lowest-level segments in any stretch of footage that contain or are otherwise associated with the designated search term. Most "hits" are at the scene level. Marked by a thumbnail image from the footage, each item in the list displays the segment title, the first few words of the detailed text annotation, and the name of the collection and its depositor. To the right of the list appears a numeric overview of the hits by controlled-vocabulary term.

Clicking any item in the list of 'search results' leads to a new screen, on the left of which appears a video player that runs the selected segment automatically (Figure 3).

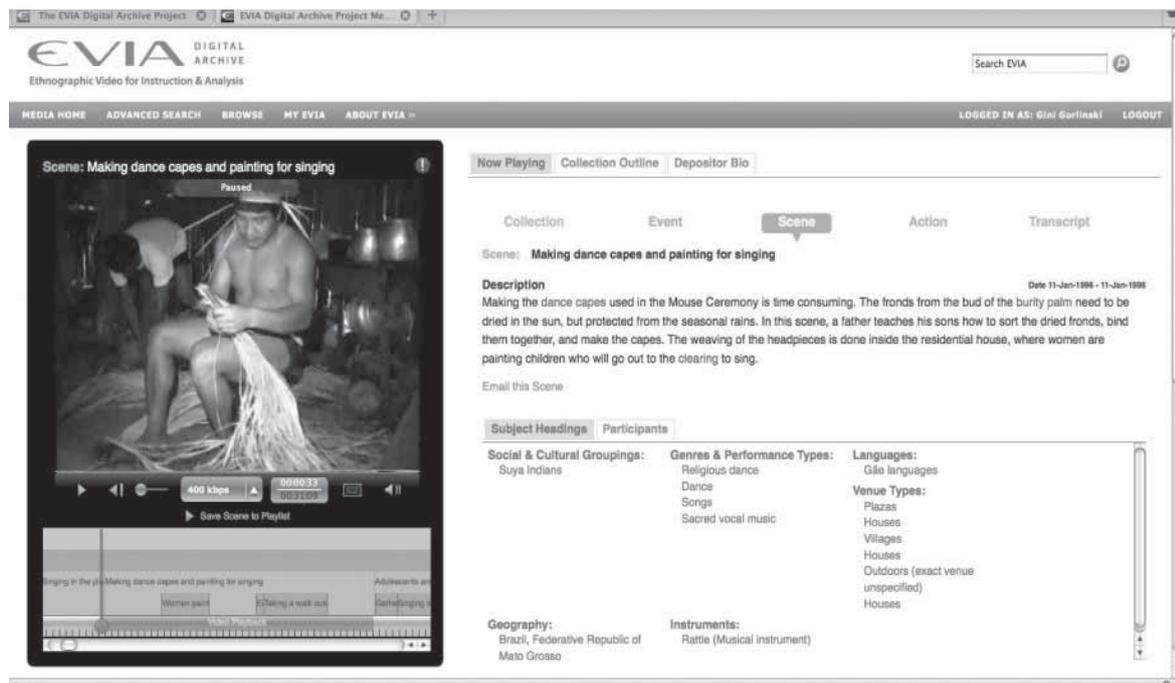


Figure 3. End-user view of EVIADA, after selecting an item from the search results. (The scene here is from Anthony Seeger’s collection *Suyá Kĩsêdjê Ceremonies, Song, and Dance in Mato Grosso*).

Annotations associated with the segment are displayed to the right of the player, along with links to annotations and transcriptions at all levels above the selected segment (e.g., scene, event, or collection). Additional tabs retrieve the clickable collection outline and the depositor’s biography. Shown beneath the video player in a manner quite similar to that of the AWB software is the collection timeline. All segment titles within the timeline are hot-linked to a brief description and to an option to play the segment.

In addition to the abundance of metadata that both contextualizes and explains the material in the videos, EVIADA is equipped with several other features that further augment the archive’s utility for teaching and research. Users may select between two different streaming rates to suit the speed of their Internet connections, and ultimately, to improve video-playback quality. For detailed viewing and dynamic classroom presentation, the video pane has a “full screen” mode. End users may also save (but not download) segments to playlists for future reference. Finally, plans are underway at EVIADA to develop topic-focused “pedagogical units” to help promote active use of the archive for instructional purposes.

As illustrated by the many groundbreaking features I have outlined here, EVIADA represents an extraordinary response to the preservation-and-access predicament that has long plagued archives of recorded media. Not only has EVIADA rendered preservation of the physical “media” a non-concern, but it has found a way to permanently attach ethnographic information to the videos that will allow the footage to be useful for generations to come. The project, however, is an ever-evolving one, an ongoing quest to ensure the stability and versatility of the archive as a resource for ethnomusicological (and more broadly, ethnographic) inquiry. Some depositors, for instance, have expressed a desire to include music notation as a part of the annotations. The AWB software does not yet have this capacity. EVIADA also does not yet allow adjustment or expansion of either the video footage or the annotations after a collection has been published online. This is likely due to each collection’s status as a peer-reviewed publication. As staff and funding become available, perhaps AWB could be given new functionality that would enable depositors to create clearly identifiable versions of their collections so that the original, peer-reviewed documents retain their integrity, but the collections themselves do not necessarily become static. Indeed, for many depositors, the material archived with EVIADA represents only a portion of their existing collections, which continue to grow. Also helpful would be searchability of a given collection from that collection’s glossary terms. The mere imagination of such future developments in EVIADA is invigorating, and for me, it is a

testament to my unflagging excitement over the accomplishments and the precedent set by the project. EVIADA is brimming with possibilities.

### **Archives, Research, and Education: Reissuing the Call to Fieldworkers**

EVIADA has provided us with a valuable model for the preservation of recordings—whether audio or video—and for maximizing access to those recordings, on one level through Internet dissemination and on another through a detailed and dedicated controlled-vocabulary system. Perhaps most significantly, the entire structure of EVIADA not only allows for in-depth explanation of the archived documents but ultimately encourages use of the material both for research and for teaching.

To return to the opening of this paper, we no longer have an excuse for ignoring those foundational recordings in the back of the closet. The technology now exists not only to save those recordings, but ultimately to return them—through the Internet—to the people who gave them to us. The remaining challenge, however, is to change the mentality of our governments, our institutional administrators, and ourselves so that we all recognize the importance and scholarly significance of such archival work and prioritize it accordingly.

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## AUDIOVISUAL DOCUMENTS AS ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL SOURCES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

### Historical conspectus

All around the world, archiving and documentation is a discipline of increasing importance for ethnomusicological studies. The possibility to record sound and movements and, thus, make the audible and visible part of any music culture reproducible, independently of time and space, led, to a great part, to the existence of ethnomusicology. Moreover, the very nature of sound and related movements as the main subjects in studies of performing arts needs to be imagined in a way that makes serious investigations provable. Thus, audiovisual documents are becoming intellectual assets of a comparable level to scientific discourses fixed on paper, preferably in journals represented in an international citation index. Nevertheless, the significance of audiovisual material is based on a special treatment that must develop the ‘pure material’ into a “document”. I will come back to this question.

Most of the early audio and video material obtained by scholars from Europe and North America and stored as larger parts of anthropological collections turned out to be unassailable documents. A whole school of early ethnomusicologists, who were partly inspired by the systematic approaches of the Berlin School of Comparative Musicology—which, by the way, started with an analysis of the Thai Court Ensemble Repertoire—, explored Southeast Asian regions such as Indonesia with Jaap Kunst (1891–1960) and Mantle Hood (1918–2005), or Indochina and Myanmar with Jacques Brunet, Alain Danielou (1907–1994), who followed partly the preceding ethnographers Gaston Knosp (1874–1942) and George de Gironcourt.

Southeast Asian music cultures contributed, from the very beginning of recorded sound, to the collections of museums and universities far away from their origin. If we have a short glance at the stock of primary recordings from Southeast Asia stored in the most popular museums, archives and libraries of the Western world, we can see that audiovisual documents deriving from Southeast Asian cultures have had an important impact on ethnomusicological methodology, especially on its systematic and analytical methods. These early developments were diluted with the upcoming “anthropological wing” of ethnomusicology, referring to Franz Boas (1858–1942), and finally led by Alan P. Merriam (1923–1980), extended and modified by John Blacking (1928–1990).

Mervyn McLean comments on the period that followed this development:

“When I tell people that in the past twenty years or so ethnomusicologists have largely given up field work, archiving, analysis, and comparison, they are apt to ask ‘What’s left?’” (McLean, 2007, p. 133).

Although McLean is judging from the internal North American viewpoint and its supposed overview, the tendency to give up not only detailed fieldwork but to give up researching primary-experienced sound is remarkable. Often, article proposals by young, still idealistic scholars are currently refused by reviewers for being too analytical, too painstaking, and thus too boring and too complex due to its missing focus on one clear contextual issue.

The reason for this tendency is media-borne. With technological development and market expansion, paired with an increasing pressure on research institutions to publish and to innovate, a huge amount of audiovisual collections flooded the world of ethnomusicology. Only a very small part of it reaches the document quality of the early recordings.

Schüller, who was working on the TAPE project, remarks that he estimated the percentage of sub-optimally stored research collections to be 80%. This estimation is based on a fairly good personal overview of audiovisual collections worldwide (Schüller, 2008, p. 5). Schüller idealised institutional care from his perspective of identifying preservation—especially its technological and logistic aspects—as national responsibility. Although aware of quantities, he strongly underestimates private collections in their significance for research contents. Nevertheless, he creates visions—when innovatively translated—for any region of the world.

Meanwhile, a large amount of audiovisual recordings from Southeast Asia is travelling in the shape of digital files around the globe, leading a nomadic existence on many private computers. Only a

small percentage of initially intended field recordings of the last few decades, made by researchers from the Southeast Asian region and from abroad, reached seriously working archives or at least some reliably working research institutions. The result is that young scholars often are left to choose audiovisual material from a wide range of volatile quality, and equipped with doubtful descriptions, to focus on one clear contextual issue. An even smaller percentage of these field recordings are accessible as archived items in the region itself. Thus, the world of audiovisual proof for ethnomusicological research in Southeast Asia becomes “really virtual” for those who are working in that region of the world. The sheer amount of recordings accessible through internet platforms seems to completely ignore the basic annotation work needed with sound and visual sources. Moreover, this situation is even worse because these recordings accessible through the internet sources are unelaborated and unannotated audiovisual recordings, and are not yet “documents”, which they may become through descriptive classifying, processing, preserving, and careful managing.

For many cultures of remote areas in Southeast Asia, where literature, music and dance are orally transmitted, institutions such as archives and media libraries are of utmost significance. They have to take on a guiding role, comparable to publishing houses in the world of print media, in close co-operation with researchers and networking institutions. As well as printed editions, audiovisual documents need to be updated and regularly re-collected. Therefore, they need to be supported in a qualified way by ethnomusicologists regardless of their institutional affiliation.

### **Present-day realities**

One of the most disastrous observations I can make in Southeast Asia concerning audio and audiovisual documentation is the extreme lack of co-operation between institutions and individuals. For what reason does this exist? Possibly, past colonial policies of dividing people into different groups deepened the pre-existing social stratification. After the proclamation of independence, the transformed or re-grouped hierarchies led to the continued existence of pragmatically organized collaboration for only a short time. Long-term inter-group solidarity, based on either utilitarian or altruistic reasoning, does not seem to be within the scope of any resource management. Music and dance research suffers from this situation due to the dependence of these performing arts on audiovisual material and the subsequent transformation of the recordings into research documents.

Another problematic point is the fact that in most of the research institutions the technical staff is administratively divided from academic faculty. Thus, joint tasks are often delegated to those who do not directly deal with content issues. Universities, colleges and other institutions of higher education or research are still well pampered with employees, and many researchers, postgraduates or project assistants regard archiving work as some kind of service provided by non-academic staff, who just knows about technical details. This perception of technically demanding support can become very treacherous for researchers who really want to benefit from technology. To come with the first secret: it's not only a technology, it's a completely different scientific approach. While humanities in general, and the sciences on art and music in particular, were based on knowledge gained from written documents, in contrast, audiovisual technology enables one to trace back performances in their actual shape as primary sources. Therefore, joint efforts to overcome named problems are of utmost urgency.

A group of pioneers should come forth who are willing to take up the challenge and transform audiovisual material that is already collected into serious audiovisual documents, into scientific assets from which the whole region could benefit. One step is the formation of the Laón-Laón project<sup>1</sup> under the leadership of the University of The Philippines and supported by international archival organisations. Additionally, small-scale university archives should be established to convert private material into authorised and well cared for audiovisual documents. University researchers dealing with audiovisual material should agree to qualify themselves continuously to care about their own results from various projects and experiments.

### **Examples**

I want to demonstrate a case from Indochina. In 1992, my first audiovisual recordings were made with a Hi8 video camera and a DAT recorder. I thought that taping as much as I can, and then making a list with time codes and contents, would be sufficient. I had the opportunity to record a so-called flute-singing of the Khmu people living in upland areas of Vietnam, Laos and China (“Khmu

*peng pi*” or “*peng tot Khmu*”) in Moc Chau on 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1992, at the border between Vietnam and Laos.

This kind of music making is very rare, and it is hard to find a Khmu who is able to perform it. The flute-song is an interlocking singing of certain pitches and continuing flute playing by one single musician (almost women; I’ve never seen a men practicing). The inserted phrases are short excerpts from sayings. This music practice, performed by elder women, is addressed to children. When I heard the flute-song for the first time I thought that the sung pitches may be those pitches missed in the scale of the flute. I measured the instrument and I tried to imitate the melodic shape of the piece without much success. But, the flute could play all pitches; therefore, for me there was no reason to substitute single pitches by singing them. In a later analysis I discovered that one and the same flute could play different modes and that different pitches were filled with vocal inserts.<sup>2</sup> The recording got a place as a curiosity in my first large collection that I studiously archived in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, where it lived untouched far from reality. Thoughtless, I forgot about it until a broadcast journalist asked me to prepare a programme on curiosities. It took a very long time to find another opportunity.

Ueay Phan, a Khmu woman from a village near Luang Prabang, who is famous for still being able to play “Tot Khmu”, performed her example on 28<sup>th</sup> August 2000. It took only 8 years to regard a former common music practice of Khmu people as disappearing. Therefore, it was becoming rare to an extent that people who can perform this kind of music are called “famous”.

ຕອດຂຸມ ປີ ແລະ ສ້າງຄົນ  
Totkhamu, pi le siangkxon (Khmu)

ATML 00601

Figure 1. Excerpt from a transcription of Khmu flute-singing made from the recording 601 of the Archives of Traditional Music in Laos. (Ueay Phan, Luang Prabang District, 2000)

It was not the piece of music itself that made me worry; it was the notion that this kind of neglectful blindness toward collecting music could have an effect not only on one, but on many other cases. I believed that I was not the only person to record the Khmu-flute-singing, further I believed that time in this region passes so slowly that I would have plenty of opportunity to care about my collected items later. Even worse was the fact that I believed I had recorded just an “item” of musical sound. In reality, it was a practice (a tradition) that was fast changing, due to fast emerging economic

turns that promoted technologies unknown to this area, but without providing the possibilities of cultural balance. It should have been my duty to think ahead to the future of that music, as well as to contribute to such a balancing system. Since then, I have taken the transformation of any audiovisual material into audiovisual documents as seriously as the whole recording project itself.

### Consequences

To take further the transformation of audiovisual material into audiovisual documents in Southeast Asia really seriously, a few preconditions have to be carefully planned:

An archive that stores primary recordings on any type of media, or as electronic files, cannot work as a restrictive institution in which the main focus is economic competition. If so, the stored “items” become an economic asset instead of a scientific asset. Unfortunately many colleagues still consider their recordings as economic assets rather than documents that have to be authorised and that have to be accessible to guarantee the possibility to trace resulting knowledge back to its sources. In print matters, no scientist would hold his writings hidden to the public for being afraid that other colleagues could rob his ideas. Scientific ideas are borne to be disseminated. Hence, articles and books have to be written to reach their destination, and audiovisual items have to be carefully edited as well, then they can be called “documents”. At that point, they have the same strength of evidence as other scientific sources. All of this means that responsibilities have to be shared and networking is the only way to be successful in that field. Santos asks further:

“If we are indeed interested to know of each other’s cultures and the relationship of our own to these cultures, our research must take on a different direction. This is where collective research must be cultivated” (Santos, 2009, p. 10).

Until now, many researchers strictly follow their funded project directions, in which professional archiving is often not included. Networking between researchers of different institutions, outside the financial safety of their projects, rarely occurs. This condition must be changed. Throwing files, via Youtube or even more serious internet platforms, into the World Wide Web is not editing, it is simply a way of distributing material. First, all recordings need carefully reviewed metadata and cleared production modes. All these things need a high degree of professionalism, which unites technological and content-related knowledge.

As a final example, I would like to show you some recordings from Attapeu and Sekong, the poorest provinces in Laos. The villages, where the archive staff of the National Library to which I belonged as well, carried out so-called cross-sectional research projects, which were quite cut off from the rest of the country. Only in the dry season, a dirt road connected the villages with the main road heading to the Mekong River. In the rainy season, the villages are connected to other villages through smaller water streams.

People here regard their cultural activities as very important due to the fact that they share the territory with many different people such as Alak, Nge, Oi, or Katu communities. They do not compete in terms of organising festivals with performances evaluated by a jury. They just want to keep a few things in flow. They do not know how “famous” they will be in a couple of years. The cross-sectional recordings we made there have to be repeated in a sequence of 3 years. The recordings are publicly accessible in the National Library. The village gets copies of all recordings and photographs. Every time we come for a visit, we have a media-performance after the recording session. People discuss their contributions. They are aware of their value and they know, too, that the recordings are not “fixed items”, but that the songs and other music can be played differently next time, and I think that is a very important and constructive result.

To develop a wide networking group of researchers—regardless of their institutional connection—we need everybody’s innovative ideas and the deep insight that audiovisual material transformed into documents will be an indivisible part of our future working tools.

Although the flood of audiovisual recordings seems to overwhelm us, we should always be aware of the necessary quality, which needs as a precondition, a strong interrelation between technical implementation and cultural knowledge. Under these conditions, pure measurements and old-fashioned systematic comparison are not sufficient, although not out of date in general. This matter is really urgent due to the high speed of economic and social changes in Southeast Asian societies and their performing arts.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The Laón-Laón project aims institutional networking, initiates collaborative projects, education about and with audiovisual material and addresses questions of ecology and advocacy in archiving. Its second forum outlined possible working schedules and introduces dialogue partners. It is supported by the University of The Philippines Center for Ethnomusicology and the Japan Foundation. See: Laón-Laón 2009: *A Forum on Music Research Centers in Asia II*. Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia, Phnom Penh. 24-26 November 2009. Presentation materials.

<sup>2</sup> That was definitely the way of thinking I had as a clueless young scholar grown on the materialistic ground of systematic approaches

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**NEGOTIATING THE ARCHIVES: PRESERVING AND PUBLISHING  
CENTRAL JAVANESE GAMELAN FIELD RECORDINGS**

**Introduction**

For over a century, field recordings have been one of the cornerstones of research in ethnomusicology. And for nearly as long, researchers have put their trust in audio-visual archives to maintain and preserve their collections. In the late 1950s, Mantle Hood, one of the early pioneers of American Ethnomusicology, landed in Indonesia weighted down by bulky recording equipment to make his first field recordings of Central Javanese gamelan. These recordings captured the performance practice of instrumental and vocal music placing particular emphasis on documenting improvisatory aspects of gamelan. Today, Hood's field recordings are safely housed at the Berlin Phonogram Archive alongside those of his mentor, Jaap Kunst and other early forefathers of ethnomusicology and related disciplines that were reliant on recordings such as Linguistics, Folklore and Anthropology.

Increasingly, music communities around the globe are using archival holdings and recording technology as resources for reinventing tradition. This means archives such as the Berlin Phonogram Archive are fast becoming what ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger refers to as, "An extremely significant part of the musical and cultural transmission processes for communities around the world" (Seeger 2002: 41). Now more than ever archives are interwoven into the fabric of learning resources. However, to what extent are these resources accessible to the communities that need them?

In the past, an archive was a monolithic construct, the exclusive domain of scientists and researchers collecting musics in dusty storage rooms and isolated buildings principally in Western Industrialized nations. For the future then, it seems apparent that archives must reinvent themselves by negotiating the changing needs of a new demographic? This demographic, as Seeger points out, desires more access to archives as a resource to reinvent their musical traditions.

In this paper, I examine the changing role of archives in the 21<sup>st</sup> century by presenting my experiences preserving and publishing the Hood collection at the Berlin Phonogram Archive. First I describe the preservation and publication of the collection, sharing some of the achievements and challenges I experienced in the process. In this way I hope to illustrate how the Berlin Phonogram Archive is repositioning itself as a responsive and dynamic research archives. Then through my ethnographic fieldwork in Indonesia, I will discuss some of the issues involved in creating access to the Hood collection for music communities and research institutes. Throughout the paper, I problematize the notion of an archive as a monolithic construct and seek to deconstruct the processes involved in preserving and publishing field records.

Exactly a decade ago in Singapore in 2000, the 'Manesar Mandate', a proposal from a consortium of archivists lead by ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger, requested that industrializing nations be given representation in international archive forums (Seeger and Chaudhuri 2004: xiv). Their proposal targeted IASA, the International Association of Sound and Audio Visual Archives, which acted on the Manesar Mandate and formed a new sub-section of its association geared towards academic researchers and institutions from industrializing nations called 'Research Archives'. This gave both researchers and archivists from industrializing nations a platform for discourse and valuable exchange on topics such as technology, acquisitions, copyright, and preservation techniques. But are archives in industrialized nations such as the United States and Germany beginning to come to terms with negotiating their own archives as institutions? The apparent dichotomy between the role and function of archives in the two nations needs problematizing. In order to address this question, I present my experiences digitizing and publishing the collection of Indonesian field recordings from American ethnomusicologist, Mantle Hood, which are currently housed in Germany.

**The Hood Collection**

Mantle Hood was born in the mid-west of the United States in 1918. After finishing a Masters degree in composition from the University of California at Los Angeles, he travelled to Holland to study with Dutch scholar Jaap Kunst and obtain his PhD from the University of Amsterdam

in 1954. By 1960, Hood had established the Institute of ethnomusicology. One of his major contributions to the field demonstrating foresight, but controversial during its introduction to higher education in the 1960s, was ‘bi-musicality’, the basic premise that ethnomusicologists learn to play the music of the cultures they study. This premise was partially formed and solidified as a methodology during Hood’s field research in Indonesia from 1957 to 1958.

One of the hallmarks of *gamelan* praxis that compelled Hood into the field was what he referred to as the art of ‘group improvisation’ (Hood 2005: 1). Upon arriving in Indonesia Hood felt that group improvisation in Javanese gamelan was being threatened. This threat came from newly established conservatories in Central Java. The conservatories used a western-based curriculum that promoted the codification of improvisation where musicians learned *cengkok* or standardized methods, laws, rules and idiomatic formulas to govern their performance practice. Equipped with state-of-the-art recording equipment including microphones, cables, and hundreds of hours of recording tape, Hood recorded 164 reel-to-reel tapes representing more than 80 hours of music and improvisations.

Mantle Hood did not do this alone. It was a collaborative effort between Hood and his assistant, Hardja Susilo, a gifted dancer and musician who would go on to study at UCLA and mentor many of today’s leading scholars at the University of Hawaii. Mantle Hood not only studied gamelan music while in the field but danced a gruelling three hours a day during his research period at the Yogyakarta palace residence. Susilo remarked in an interview in 2007 at his residence in Hawaii that it was necessary for Hood to ‘embody Javanese movement’ in order to better understand Javanese instrumental musical expression.

Hood and Susilo focused on recording the principal musicians of the Indonesian National Radio stations in the cities of Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Bandung as well as surrounding villages. Their intentions were to record an aural glimpse of principal musicians’ playing styles. These musicians included among others, Sundanese recording artists Ono Sukarna and Uking Sukri as well as senior Central Javanese musicians such as Pak Karja Pangarsa, Pak Poncopangrawit as well as Pak Tjokrowasito.

Hood’s microphone placement helped enhance the sound of specific improvising instruments for analytical and stylistic musical analysis. The microphone placement gives the listener the aural impression of being seated next to a master musician in the orchestra. A selection of these archival recordings was recently released by Schott Music and Media under their Wergo label as part of the Berlin Phonogram Archives Series entitled Museum Collection Berlin. In these recordings, is an excerpt recorded at the Indonesian National Radio Station in Yogyakarta on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1957 entitled ‘Jineman Uler Kambang’, a short composition featuring the female vocalist, Nji Woro Laksmi accompanied by drums, zithers, gongs and various sized metallophones (Hood 2007: 22-24). In this recording, the late Pak Tjokrowasito holds two padded disc mallets in each hand while playing the elaborate melodic lines of the multi-octave metallophone called *gender panerus*. Because of Hood’s microphone placement, we gain insight into improvisation from a unique perspective, as if the listener is looking over the shoulder of this legendary musician.



**Plate 1. Raden Ngabehi Tjokrowasito performing on the multi-octave metallophone called *gender barung* in the Central Javanese gamelan**

This uniquely engineered sound recording proves a valuable study resource for any student of *gamelan* interested in the performance style of one of Yogya's most celebrated musicians. If Hood's entire collection were in the archives of Arts Institutes in Indonesia, performers, researchers, composers and scholars would be able to create their own research objectives and find their own meanings, interpretations and uses for Hood's collection.

### Archives and Musical Diversity

The role of archives in industrialized nations in providing dynamic responses to requests from industrializing nation's audiovisual archives may help reinforce local forms of musical diversity. As other Indonesians actively engage in preserving and protecting their musics such as the *gamelan gong gede* communities of highland Bali (Hood 2010: 70), increasing sentiments of the loss of 'cultural roots' are beginning to emerge in the post-Suharto nation state. Pak Tjokro, who passed away in August of 2007 at the age of 98, has written on a monument that speaks to the people of Yogya the words, "*Lestarikan seni klasik Jawa sebelum kita tercerabut dari akar budaya*" or "Preserve the classical Javanese arts before we are pulled from our cultural roots". The same word *lestari* or 'preserve' was chosen for the name of the Hood collection CD published by Wergo records in Germany (Hood 2007).

The CD went to press after seeking permissions from Pak Tjokro's family and other relatives of artists on the CD such as R. P. Kusumadinata from Bandung. But despite preserving and publishing CDs like 'Lestari the Hood collection' it is no longer a financially viable and sustainable publication media. For years the Berlin Phonogram Archive's former director, Arthur Simon, produced some of the finest CD publications for the archive, with detailed linear notes and exceptional photographic documentation. The Berlin Phonogram Archive committed part of its annual publication budget for digitalizing masters and editing and mastering tracks for the CD. But after a year of pre-production and more than three years on the market, Wergo has only sold just over 300 units, a small number that does not cover production costs. When I arrived in Berlin in February 2010 to work on another CD, Lars Christian-Koch, the Director of the Phonogram Archive, gave me the disappointing news that Wergo had ceased its contract with the Archive. It was doubtful that another CD would be published. Clearly just a CD and booklet does not bring the collection back to the communities in Java. The Berlin Phonogram Archive would need to make changes to its access policies if recordings of master musicians like Pak Tjokro were going to help fulfil his memorial request to preserve the culture and music of *gamelan*.

I turn now to locating the Hood collection within the larger framework of the historical recordings from Indonesia at the Berlin Phonogram Archive. I hope this will further illustrate the potential for creating some type of virtual archive between Berlin and Indonesia where all of these recordings can be added to a database as a resource for *Lestari* or preservation as Pak Tjokro has advised us.

### The Berlin Phonogram Archive

Much of the Berlin Phonogram Archive holdings on Indonesian music await research and the transition from wax cylinder to bytes on a disc. Senior researcher of the Berlin Phonogram Archive, Susanne Ziegler has devoted more than 15 years to archiving wax cylinders. In her recent article on historical recordings of Indonesian music, she notes that between 1899 and 1938, anthropologists, diplomats and scientists amassed 27 individual collections. Together they represent more than 1300 wax cylinders for a total of approximately 87 hours of music, speech and song. The earliest recordings come from the Sarawak Province of Borneo. The largest collection is from Mantle Hood's mentor, Jaap Kunst who recorded over 350 cylinders. However, he was not the only early collector. Several recordings from Bali and Java predate Kunst. For example, between 1907 and 1912, M.L. Selenka and Odo Deodatus Tauern recorded 121 wax cylinders, 94 of which were recorded on Bali alone, making these some of the earliest recordings of Balinese music in existence (Ziegler 2010).

In 2000, ethnomusicologist, Kendra Stepputat took copies of some of these recordings to Bali. Although returning to the same village where Tauren had recorded almost 90 years earlier, Stepputat found no one who could recognize the songs of their ancestors. However, given the vibrancy of Balinese musical praxis on the island today, these repatriated recordings may allow local communities to recreate their traditions in the future. This was the case for the the Bosavi of Papua New Guinea

who used Steven Feld's recordings to produce a 3-volume anthology of both traditional and popular music, as well as for officials from the Central African Republic who approached Simha Arom for copies of his field recordings because the musicians he recorded years earlier were now deceased and their repertoire along with them (Seeger 2002: 43).

Before I left Berlin to return to Indonesia, I proposed that the Berlin Phonogram Archive commit funds to explore archiving development in Indonesia. Koch responded positively to my request to visit the Arts Institutes and offer advice and support. An initial meeting between Directors of Central Javanese Arts Institutes and Koch would be advantageous in order to explore this initiative towards building and strengthening, and in some cases, simply establishing archives in Indonesia's Arts Institutes.

Indonesia's Arts Institutes in the cities of Yogya, Solo and Denpasar have expressed interest in gaining access to Mantle Hood's collection. The Director of the Indonesian Arts Institute of Surakarta, Slamet Suparno, informed me in May 2010 meeting that his archives would be delighted to have a copy of the collection. We spoke of the possibility of future access to the Berlin Phonogram Archives proposed on-line database including the 1300 wax cylinder recordings from Indonesia. The former Director of ISI Yogyakarta, I Made Bandem expressed similar sentiments about Mantle Hood's collection and wax cylinders as a valuable resource for Indonesian research scholars.

However, both Suparno and Bandem, who are experienced administrators of government institutions, were united that there would be great difficulties in bolstering existing archive infrastructure in order to receive and adequately use such collections. They were also sceptical about securing additional funds for the archives. Bandem says that the Department of Education and Culture is notoriously slow to react to proposals and even slower at implementing new programs. However, Bandem went on to say that Art Institutes have expanded significantly since the 1998 Reformation, particularly in the area of *Kajian* or Research Programs as a discipline of study. Although it is still early, he feels that private enterprise may also play a significant role in funding the expansion and development of government archives, particularly in the Information and Technology sectors.

## Conclusion

As an inheritor and researcher of this collection, it is my ethical responsibility to assist in bridging international institutions, local collectors, scholars and individuals in an attempt to create dialog between them. Preserving and publishing the Hood collection has only been the beginning of a much larger and more significant research project.

My father's collection is now safely preserved and archived in Berlin. However, this is not the case for many more private collections in Indonesia. In order for these private collections of tapes, photographs and videos to be saved from deteriorating in Indonesia's unforgiving hot and humid environment, Indonesia's Arts Institutes need to be equipped to take a leading role in safeguarding collections.

One way to help achieve this goal is for archives in Germany and Indonesia to collaborate. Finding ways to bring the Hood collection to Indonesian Arts Institutes is not a top-down approach to archiving. Instead I see it as a way to engage the Berlin Phonogram Archive in dialog with Yogya, Solo and Bandung Arts Institutes. By engaging in dialog we already fulfil one the principal aspects of the Manesar Mandate, to increase discourse between archives in Industrialized and Industrializing nations (Seeger and Chaudhuri 2004: xiii-xiv).

Similar to how Jay Kiestler showed that varying types of lesson places yield multiple negotiations of Japanese traditional music (Kiestler 2008: 239), I see the Berlin Phonogram Archive reinventing its approach and negotiating its role for the future of archives. Archives, as Anthony Seeger said, are extremely valuable resources for communities around the world to reinvent their traditions. By finding ways to bring the Hood Collection and other historical recordings back to Indonesia, we lay the groundwork for the much more important task of empowering Indonesia's archives to serve their local musical traditions by preserving archival material for future generations. In this way, Indonesian archives will help nurture the 'cultural roots' that Mantle Hood's teacher Pak Tjokro so desperately asked us to preserve.

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Made Mantle Hood

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Philippines

**DIGITIZATION PROJECT OF FILIPINO COMPOSERS' MUSIC SCORES  
AT THE PHILIPPINE WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY**

For article see published Proceedings

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Serdang, Malaysia

**SINGING SAPE: AN AUDIOVISUAL EXPLORATION OF *SULING APOI***

**Introduction**

The *sape* (Figure 1) is a stringed instrument played by some peoples of Borneo such as the Kenyah, Kayan, Penan, Kajang, Kelabit and Iban. According to the classification of musical instruments by von Hornbostel and Sachs (1961), the *sape* is a simple board zither without resonator. The body of the instrument is made of wood carved from a single bole, and varies in size from one *sape* to the other. A *sape* usually has three or four strings. The moveable frets are placed on the lowermost string and are tuned according to the piece to be played. The instrument is usually played by men to accompany dances (Galvin, 1962, p. 501; Gorlinski, 1988, p. 101 and 1992, p. 8). Before the conversion of religion from earlier beliefs and *Bungan* cult to Christianity, *sape* was played during shaman's healing ritual (Prattis, 1963, p. 72; Whittier 1978: 106), and also as an act of courtship (Gorlinski 1988, 81; Ngau Jalong 1989b. p. 276; Gorlinski 1992, p. 17).<sup>1</sup>



**Figure 1. Aban Engan, a Ngrek *sape* player from Long Semiyang. The four-stringed *sape* is made by Mathew Ngau Jau, and is 126.5 cm, 22.0 cm, and 9.5 cm in length, width, and depth. (Photo by Chow O. W., March 20, 2009).**

On a group research trip made to Long Semiyang, Ulu Baram, Sarawak, Malaysia in March 2009, Mathew Ngau Jau, a *sape* player from the longhouse, was heard singing some fragments of a *sape* tune while teaching or demonstrating *sape* playing. This occurrence is not a common music practice seen in the community. His singing drew the attention of Chan Cheong Jan, one of the researchers in the team. Hence, Chan requested to record Ngau singing the tune of two *sape* pieces, namely *Datum Julud* (recording lasted 2 minutes) and *Suling Apoi* (2 minutes 20 seconds).

The singing of the *sape* tune delivered the melodic and rhythmic constituents of the tune using nonsense syllables. The singing also expressed different dynamics and articulation as well as some facial expressions and body gestures. As singing and playing are of different mediums in regards to the range of dynamics, techniques and sound production mechanisms, there could be elements that could be enhanced, obscured or changed in the singing. Nevertheless, due to the versatility of human voice, it is possible that the singing of the *sape* tune would be able to depict the image of the music more obviously as to what the performer intends the music to sound like. Thus, the study of this audiovisual material could derive more information on the piece and *sape* playing.

This paper focuses on the audiovisual materials of *Suling Apoi* played on *sape* (*Suling Apoi* 1) and sung (*Suling Apoi* 2) by Matthew Ngau Jau.<sup>2</sup> The study of these audiovisual recordings is an attempt to explore the aspects of information that could be possibly derived from the musical sounds (acoustic transmission) and physical movements (visual transmission). Further research and analysis could be done on these aspects to obtain deeper understanding of the musical meanings of *sape* music and the inferred intentions of the players.

Since a few other *sape* players were asked to sing a *sape* tune, but either they could not or refused, this study involves only the analysis of music from one informant. The information on the characteristics of *Suling Apoi* played and sung by Ngau Jau in this paper is specific to the understanding of the piece and the playing of the individual. Thus, the findings do not generalise or may not be applicable to the styles of all *sape* music.

### Singing of a *Sape* Tune

Ngau Jau is a member of the Ngorek community from Long Semiyang, Sarawak. According to the migration route stated by Ngau Jalong (1989a), the Ngorek people of Long Semiyang belong to Ngorek Lurah and were led by Mapping Nyipa to resettle at that place. Ngau Jalong (1989a, p. 167) stated that, "Their music and musical instrument, dances and songs are similar to those of other Kenyah groups." However, Soriente (2004, p. 59) grouped their language as Kayanic. Ngau observed and learnt to play the *sape* since young from the players of his longhouse. He started to play the instrument more seriously in the late 1970s when he was working as a teacher in Bau, Sarawak. He has been actively involved in many local and international performances. After early retirement at the age of 50, he has been engaged as a full-time *sape* player.

The sung piece *Suling Apoi* 2 was recorded in March 24, 2009. After one year, on March 24, 2010, I asked Ngau about this singing but he could not recall any details. He commented that singing a tune that is meant to be played on *sape* is "not good", "we don't do that", "never sing like that", and there is no such singing of *sape* tune in public. Besides, he said that they do not even sing or hum a *sape* tune in private for leisure or self-entertainment. They will only sing tunes that are songs with lyrics. Later, the audiovisual recording of *Suling Apoi* 2 was shown to him to shed light on that event and he began to recall the process. He made a quick remark that he was slightly drunk at that time, but later denied it after I sought for confirmation. However, Ngau mentioned that if one is teaching *sape* playing, singing the *sape* tune would be acceptable as "it is my notation for the student, because *sape* tune has no notation" (personal communication, March 24, 2010).

Despite that singing a *sape* tune is not a common practice, the recording of the singing is found to be useful in interpreting the piece *Suling Apoi* and some of the techniques of *sape* playing. The singing recorded in March 2009 and the *sape* playing that was recorded a year after that was found to have some congruence. The choice of what and how to sing is determined by the music Ngau has in his mind, and reflects what it should sound like in the *sape* playing, or the sound he intends to make. Likewise, Ngau mentioned that "the student has to learn the tune first before he can play [the *sape*]" (personal communication, March 24, 2010). Hence, the singing of *Suling Apoi* 2 is a partial translation of the instrumental music into an embodied version of vocal expression. Therefore, the singing of the *sape* tune could depict the player's intentions, new insights, and further clarification to our understanding of the piece and the playing of the instrument.

Interestingly, corresponding to the vocalised *sape* tune, Yamaguchi and Emmert (1977, p. 214) stated that, "The Kenyah people compare the *sambe* [*sape*] to the human body. They refer to the head, neck, shoulders, chest, stomach, and on the back side, the ribs of the instrument." Similarly, Minegishi (1977, p. 109-110) also described that,

"The *sambe* [*sape*], however, seems to be endowed with life by its elaborate decoration, tattooed as if it were the human body. In fact, the instrument itself is considered a human who sings, as was reported during the [Asian Traditional Performing Arts 1976] seminar."

### *Sape* Playing and Singing of *Suling Apoi*

The piece *Suling Apoi*, or sometimes being generally known as *Sape Laki*, is a common *sape* tune to accompany man's solo dance. It is a tune to be played on the *sape* without any singing, as well

as not to be sung as a song. Kaneko (1977, p. 100) stated that “*Suling Apoi* is a girl’s name—*Suling* is the name of the girl whilst *Apoi* the name of her father.” Ngau traced back that he could have learnt this tune around ten years ago when he visited the Lepo’ Tau people of Long Moh, or when he used to play together with Erang Lahang, a Lepo’ Tau from Long Mekabah.

The tuning of strings and placement of frets for the piece *Suling Apoi* 1 is shown in Figure 2. As an overview, Figure 3 shows an excerpt of the transcription of the phrases 2, 3, and 4 of *Suling Apoi* 1 with indications of some playing techniques.

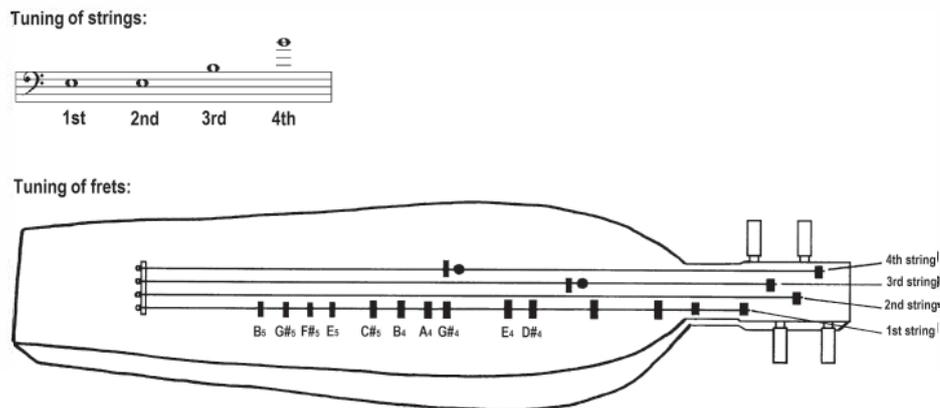


Figure 2. The tuning of strings and the placement of frets for *Suling Apoi* 1. (Picture by J. Chieng, March 23, 2010).

$\text{♩} = \pm 120$

**LEGEND:**

- right hand thumb: down stroke
- △ right hand thumb: up stroke
- ▮ 'jerk' articulation
- 2, 3, 4 left hand fingering: index, middle, ring finger
- change of fingering position

Figure 3. An excerpt of the transcription of phrases 2, 3, and 4 of *Suling Apoi* 1 with indications of some playing techniques.

The piece *Suling Apoi* is usually played with two *sapes* where the second player plays a phrase repetitively and continuously as an *ostinato*, while the first player plays the melody. In the

beginning, the first player will play the *ostinato* together with the second player for a few times before he plays the melody. The *ostinato* is shown in the first phrase of *Suling Apoi 1* in Figure 4. The tune is repeated again and again until the dancer stops dancing.

The tune of *Suling Apoi 1* and *Suling Apoi 2* has a florid melodic line with regular phrases of 16 beats. Similar phrases are identified through the same starting tone in a phrase and the same ending tone at the closure point when all the strings of the *sape* are strummed together. These similar phrases are grouped as different patterns (Figures 4, 5 and 6).

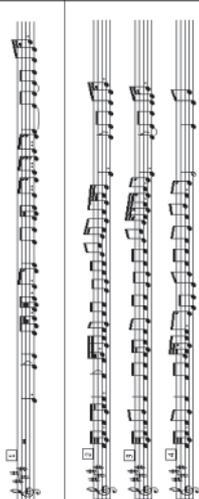
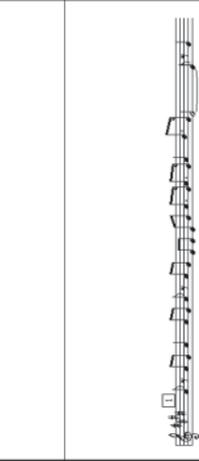
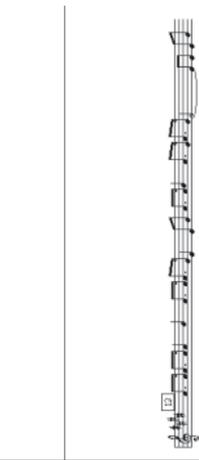
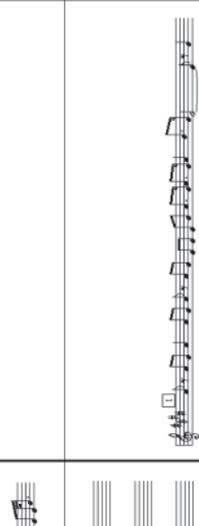
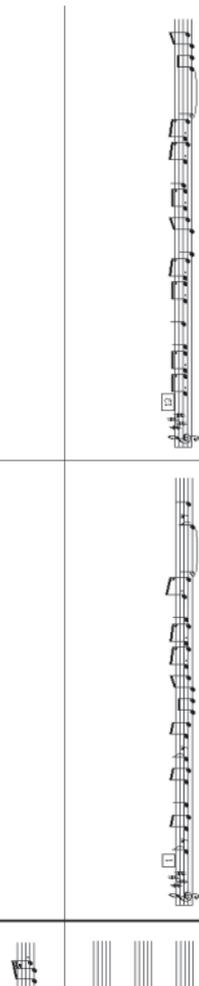
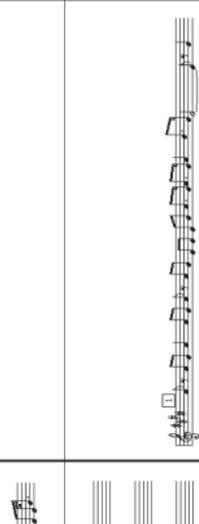
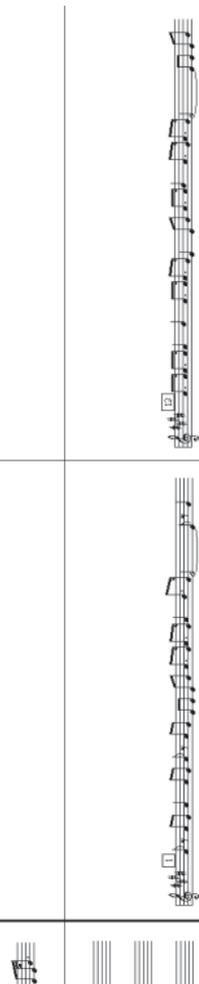
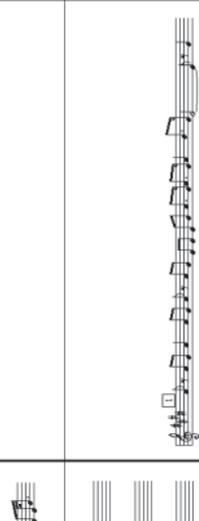
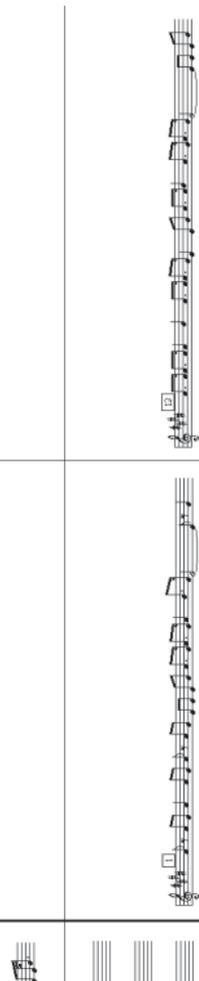
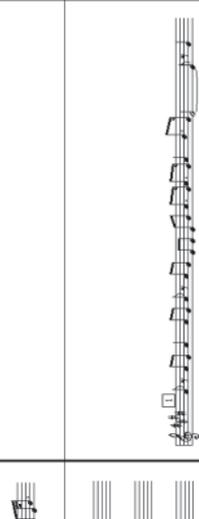
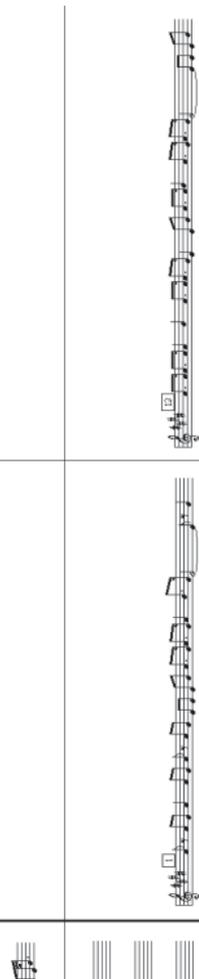
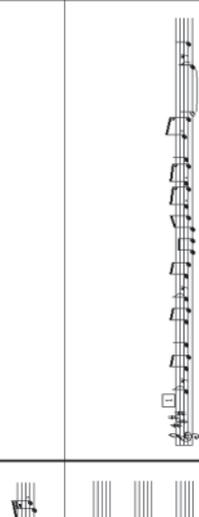
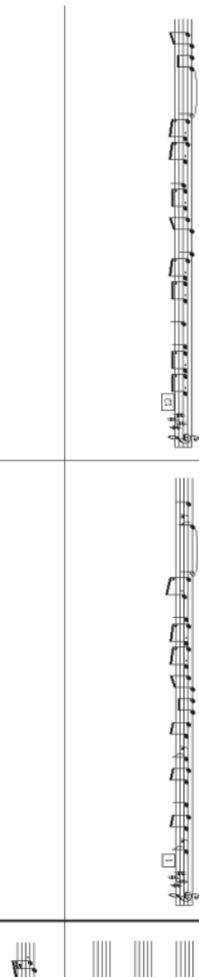
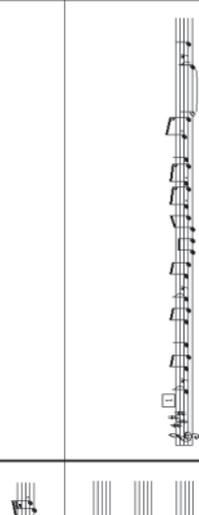
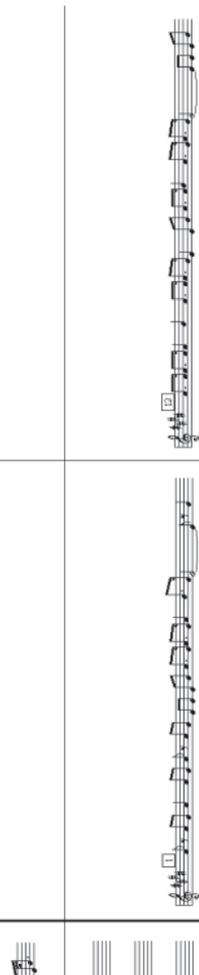
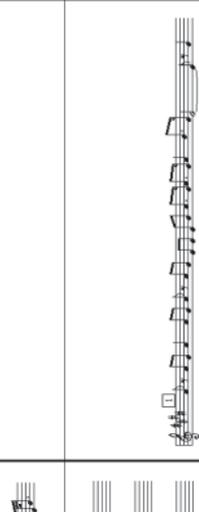
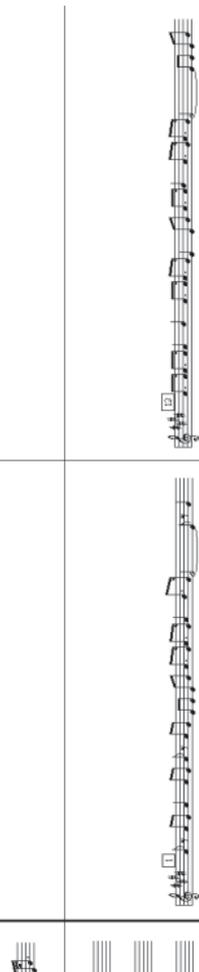
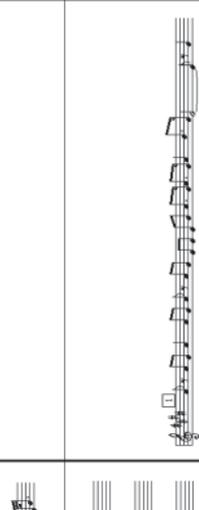
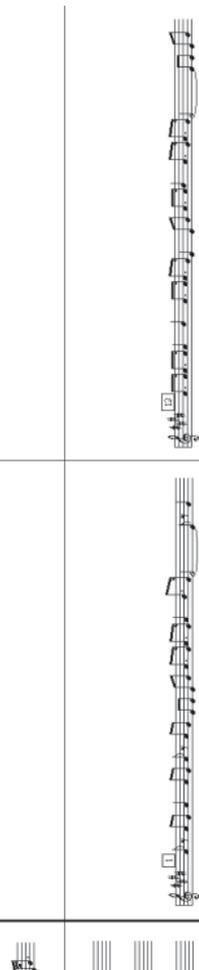
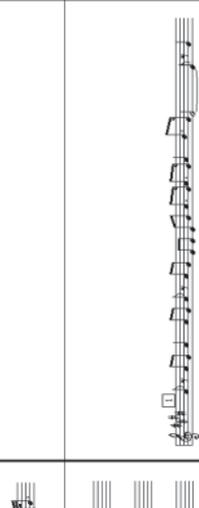
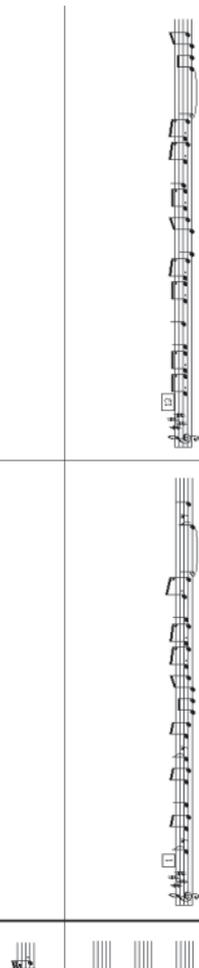
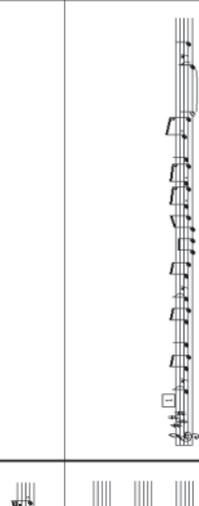
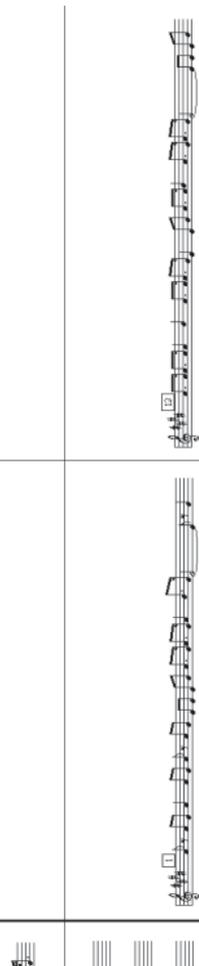
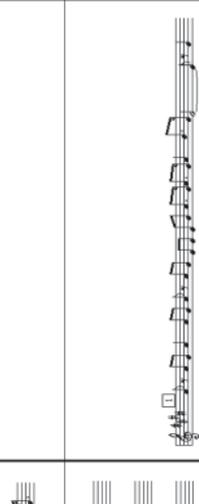
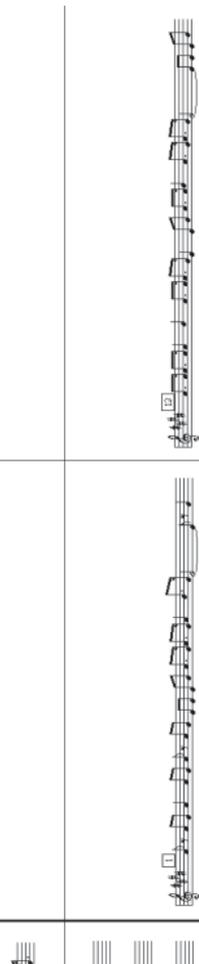
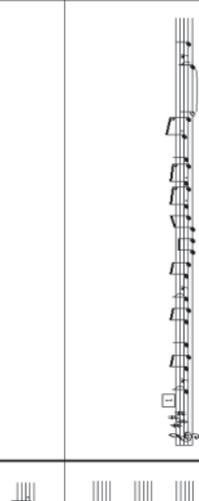
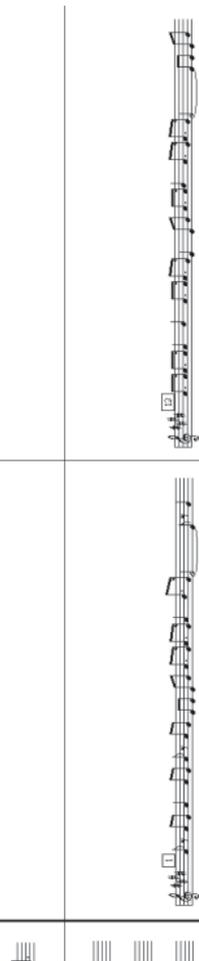
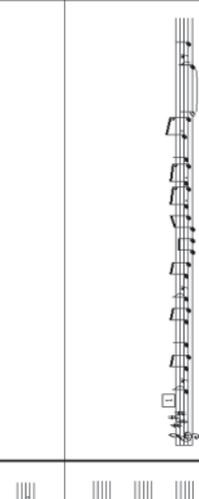
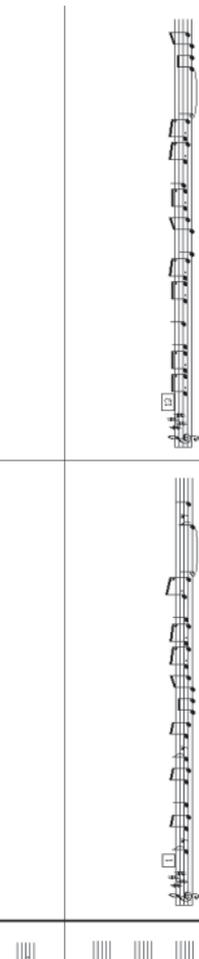
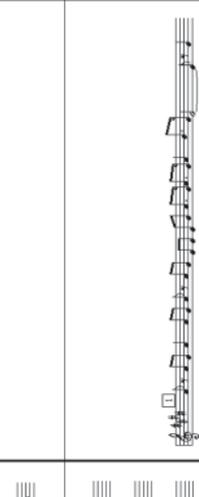
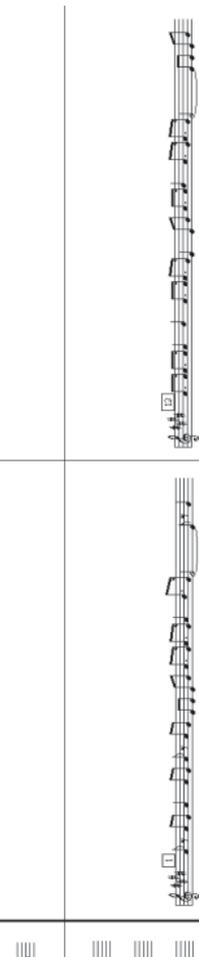
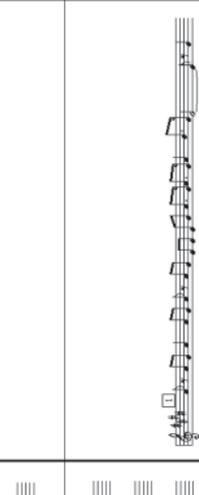
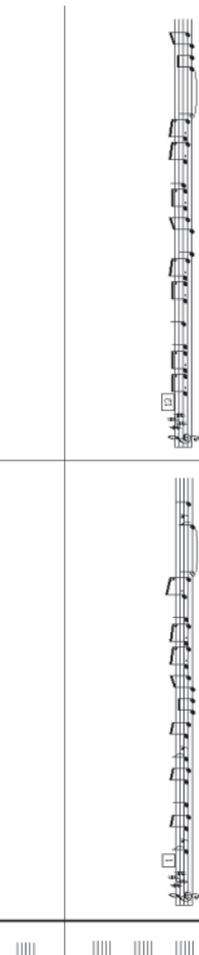
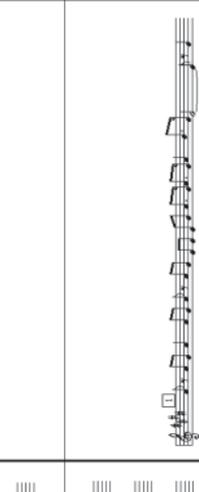
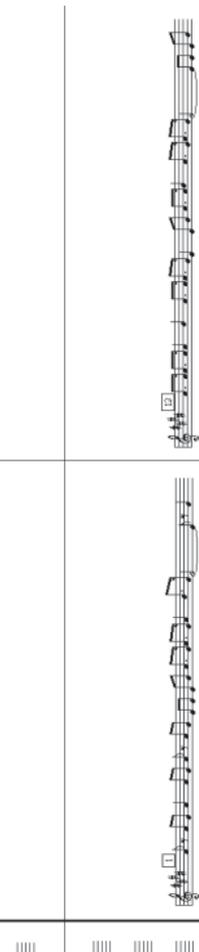
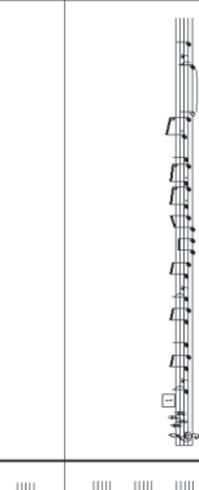
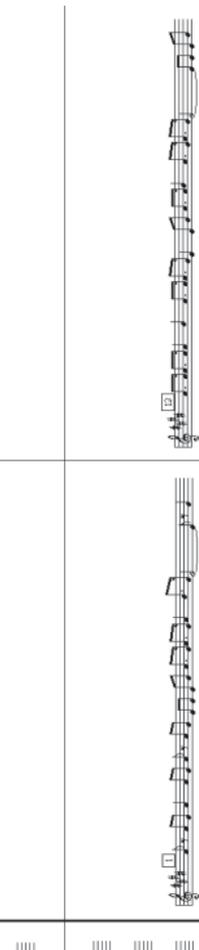
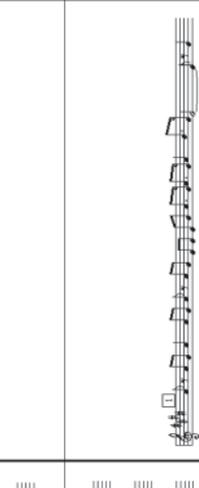
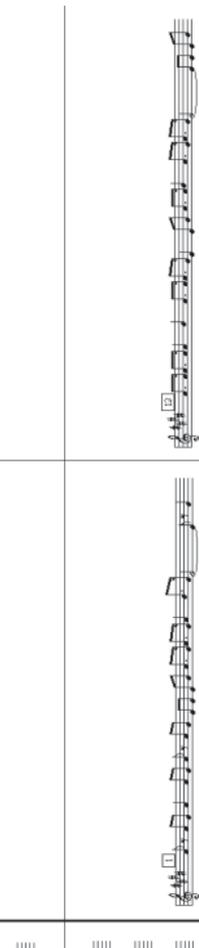
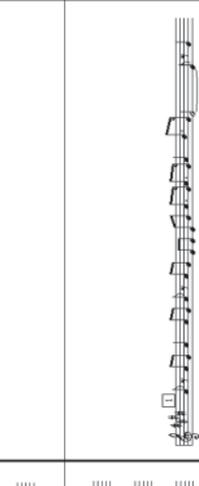
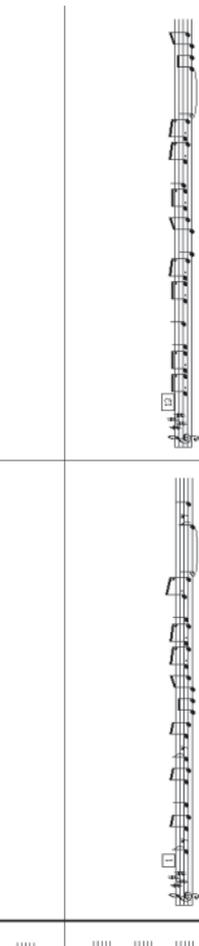
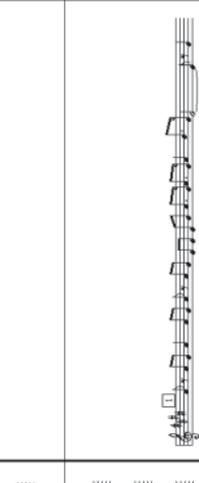
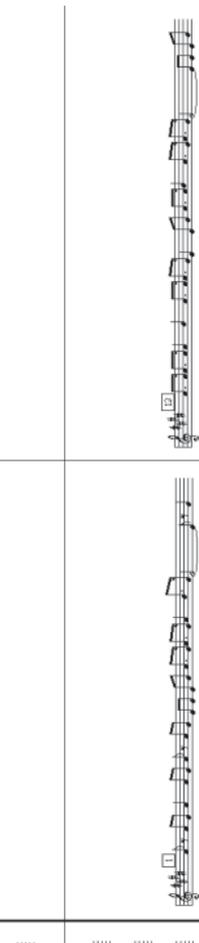
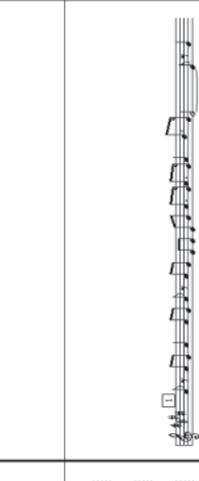
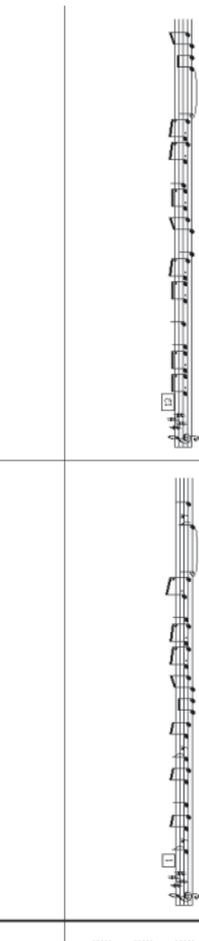
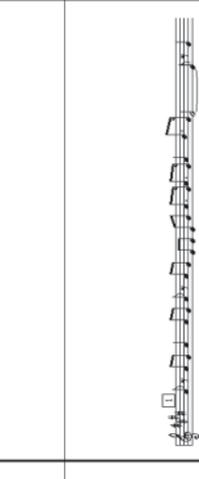
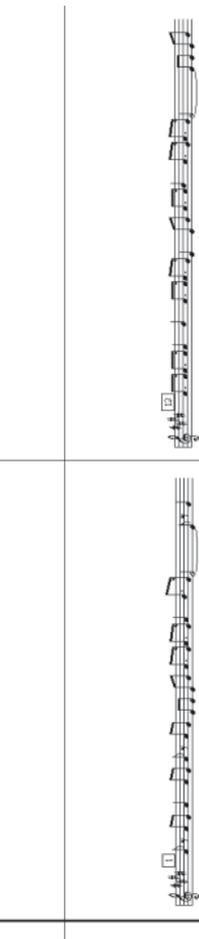
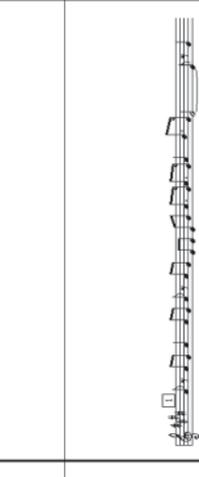
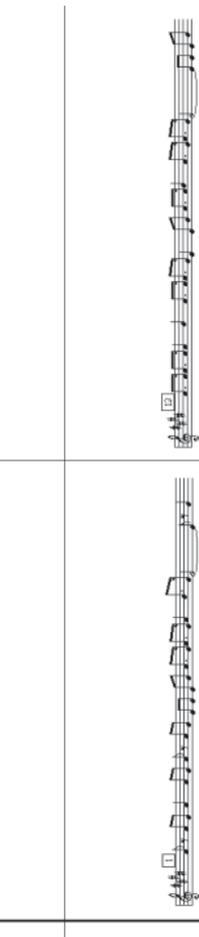
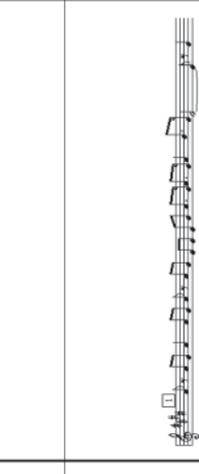
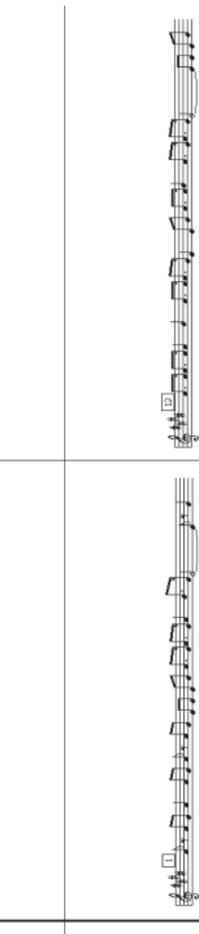
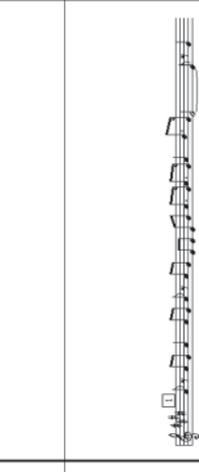
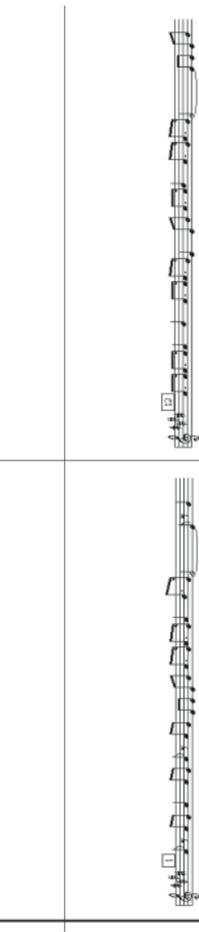
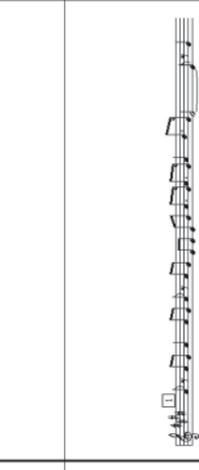
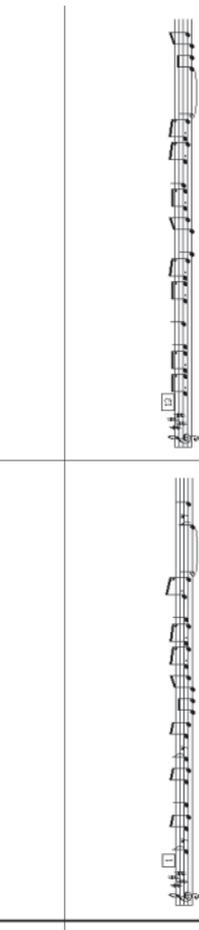
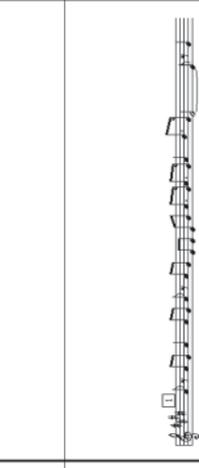
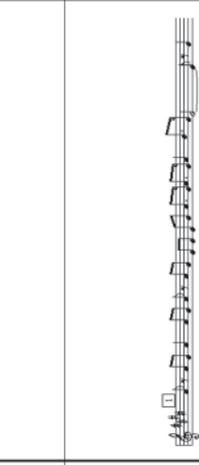
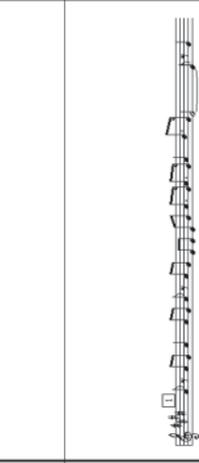
Suling Apoi 1 (♩ = 120)	Suling Apoi 2 (1st time) (♩ = 126)	Suling Apoi 2 (2nd time)
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		
		

Figure 4. Music transcriptions of the melody of *Suling Apoi 1* and the transposed version of *Suling Apoi 2*.<sup>3</sup> Similar phrases are grouped horizontally according to patterns.

Pattern	<i>Suling Apoi 1 and 2</i>
r	E <sub>4</sub> → E <sub>4</sub>
s	A <sub>4</sub> → E <sub>4</sub>
t	B <sub>4</sub> → B <sub>4</sub>
u	E <sub>5</sub> → E <sub>5</sub>
v	B <sub>5</sub> → B <sub>4</sub>
w	E <sub>5</sub> → B <sub>4</sub>
x	B <sub>4</sub> → E <sub>4</sub>
y	A <sub>4</sub> → E <sub>4</sub>
z	E <sub>4</sub> → (A <sub>4</sub> ) E <sub>4</sub>

Figure 5. Patterns in *Suling Apoi 1* and *Suling Apoi 2*. Pattern ‘r’ is the *ostinato* part.

(a)

Phrase	Starting and Ending tones	Pattern	Pitch
<i>Suling Apoi 1</i>			
1	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u>	r	gradually getting higher
2	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	
3	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	
4	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	
5	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u>	t	gradually getting lower
6	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - (E <sub>5</sub> )	t	
7	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - (C# <sub>5</sub> ) - (E <sub>5</sub> ) - (F# <sub>5</sub> )	t	
8	E <sub>5</sub> - (B <sub>5</sub> )	u	
9	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - (E <sub>5</sub> ) - (G# <sub>5</sub> ) - B <sub>5</sub>	v	
10	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - E <sub>5</sub>	w	
11	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - B <sub>4</sub>	x	
12	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	y	gradually getting lower
13	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	y	
14	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - (A <sub>4</sub> )	z	

(b)

Phrase	Starting and Ending tones	Pattern	Pitch
<i>Suling Apoi 2 (1<sup>st</sup> time)</i>			
1	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	gradually getting higher
2	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	
3	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	
4	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	
5	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u>	t	gradually getting lower
6	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - (E <sub>5</sub> )	t	
7	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - E <sub>5</sub>	w	
8	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - E <sub>5</sub>	w	
9	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - B <sub>4</sub>	x	
10	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	y	
11	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - (A <sub>4</sub> )	z	
<i>Suling Apoi 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> time)</i>			
12	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	gradually getting higher
13	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	s	
14	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u>	t	
15	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - (E <sub>5</sub> )	t	
16	<u>E<sub>5</sub></u> - (B <sub>5</sub> )	u	gradually getting lower
17	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - B <sub>5</sub>	v	
18	<u>B<sub>4</sub></u> - E <sub>5</sub>	w	
19	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - B <sub>4</sub>	x	
20	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	y	
21	<u>E<sub>4</sub></u> - A <sub>4</sub>	y	

Figure 6. The patterns in (a) *Suling Apoi 1* and (b) *Suling Apoi 2*. Each tone that is not underlined is the starting tone whilst the underlined is the tone at the closure point of the phrase (the single underlined tone in some phrases indicates both the starting and the closing tone). The tones in the brackets are tones that are frequently sounded within the phrases.

It is identified that the starting and the ending tone comprises only three tones of different registers, namely, E<sub>4</sub>, A<sub>4</sub>, B<sub>4</sub>, E<sub>5</sub> and B<sub>5</sub>. Besides, these tones are found to occur more frequently and prominently within each of the phrases. They are also sounded mostly on down beats. Due to their frequency of occurrence and emphasis, these three tones seem to be of higher significance.

In each similar phrase, they are played or voiced with slight differences, but the varieties are within a pattern. Freedom in melodic creativity seems to occur around the prominent tones. From both recordings, the presence and quantity of appearance of certain patterns are different. It seems that the repetition of patterns is not in a fixed form and it depends on the performer's discretion to progressively develop the pitches up or down through shifting from one pattern to the other. In the second singing of the tune in *Suling Apoi 2*, it is more extended and varied than the first time, and this indicates that the music may develop over repetitions. Hence, *Suling Apoi 1* and *Suling Apoi 2* are placed in a freely developed frame with variations, while the tune evolves or recedes from one phrase to another.

Although the tune and the form of *Suling Apoi 1* and *Suling Apoi 2* are rich in variations, there are some 'fixed' musical expressions. In other words, the musical shaping occurs within a framework of certain 'rules': surrounding the prominent tone(s), gradual pitch movement, as well as development and diminution of melodic phrases and figures. Both appearances of "structural definition" and "melodic freedom" characterise the piece. With the sung version, it is clearer to see how the "rules" and "freedom" overlap each other very smoothly.

Furthermore, the singing in *Suling Apoi 2* is not as rhythmically and melodically elaborated as the playing in *Suling Apoi 1*. The singing is like a 'skeleton' of the *sape* playing which shows the important tones of the melodic line whilst *Suling Apoi 1* is more decorated with rhythmic variations and ornamentations (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. Embellishments and fundamental units in some similar phrases in *Suling Apoi 1* and *Suling Apoi 2*.

It is interesting to note that when the *sape* tune is sung, there is a possibility that it is indicating versification in singing, as stated by Gorlinski (1995, p. 105):

“Uncle B [a *sape* player] commented that the *sampé*’ of an earlier era was played in a more articulated (*metep-metep*) style, the effect being an uncluttered clarity of *ipet* [the smallest units of verse, or short fragments of instrumental melody]. Today, he added in contrast, *sampé*’ melodies are so highly decorated that he often finds the individual *ipet* to be indistinguishable.”

The sung tones could be the fundamental units whereas the unsung tones, which are mainly made up of short rhythmic tones may refer to the variations or ornamentations. In comparison with the singing and playing, it can be gauged that there are a few types of embellishments involved which might be similar to mordent, auxiliary, passing and changing tones.

Moreover, in the middle of *Suling Apoi 2*, Ngau started to tap the pulse on his thigh from the 5<sup>th</sup> beat of phrase 8 until the end. He tapped once on every two beats, except for phrases 10, 11, 13, 20 and 21 where the taps are irregular. The tapping was accompanied by the forward movement of the head at certain points which are also mostly on the downbeats. Ngau said that the tapping is the timing of the piece and could help him to sing the *sape* tune better (personal communication, March 24, 2010). This suggests that steady rhythmic feel and metrical pulse is important in playing the piece. The action of tapping could be possibly related to the playing of other strings at certain points in each phrase, and that the playing of other strings may actually give steady rhythmic pulsation to the *sape* playing.

Besides, there are a few tones that were sung with the syllable ‘*det*’ and with a rhythmic ‘stop’. This articulation is not clearly heard in *sape* playing but is much distinctively articulated in the singing. When being asked, Ngau tried to explain by describing it as ‘jerk’, ‘pinch’ or ‘stress’. Although he could not verbally explain it in detail, and said that there is no term in Ngorek for it, he noticed that this musicality added interest to the music and made a *sape* tune sound lively rather than monotonous.

On the dynamics, Ngau sang in larger and more obvious range compared to the plucking of *sape* strings. The singing of *Suling Apoi 2* started moderately loud, with a rather calm expression, and getting gradually louder from phrase 5 to 7 before diminishing again in volume and expression. In the second time of the singing in *Suling Apoi 2*, the dynamics increased from phrase 16 to 17 and diminishing again after that (see Figure 4 for transcriptions and Figure 6 for outline of phrases). The dynamics, along with body movements seem to tally with the register in the singing. Bigger body movements, facial expressions of ‘wider smiles’, and increase in volume correspond with upwards melodic direction, and vice versa. The volume in singing and these nonverbal communications through bodily gestures and facial expressions may reflect the intended emotional flow of excitement in the instrumental piece, of which these contrasting expressions are not distinctively seen in the *sape* playing. This is related to Ngau’s comment that *Suling Apoi* has a type of “beat” and “momentum”, unlike other dance pieces like *Datun Julud*, a women’s long dance, which is comparatively gentler. Ngau also mentioned that a well-played *Suling Apoi* gives ‘*semangat*’ (zeal) for the dancer to perform the warrior dance. Gorkinski (1992, p. 8) also observed that, “for most Kenyah and Kayan, the sound of sampé’ [*sape*] was undeniably felt as a call to the dance floor.” Similarly, when I asked Alan Uda of Lebu’ Kulit about lullaby and whether the sound of *sape* does induce sleep, he laughed and said that if they are sleepy late at night, the sound of *sape* will make them wake up, and they feel they want to *ngajat* (dance) (personal communication, March 28, 2010).

Hence, even though Ngau seemed calm and did not depict much emotion in *Suling Apoi 1*, it does not indicate that there are no sentiments of expression involved. The excitement seen in *Suling Apoi 2* clearly depicts what is not shown in the mellifluous *sape* music. Emotions and abstract expressions are beyond the description of words, either from musicians or researchers. Thus, this audiovisual material of the singing of a *sape* tune is a documentary of what can not be fully explained or written in words.

## Conclusion

This supplementary audiovisual material of the singing of a *sape* tune is like a “paraphrase” and it provides an alternative medium in an attempt to obtain deeper understanding of the nuances of *sape* playing and the piece *Suling Apoi*. Although some of the subtle musical elements in *sape* playing are not distinctive to the ear, yet it is the formation and combination of these nuances that make up the musical meaning and speciality of *sape* playing that inform their musical culture. Ngau once remarked that those who do not have the background, or those who are of the ethnicity but do not grow up and learn from the longhouse, their tunes sounded “different”, “lacking” and “flat” (personal communication, March 24, 2010). As *Suling Apoi* is a dance piece, another complementary audiovisual material on the dance to the music would be useful to obtain further insights on the piece and the playing of *sape*.

Even though the singing of a *sape* tune is not identical to the *sape* music and the *sape* music is not fully represented by singing, music perception behind the music making does relate to its music production. Hence, the voiced expression of the imagined tune does reflect some of the performer's intentions and his expressive properties of the music. Although this music making is slightly denied by the musician, this accidental recording of the singing of the *sape* tune and the resulting questions will still serve as useful information and give us an insight into the different layers of music production, which would not be accessible without audiovisual documentation and exploration.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> For more information on *sape*, see Gorlinski (1988, 1989, 1992), Koizumi, Tokumaru and Yamaguchi (1977), and Yamaguchi and Emmert (1977).

<sup>2</sup> Information on the audiovisual recordings of *Suling Apoi* played on *sape* (*Suling Apoi 1*) and sung (*Suling Apoi 2*) by Matthew Ngau Jau: *Suling Apoi 1* (played on *sape*) is played once, whereas *Suling Apoi 2* is sung twice with the second time longer; *Suling Apoi 2* was recorded on March 24, 2009 at Long Semiyang, Ulu Baram, Sarawak by Chan Cheong Jan, while *Suling Apoi 1* was recorded on March 24, 2010 at Bau, Sarawak by Julia Chieng.

<sup>3</sup> The transcription of *Suling Apoi 2* in this paper uses the transposed version of a fourth higher than the sung pitch for the convenience in comparison and description.

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Julia Chieng Chin Yee

## THEME FOUR

### CULTURAL STUDIES IN MUSIC AND DANCE

The intended format of this theme was a roundtable discussion on cultural studies and the analysis of music and dance, two different but complementary approaches to analysis found in the works of scholars today. Two case studies emerged during the call for papers, which were to form the basis for discussion to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the different approaches and to stimulate discussion on this theme of cultural studies in music and dance.

The Chair of the roundtable, Birgit Abels, titled this session of the Symposium 'Cultural Studies and Music/Dance Analysis: On the Utility and Futility of Postmodern Approaches to Southeast Asian Performing Arts'. In recent decades cultural studies increasingly have informed musicological and dance investigation, which has resulted in a substantial body of literature. Yet, an often-heard criticism, which voices many researchers' concern, is that by studying music from the perspective of cultural studies, such investigations often lose their focus on the actual objects of study, that is, the music and the dance. This roundtable sought to address the general question of the fruitfulness of cultural studies' approaches to our understanding of Southeast Asian music, dance and theater, and the benefits of transdisciplinary approaches to the region's performing arts.

A question to be addressed in this roundtable is, how can we as music, dance and theater researchers integrate cultural studies approaches into our analyses without neglecting the performing art forms themselves? Furthermore, how do we ensure that our consideration of these aspects of music and dance performance goes beyond merely adding fashionable jargon to musicological analyses, resulting in new wine in old skins? These and other related questions remain to be discussed by the Study Group.

With a personal emergency that prohibited the arrival of one of the speakers to this roundtable, only one case study was presented during the session. The paper presented by Sumarsam exhibited a firm commitment to indepth musicological analysis of aspects of *gamelan* music, yet strongly connecting the music analysis to aspects of cultural studies, that is, the social and cosmological order of Javanese society. We are grateful to Sumarsam for concluding the Symposium with a very insightful and thought provoking presentation. The second case study, by Brigit Abels, discusses the relationship between the perception of space, concepts of travel, and the performing arts among the Sama Dilaut peoples of Borneo and Tawi-Tawi in the Sulu Archipelago. Although this session in the Symposium did not fully materialize as a 'roundtable', both papers are included in these Proceedings so that discussion may ensue among Study Group members both within and outside the PASEA Study Group meetings.

SUMARSAM  
Wesleyan, U.S.A.

## BINARY DIVISION IN JAVANESE GAMELAN AND SOCIO-COSMOLOGICAL ORDER

In the 1960s, ethnomusicology was commonly defined as “the study of music in culture” with emphasis on the anthropological approach, following Alan Merriam’s line of thought. Mantle Hood, however, emphasized the musicological side of ethnomusicology, as can be seen in his study of *pathet* or modal classification in Javanese gamelan (Hood 1954). This anthropological-musicological divide was often described as the “Merriam-Hood split.”

Subsequently, a number of ethnomusicologists produced works attempting to find the points of intersection, causation, or “homologies” between Merriam’s three analytical levels (i.e., concept, behavior, and sound) (Rice 1987: 470). The works of John Blacking, Steven Feld, and Judith Becker, to mention just a few, represent this approach, bridging the split I just mentioned. This was also the period when ethnomusicology was defined as “the study of music as culture.” That is, the emphasis was on music processes as a reflection of cultural practice. Recently, Monson (2009) proposes a more encompassing definition, namely, the “interdisciplinary study of music as cultural practice.”

In the last four decades, the study of music and its relation to socio-cultural practices has vastly been expanding. One can get a sense of the wide trajectories of this study by reading a list of the titles of books and essays on this topic: “Sound Structure as Social Structure” (Feld 1984); “The Social Structuring of Sound” (Roseman 1984); *The Cultural Study of Music* (Clayton 2003); *Music Imagination and Culture* (Cook 1990); *Music, Culture, and Experience* (Blacking 1995); *Hearing Culture: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity* (Erlmann 2004); *Music as Social text* (Shepherd 1991); *Music as Social life: The Politics of Participation* (Turino 2007); *Musical Improvisation: Art, Education, and Society* (Solis & Nettle 2009); *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe* (Slobin 1996), and no doubt there are more.

Indeed this interdisciplinary expansion of ethnomusicology is very exciting. However, Monson feels that it is necessary to distinguish ethnomusicology from other studies (including cultural studies). She is leaning toward describing ethnomusicology as “the interdisciplinary study of music as cultural practice, in order to emphasize a practice-based anthropological conception of culture” (ibid. 22). This definition has a resonance to my present study. Monson divides this study into two groups: (1) Study that deals with music and the big social questions: power, ideology, hegemony, globalization, economics, modernity, history, colonialism, race, sex, gender, etc. (2) Study that investigates the act of making music and more local social issues such as the construction of communities, aesthetics, political resistance, kinship, and symbolic meaning (ibid. 21). My study falls under the second category.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, my paper revisits the study of gamelan as metaphor for social and cosmological order that has been proposed by Becker (1979) and Beckers (1981). I will expand the discourse by using “binary division” as a conceptual framework to explain the dynamism in musical and social interactions.

### Rebab’s Role as Melodic Leader

One of the important musical practices in gamelan is the changing of temporal and density flow, the *irama* (see below). Transition from one *irama* to another might be accompanied by a change of the playing style, e.g., from soft to loud playing or vice versa. When the playing style changes from soft to loud playing, the *rebab*, singing, *gendèr*, and other soft-sounding instruments drop out. The question is, in light of the prevalent opinion of the role of the *rebab* as melodic leader of the ensemble, why does the ensemble allow it to disappear? Who is then responsible to lead the ensemble?

Let me say more about the *rebab*. Javanese musicians and theorists are consistent in assigning the *rebab* as the leader of the ensemble. *Pamurbå lagu* (which serves as the supervisor of melody) is a common term used by the mid 20<sup>th</sup>-century Javanese theorists. Some musicians use the term *pamurbå yatmåkå*. The word *yatmåkå* derives from the root word “*yatmå*,” which means “soul.” The melody and the *wilet* of the *rebab* are jewels of gamelan playing; hence the soul of gamelan playing (Sastrodarsono 1966: 4).

Older literature on gamelan also often mentions the importance of the *rebab*. According to Soelardi (1918), the *rebab* must be competent in the treatment of melody, since its role is to guide the *pesindhèn* and *gendhing* (gamelan composition); it is analogous to the feeling of *gendhing*. The author

of *Serat Tjentini* (late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> century) also emphasizes the importance of the *rebab*. In commenting on the performance of *gendhing* Kombang Mårå, the authors comment: “All who listened, man and woman, were filled with longing. The players were perfectly together. Touched ever so lightly by them, one followed the sounds, sound for sound (*angléla*). *Rebab*, *gambang*, and *suling*, / ***the sounds of the entire ensemble were encompassed by a string***” (translated by Tony Day; in Day, nd. Emphasis is mine).

The most interesting comments on the role of the *rebab* were reported by Jaap Kunst (1973: 233). He says that according to a Javanese conception, the *rebab* is likened to the king; the king gives executive power to the drum, the prime minister; and the large gong, the chief justice, ensures that resources are distributed lawfully. This is an intriguing metaphor indeed. However, without delving further into the operation of this chain of command, the metaphor could easily be understood as a regimented bureaucracy.

The question before us is the absence of the *rebab* when the ensemble performs the loud playing style; hence the absence of leadership. Before answering the question, since the present study concerns the relations between music and socio-political order, I shall now provide the reader some background on the modality and operation of the Javanese kingship tradition.

### Binary Division in the Javanese Kingship Tradition

“Magico-religious” or “ritual state” has commonly been used to describe the character of this kingship tradition (Moertono 1968; Nagtegaal 1996). According to this paradigm, harmony and ritual anchored the relationship between sovereign and people. Adducing an analogy of Javanese society to cosmic order, the sovereign was regarded as the central star around which the whole society revolved. This paradigm required the all-dominating and absolute power of the king over his subjects; and thus the king was identified as god, or, during the Islamized Java, *kalipatulah* (God’s representative on the earth).

Apparently, this magico-religious model represents only an ideal structure or a normative view of Javanese kingship (Laksono 1986; Nagtegaal 1996). By positioning Javanese kingship in a transcendent model, discourse on the ruler’s involvement implementing political order is often marginalized. The premise of the transcendent model, according to Laksono (1986: 14), is as follows: the divine-king’s role “was absolute in guaranteeing the perpetuation of order in macrocosmos;” hence “the only true model of the universe . . . .” This transcendent principle frequently creates a diametrically-opposed binary classifications, such as sacred-secular, good-evil, left-right, and lord-servant.

However, this rigid binary classification often contradicts much that happens in Javanese tradition. For example, it is true that Javanese people acknowledge that social stratification exists, but it is not in the pure form of the Hindu caste system that emphasizes endogamy and is hereditary. *Slametan* (ritual feast), one of the hallmarks of Javanese tradition, illustrates well this cultural practice (ibid. 18). Performed in all sorts of rites-of-passage and other kinds of critical junctures in one’s life, *slametan* is attended by the sponsor’s neighbors regardless of their status in the society. It is a momentary bonding of members of the community in which ideally everyone is treated equally; hence against the very premise of the principal of hierarchy. However, individual status is also acknowledged. *Slametan* creates ambiguity and dynamism in the human relationship—the blurring of dualistic hierarchy.

Symbolically, this kind of ambiguity and dynamism is well presented in many aspects of the shadow puppet performance, *wayang*. “Though partially based on the Indian epics Mahabharata and Ramayana, the Javanese wayang mythology is yet an attempt to explore poetically the existential position of Javanese man, his relationships to the natural and supernatural order, to his fellow-men—and to himself” (Anderson 1965: 5). This is achieved by Javanizing the Indian epics. Whereas the Hindu “*Mahabharata* rhetoric contained certain elements diametrically opposed to social relations,” Javanese social structure “tended to favour the identical, reciprocal and equi-positioning of the various components making up the configuration of indigenous society” (Laksono 1986: 23). For example, one of the most beloved character in *wayang*, Semar, is a clown-servant whose multi-paradoxical iconography leads us to ponder greater breath of vision of Javanese thought processes (ibid.). “He is ornamented like a woman, his clothes are those of man, yet his face is neither man nor woman. He is the repository of the highest wisdom, yet this flashes from in between his gentle jokes, his clowning, and even his persistent uncontrollable farting” (Anderson 1965: 23). More on Semar:

Assumed sitting down, yet he is standing up; standing up, yet looks like sitting down. The mid-day sun is his face, as radiance emanates from him, yet [he is] as palloruous as a corpse. Unhappy cry lively laugh, robust without doing anything, yet *maya* is in fact his *sakti*. A knight's servant, yet powerful. Previously a god, he transforms to a human being. All people in the country receive his blessing. King pays respect to him. Prosperous world is no different. No parent no children. Gods honors him, even the most Supreme One. It is difficult to conjecture who he is. No light no dark. Is he a perfect man or what? (Mulyono, quoted in Laksono 1986).

In other words, the idea of Semar epitomizes a perfect democratic ideal: the highest status is in a perfect unity with the lowest status. In Javanese philosophical term, this is known in an expression "*manunggaling kawula lan gusti*" (a perfect union between the commoner and the lord). In this sense, "the deeper complementarities and ambiguous interconnections of human existence are cunningly exposed by the irony" (Anderson 1965: 6) as embodied in the idea of Semar.<sup>2</sup>

To fully understand the complexity of Javanese social relations, we should conceptualize those relations in terms of both transcendent (essential) and immanent (empirical or existential) aspect. This parallels with Nategaal's argument that Javanese kingship should be defined in terms of a complex network of social relations. One of his important points is that "the balance of power was constantly changing and was heavily dependent upon individual personalities" (Nategaal 1996: 51). He goes on to say that "The average person in a position of power was both patron and client; his authority was based on the support of a number of subordinates and partly on the favors of his superior. All these ties together made up a complex network that was the official way... of exercising political power. In other words, this network was itself 'the state'...(ibid. 51-52).



**Plate 1. Semar represents a dynamic complementary binary interaction par excellence: a perfect union between the commoner and the lord, a special combination of wisdom and comicality.**

### **Interactive Networking and Leadership: Lord-Servant Binary**

It would be useful at this juncture to reiterate three important points which have emerged from our discussion so far. Firstly, the transcendent model of Javanese kingship tradition has been corrected by recognizing the importance of the empirical or existential aspect of the process. Secondly, binary classification should not be understood rigidly. Doing so will contradict the practice of Javanese tradition. Lastly, the networking model suits better to describe the modus operandi of the Javanese kingship tradition, instead of the rigid bureaucratic model.

The importance of networking in gamelan is the subject of Brinner's study (1995) on the competency and interaction in gamelan playing. His important point is that the flexibility of Javanese *gamelan* performance makes interaction fundamental to this tradition. In discussing the complexity of this interaction, Brinner encounters a problem in defining leadership in the musical ensemble, a problem similar to the question of leadership in Javanese kingship posted by Nategaal. He says that labeling one member of an ensemble "leader" implies that the others are "followers." Often enough this is true, but in many contexts this is an inappropriate term, since musicians may be musically or socially subordinate to a leader and interact with that leader without actually following (ibid.: 173).

In essence, musical leadership is a fluid course of action, similar to the role of the *rebab* in gamelan, or, a person in position of power in Javanese Mataram. It is this fluidity of individual roles in gamelan that characterizes the heart of gamelan networking. This flexible role also makes any classification of gamelan instruments according to their functions always appear incomplete. This is because the key of interactive network, as Brinner rightly emphasizes, "is more than a set of roles. It is also defined by the relationships between members of an ensemble and the musical domains in which these relationships are played out. A musician leads, follows, mediates, or supports with respect to other musicians and to particular aspects of sound-shaping. To tackle this part of the interactive equation, we need to ask to whom a musician relates in a particular role and in which domain(s) this relationship is played out" (ibid.175). To sum up, gamelan leadership is a humble position, fluid, and flexible.

These all point back to the ambiguous function of *rebab* in the ensemble. The idea that the *rebab* is a melodic supervisor or the soul of the music pervades a gamelan performance even when the *rebab* is not an audibly dominant component of the gamelan's sound-texture. Although it illuminates the melodic essence of the composition, yet the *rebab* does not give strict raja-like commands. In other words, the role of the *rebab* is inconsistent, depending on *irama* shifts, playing style, and genre of the piece. Here we find a classification that does not hold water. On the one hand, the *rebab* is conceived as the melodic supervisor of the ensemble. On the other hand, in practice the *rebab* does not always lead the ensemble. It might even give its leadership role to other instruments. Moreover, the musicians have no problem even if the *rebab* is inaudible or absent from the ensemble.

In sum, labeling the *rebab* as *pamurbå lagu* could be understood as an essential musical conception. But in the execution of a composition, musical power may be transferable according to the *irama* change, the changing of performance style, and the choice of a genre of the composition (existential aspect). Similar to the role of the king in traditional Javanese kingship, the *rebab* can be both patron and client.



**Plate 2. A dynamic complementary binary interaction is the hallmark of gamelan's complex networking. Rebab can be both leader and follower.**

(Courtesy of Wesleyan University's "Virtual Instrument Museum")

### *Gongan-Irama, a Structural Binary*

The above discussion points to an assumption that the dynamics of gamelan musical processes is homologous to the socio-cosmological order. This is nothing new in the study of gamelan. As I mentioned earlier, the Beckers have proposed this topic in their seminal works: “Time and Tune in Java” (1979) and “A Musical Icon” (1981). The Beckers persuasively argue for the significance of structural coincidence and crisscrossing two or more realms of reality: musical, calendrical, and cosmological temporality. They refer to this epistemological crossing as the concept of iconicity.

Kartomi’s work on the Sumatranese *gondang* music also touches on the same issue, although she does not use the term “iconicity.” She proposes that a typical religious thought and practice in Sumatra requires a belief in the essential unity of existence and in a dualistic aspect of reality (Kartomi 1981: 75). This belief is reflected in the music, as it is manifested in “the main syntactical dualism . . . between the drums and metallophones on the one hand, and the . . . wind and vocal parts on the other” (ibid. 77).

Kartomi is on the mark in pointing out the syntactical dualism in the musical process. Syntactical dualism is minimally attended to in the works of the Beckers. However, since their essays focus on gong and temporal structure, the ramification of their analysis includes compositional processes and the genesis of gamelan composition. Significantly, Judith Becker acknowledges the importance of dualism in the Javanese socio-cosmological order. She points out that the mountain/sea division is of paramount importance in Javanese society. “The mountain is the home of autochthonous Javanese gods, the source of holiness, sometimes the abode of the ancestors, the source of wealth and prosperity. The sea, *its balanced opposite (dynamic complementary)*, is the place of demons, the place of the death and evil spirits, the source of malevolence” (1979: 202. Emphasis is mine).

In essence, the position of the *rebab* as both patron and client fits perfectly into the quality of binary classification, a quality that is both dynamic and complementary. In fact, this quality of binary classification applies well to two of the most fundamental gamelan structures and processes, namely the *gongan* cyclic structure and *irama*. *Gongan* is an essential element, the structural framework of a *gendhing*. It is a formal reality that is self-consciously always in the minds of musicians. However, in practice the structure itself can be manipulated, modified, or enhanced. A concept that governs the shifts of temporal flow and *gongan* structure (the empirical aspect) is called *irama*.

The change of *irama* is the change of density and temporal flow. Most significantly, the change of *irama* allows a single piece of music to assume different lengths and different degrees of instrumental or vocal embellishment; as it usually requires different playing styles for some instruments, it affects melodic content, and thus it effects changes in mood (Becker 1981). Thus, a shift in one musical domain can both trigger idiomatic changes in instrumental performance style and produce a change in the entire ensemble’s interplay. For example, the change of the drumming technique (from *kendhang setunggal* to *kendhang ciblon*, for example) is responded by the *rebab*, *bonang*, and *gendèr* player to change their idiomatic expression. This is a musical process that relies on, in the words of Supanggah, “the importance of dialogue.” The notion of musical dialogue is so deeply engrained in the gamelan system that even the large *gong*—the instrument whose function is limited to marking the end of the musical structure—at a certain level also participates in this dialogue.

In playing pieces, the *gong* is struck in a slight delay from the beat of the piece. The larger the structure, the more prolonged is the delaying *gong*-stroke. Guided by the drum, the delaying *gong*-stroke is preceded by the slowing down of the whole ensemble. Other instruments play their *gong*-tone in an instant delay from the *gong* beat.<sup>3</sup> This musical treatment of the *gong* evokes a dynamic temporality before, on, and after the *gong* stroke, in which musicians momentarily feel rather “unsettled” in order to regain the steady pulse and regroup their musical synchrony.

Slowing down of the tempi, delaying the *gong* stroke and pulses of the whole ensemble after the *gong*, regaining the ensemble’s synchrony, and other musical practices that Keil calls “participatory discrepancy,” these all create what Supanggah (2002: 132) refers to as *rampak-rempeg*. Supanggah describes this as a concept involving cooperative work and togetherness, but not in synchrony (*bukan kesamaan*).<sup>4</sup> The point of coincidence in gamelan is not only to mark the flow of time to return to the point of stasis and stability, but also to tell the listeners the moods of that coincidence as shaped by the playfulness of temporal and melodic treatment surrounding the *gong*. In essence, the cyclic motion in gamelan is not really an absolute “steady state” without a sense of moving forward. Structural repetition in gamelan, as Susilo puts it, creates some kinds of cyclical

illusion . . . , because time goes on and you cannot really return to the same point in time” (*Gamelan of Java: An Introduction* 1983). In this sense, cyclicity and linearity are juxtaposed.

## Conclusion

Binary-ness of the music is the conceptual basis for which the overall complex stylistic, multi-layered processual nature of gamelan performance operates. The concept of dualism also stands out in Javanese social and cosmological order. A dynamic complementary binary, instead of a diametrically opposed dualism, is the hallmark of both the gamelan’s and the society’s complex networking. Thus gamelan musical process expresses social interactions, metaphorically or iconically.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> My study concerns with political structure and kingship, instead of Monson’s political resistance and kinship.

<sup>2</sup> In this regard, Anderson refers to the division of *kelir* (wayang screen) into Left and Right in relation to Kurawa and Pandhawa, representing the conflict between Good and Evil. But Left and Right are not absolute, depending whether one watches the puppet show from the shadow side or from the puppet side. If one watches it from the shadow side, right becomes left, and left right.

<sup>3</sup> For the most expansive structure (i.e., 256 pulses per *gongan*), a slight slowing down of the ensemble and the delaying of the stroke applies at the level of the *kenong* phrase, i.e., at the stroke of the *kenong*.

<sup>4</sup> Feld (1984) calls this musical phenomenon “*simultaneously in-synchrony while out-of-phase.*” By ‘in synchrony’ Feld means “that the overall feeling is of togetherness, of consistently cohesive part coordination in sonic motion and participatory experience. Yet the parts are also ‘out of phase,’ that is, at distinctly different and shifting points of the same cycle or phrase structure at any moment, with each of the parts continuously changing in degree of displacement from hypothetical unison.”

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Sumarsam

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Göttingen, Germany

**MUSIC, METAMORPHOSES, MOVEMENT: THE TRADITIONAL MUSIC OF THE SAMA  
DILAUT, MUSICAL CHANGE, AND SPATIALITY**

For article see published Proceedings

## THEME FIVE

### NEW RESEARCH

Many local and international graduate students as well as some faculty members in the region presented New Research papers, indicative of the substantial activity in research and documentation that is taking place throughout Southeast Asia today.

New research using new technology was represented by Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Faculty, Universiti Malaysia Sabah) who reported on the ethnographic mapping of KadazanDusun gong ensembles in the Tambunan area of Sabah, Malaysia using current GIS technology, while Ng Ting Hsiang (Faculty, Republic Polytechnic, Singapore) discussed and illustrated the development of *gamelan* virtual instruments for modern music production. New research by Rebekah Moore (Indiana University) focused on the pop Indie music scene in Denpasar, Bali, while Christine Yong (University of Malaya) spoke about the development of the Malay *gamelan* tradition and a new *gamelan* group called Rhythm in Bronze that is establishing a new tradition in Malaysia. Also from Malaysia, Toh Lai Chee (Faculty, Malaysian Teachers' Training Institute) discussed the teaching and learning of *gamelan* music through the theory and method of multiple intelligences. Abdul Hamid Adnan (University of Malaya) presented a semiotic analysis of the melodies in P. Ramlee's mid-20<sup>th</sup> century pop songs in Malaysia. Lilymae Montano (University of the Philippines) discussed the gong tradition, trade and tourism in Ifugao Province of The Philippines. Raja Iskandar (Faculty, Universiti Malaysia Kelantan) spoke about Nobat music that installs a sultan in Malaysia, and Mumtaz Begum Aboo Backer (Faculty, Universiti Sains Malaysia) discussed the passing on of the *Gidda* dance among the Punjabi women of Penang, Malaysia.

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**CONTESTING BOUNDARIES OF THE MALAY *GAMELAN*: THE CONTEMPORARY RESPONSE OF RHYTHM IN BRONZE**

This paper discusses the emergence of the contemporary *gamelan* movement in Malaysia, focusing on the contemporary Malaysian *gamelan* group known as Rhythm in Bronze. Observing the ways in which this group has developed and evolved since its formation in the 1990s, this paper also contextualises the larger picture of the *gamelan*'s developments in Malaysia, drawing from its emergence within the royal courts of Pahang and Terengganu in the 1800s to its subsequent revival in the 1960s and the 1970s; showcasing the progression of the *gamelan*'s varied responses to the changing socio-political settings that would eventually forge the formation of its contemporary voice.

**1800s: The *Joget Gamelan***

The earliest account of the *gamelan* in Malaysia can be traced to the royal courts of Pahang and Terengganu, where both states were once ruled by the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Riau-Lingga Empire of Java. The association between Pahang and Riau-Lingga is significant, as it emerged from this connection an exposure to Javanese court dance and music within the state of Pahang (D'Cruz, 1979). Possibly, it was this very connection that brought about the emergence of the *Joget gamelan* in Pahang – a dance form accompanied by an all-male *gamelan* ensemble, which was said to have been largely influenced by other Javanese court dances such as the *Serimpi* and the *Bedoyo* due to the dances' similarities in movement and form (D'Cruz, *ibid*; M. I. Cohen, pers. comm., September 14, 2008). Towards the late 1800s, the *Joget gamelan* spread to the court of neighbouring Terengganu by way of two royal marriages between the Pahang and Terengganu households: the first being the 1885 marriage between Tengku Long, the daughter of Pahang's Sultan Ahmad to Sultan Zainal Abidin of Terengganu, and later, the 1914 marriage between Sultan Ahmad's other daughter Tengku Mariam to Sultan Zainal Abidin's second son Tengku Sulaiman (Sheppard, 1967). Significantly, these marriages saw a borrowing of *gamelan* instruments, dancers and musicians from Pahang over to Terengganu and would result in an active development of the *Joget gamelan* at the Terengganu court, where regular rehearsals would take place within the palace grounds.

The late 1800s was also significant as it marked the first time an encounter of the *Joget gamelan* was detailed in writing. Sir Frank Swettenham, then-Resident General of the Federated Malay States, encountered a *Joget gamelan* at the Pahang court and wrote of his encounter with "something like real music" (Swettenham, 1895, p. 45).

Swettenham's brief account of the *Joget gamelan* also reflected an added dimension to the *gamelan*'s developments within the states of Pahang and Terengganu: the growing British presence within the Malay states. Other colonial administrators such as R. J. Wilkinson wrote of how the dance was catered for "its European audience" (Wilkinson, 1925, p. 32), fuelling speculation that the *Joget gamelan* could have been a showcase; a visual exotification of the royal Malay splendour.

Nevertheless, the *Joget gamelan* continued to be performed in Pahang until 1914, when the death of Sultan Ahmad brought about an eventual decline of the tradition at the Pahang court (Sheppard, 1967). In Terengganu however, the dance form thrived under the direction of Tengku Mariam, who had by then instilled a systematic training in dance and music. In the years leading to 1941, Terengganu's *Joget gamelan* flourished and was performed on many royal occasions such as inaugurations, weddings and birthdays. Its audience members however, were exclusive, often comprising members of the royal household, invited guests and dignitaries (D'Cruz, 1979).

*Joget gamelan* performances continued well into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century until 1941 when the Japanese Occupation of Malaya brought an abrupt halt to its developments. Tengku Mariam, together with a handful of dancers and musicians, moved into seclusion – for more than 20 years thereafter, nothing was heard of the *Joget gamelan* (Sheppard, 1967).

## The *Gamelan Melayu*

It was not until the late 1960s when a chance encounter between cultural enthusiast Mubin Sheppard and Tengku Mariam sparked the *gamelan*'s revival when the former – while studying Malay woodcarving in Terengganu – discovered the *gamelan* set alongside its surviving musicians and dancers (Sheppard, 1979). Following the discovery, public performances of the *Joget gamelan* were organised, marking the beginnings of the revival and the very first time it was now seen by members of the public.

Shortly following the revival, racial riots erupted in the capital of Kuala Lumpur after the results of the 3<sup>rd</sup> General Election, which had seen considerable gains by the opposition. In particular, the fall of two states into the hands of the opposition had sent shockwaves to the ruling government. On May 13, following victory parades by opposition supporters in the capital of Kuala Lumpur, rumours of racial violence began to spread within the Malay and Chinese communities, sparking a racial riot in Kuala Lumpur that spread rapidly to the states of Selangor, Malacca, Perak, Singapore and Penang. A declaration of a state of national emergency was imposed and would only be lifted in 1971.

In the aftermath of the riots, drastic steps were taken by the ruling government to rebuild the country, among them the construction of the 1971 National Culture Policy that intended to “steer the country and its people towards a socially and culturally engineered programmes of national unity” (Mohd Anis Md. Nor, 2008, p. 92). Ultimately, the policy aimed to construct a national identity that would resonate across boundaries of race and religion.

To facilitate this construction, a National Cultural Congress was held in August 1971, where a gathering of scholars and practitioners from various performing arts traditions discussed the construction of Malaysia's national culture. This congress proved significant for the *Joget gamelan* as it was positively identified by Saiful Bahari and Mubin Sheppard as a performance tradition that encapsulated the markings of a national Malaysian identity. (Sheppard, 1971; Saiful, 1971).

Following the congress, the National Culture Policy was constructed. Guided by 3 main principles, the policy placed the Malay culture and Islam to be of utmost importance in the formation of the national culture. Understandably, critiques arose of its heavy Malay-Islamic leanings. Nevertheless, the policy was established and by the 1970s, *Joget gamelan* performances were increasingly part of many government-organised cultural dance events, which comprised performances alongside other Malay, Chinese and Indian dances – all crucial signifiers to the construction of the Malaysian national culture.

## The Contemporary Movement

The 1990s marked the beginning of the contemporary *gamelan* movement, a gradual process that began with the formation of a *gamelan* group called the *Gamelan Club*. The group was headed by Sunetra Fernando, an ethnomusicologist and composer who had studied the Javanese *gamelan* under while she was studying for her Bachelor of Music at the University of York. Following the completion of her studies, Fernando spent a year in Central Java, pursuing an in-depth study of the *gamelan* at Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia in Solo.

After her return from Solo, Fernando formed the *Gamelan Club* in 1993, a social group based in Kuala Lumpur that comprised friends and enthusiasts who were interested in learning how to play the *gamelan*. The multicultural group met for weekly rehearsals, where they were exposed to an array of *gamelan* repertoire including traditional *gamelan* forms of Malay, Javanese and Balinese styles which Fernando herself had been exposed to, as well as Fernando's early *gamelan* compositions which she had begun writing for the group. In 1994, Fernando and the *Gamelan Club* were invited to provide *gamelan* accompaniment for the theatre production *Suara Rimba*, which was produced by the Malaysian theatre company 5 Arts Centre. This collaborative effort would mark the start of an array of other theatre collaborations with the company, including its 1995 production *Scorpion Orchid*, *Storyteller* (1996) and *Trees* (1997).

With the group's increase in theatre-*gamelan* collaborations, a specific performance style began to develop, characterised by expressive physical movements that were largely influenced by the theatrical expressiveness the *Gamelan Club* was being exposed to. These gestures, comprising large and expressive coordinated arm movements, were visually stunning (and strange to others) – but were

significant to the group as it was used to communicate musical cues, dynamics and coordination, as well as to increase group energy among its members during performances (J. Ooi, pers. comm., July 6, 2009).

In 1997 the group reached a milestone, staging its first full length *gamelan* concert called *Rhythm in Bronze*, which showcased their syncretic repertoire that included Malay, Javanese and Balinese *gamelan* styles and Fernando's full length *gamelan* compositions. The following year, Fernando left the *Gamelan Club* to form another *gamelan* group that would be geared towards developing a higher level of concertized *gamelan* performances. With that, Fernando invited trained musicians – mostly possessing a background in Western Classical music – to join in her newly formed group, which she named Rhythm in Bronze – after the *Gamelan Club*'s 1997 production. Soon, her new group was formed and what emerged was an interesting construct: its members comprised a multicultural-multiethnic make up, but all were female – a construct that was not intentional but significant to the shaping of the Rhythm in Bronze imagery.

An added dimension to Rhythm in Bronze was the creative collaborations Fernando actively sought through *gamelan* composition. Inviting composers from various musical backgrounds to compose new *gamelan* music, Fernando collaborated with composers from Malaysia, Indonesia, England and New Zealand. In addition to this, Fernando also invited musicians into her collaborations, including singers, percussionists, guitarists, a Carnatic violinist and a Carnatic flautist. These creative collaborations, which began as an intention to expand the ensemble's repertoire, now grew to showcase a spirit of eclecticism, where traditional and Western-trained composers and musicians could converge to create new music that embraced a pluralistic and varied identity not previously seen within the constructs of the 1800 *Joget gamelan* or its 1960s revival.

From 1999 to 2004, Rhythm in Bronze staged numerous performances including *Rhythm in Bronze '99: A Concert of Gamelan Music*, *Rhythm in Bronze 2001: New Music for the Malaysian gamelan* – a performance that was held simultaneously with the launch the ensemble's CD of the same title – *Laras Gong: Rhythm in Bronze Gamelan Music* (2003), *Rhythm in Bronze Concert* (2004), and *Dewan Filharmonik Petronas Presents Rhythm in Bronze* (2004). Collaborative performances also featured in the ensemble's activities such as the *Kuala Lumpur BBC Proms* (2002) that featured the ensemble's collaboration between the Malaysian Philharmonic Orchestra and the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and their 2003 collaboration with the Australian Song Company. In all its performances, the group showcased a repertoire that was highly skilled and technical, but imbued with elements that were highly syncretic and eclectic, much reflecting Fernando's continuing work in *gamelan* collaborations that were forged primarily through *gamelan* compositions and collaborations.

The year 2005 marked another significant time when Fernando, alongside the ensemble's members, decided to explore the possibility of incorporating theatre into their performances, as part and parcel of the ensemble's exploration in showcasing new *gamelan* music. To facilitate this intent, the group collaborated with a theatre director, the late Krishen Jit.

During these workshops, Krishen explored the idea of personal storytelling through *gamelan* composition and performance. He asked members of the group to explore and to share the following question: "Did you ever think of quitting the *gamelan*? Why? Give 10 reasons why you continue with the *gamelan*" (Fernando & Ooi, 2005). The answers to these questions were later developed into their respective *gamelan* compositions. In March 2005, these compositions were showcased in Rhythm in Bronze's production *Monkey Business*, with Krishen as its director. In line with the ensemble's continuing collaborative efforts, *Monkey Business* also saw a number of other performers, including actors, musicians and a choreographer collaborating in the production's line up. The production was highly experimental, merging theatrical elements with *gamelan* composition. The *gamelan* set was also physically transformed in line with the experimental nature of *Monkey Business*, and was placed within black wooden boxes that were attached with wheels. This set up enabled performers to move the *gamelan* around during performance, a move not previously seen in Rhythm in Bronze's performances. Devoid of the carved designs normally seen on a typical *gamelan* set, *Monkey Business* deliberately disassociated the *gamelan* from its historical Indonesian roots and in effect had – for the very first time – demonstrated the neutrality of the *gamelan* to become a vehicle of transformation and experimentation. Rhythm in Bronze's musicians were likewise a vehicle of this change, performing not simply as *gamelan* musicians but also as theatre actors. This collaboration between the *gamelan* and theatre thus became known as '*Gamelan Theatre*'.

*Monkey Business* opened to mixed reviews but that did not prevent the ensemble from delving deeper into the exploration of *Gamelan* Theatre. In 2007, the group staged its second *Gamelan* Theatre production *Alih PungGONG*, collaborating with theatre directors Nam Ron and Loh Kok Man. *Alih PungGONG* was constructed from the idea of incorporating the structure of the *Bangsawan* theatre's extra turns into *gamelan* performance, resulting in an interspersing of *gamelan* repertoire with theatrical excerpts. These excerpts – called extra turns – comprised a series of short skits and a monologue that explored the ensemble's dominant female presence and the consequent contestations of being a female *gamelan* player, often resulting in numerous comical moments. *Alih PungGONG*'s set and costume design likewise complimented this theme of femininity, comprising parasols strung from the theatre's ceiling; musicians on the other hand were dressed in feminine *baju kebayas* that were matched with a *sarong pelikat* – a male-worn sarong – as means of expressing the contestation between femininity and masculinity.



Plate 1. *Alih PungGONG* (Photo courtesy of Rhythm in Bronze)

## Observations

The contemporary movement of the *gamelan* in Malaysia, embodied within the ensemble of Rhythm in Bronze, presents an imagery contrasting to that of the *Joget gamelan* and the *gamelan Melayu*. The former, developed within the royal courts of Pahang and Terengganu, was a dance tradition where *gamelan* served as an accompaniment to the *Joget* dance. Its audience members were exclusive, often comprising invited guests and dignitaries that included British administrators such as Frank Swettenham who had provided the first written account of the *Joget gamelan*.

By the end of the 1960s, the *gamelan* was revived following a hiatus of 20 years and thereafter shaped in line with the establishment of the 1971 National Culture Policy that denoted a heavy leaning towards the Malay culture and Islam as elements that were crucial to the shaping of the Malaysian culture. The *gamelan*, now frequently referred to as the *gamelan Melayu*, was performed at many government-organised events – a setting that has continued to the present day.

On the other hand, the emergence of the contemporary *gamelan* voice in the 1990s showcased a contrasting imagery to that of the *Joget gamelan* and the *gamelan Melayu*. Founded on the *gamelan* experiences of Fernando, the ensemble of Rhythm in Bronze drew from various trajectories including Fernando's Javanese *gamelan* training in the UK, as well as the ensemble's exposure to traditional Malay, Sundanese and Balinese *gamelan* repertoire. This experience also extended to the ensemble's collaborations in theatre productions, a space by which the ensemble was able to showcase its early *gamelan* compositions, and later, its creative collaborations with other musicians and artists from varying backgrounds and nationalities, demonstrating once again the ensemble's global reach localised

within its work. Contrasted against the *Joget gamelan* and the *gamelan Melayu*, the ensemble of Rhythm in Bronze is certainly one that transcends boundaries, in effect, showcasing numerous possibilities for the Malaysian *gamelan*.

### Concluding Notes

The work of Rhythm in Bronze, which is encapsulated within creative collaborations and *gamelan* compositions, continues to the present day. Based within urban Kuala Lumpur – a contemporary space that has enabled the ensemble the leeway to explore and to experiment – the work of Rhythm in Bronze has expanded to include its foray into *Gamelan Theatre*, a pinnacle of its collaborative work and at the same time, a reflection of its vision to seek greater convergence in creative *gamelan* performances.

Juxtaposed against the constructs of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century *Joget gamelan* and the *Gamelan Melayu* of the 1970s, the ensemble's work is both an extension of previous *gamelan* constructs and one that contests the boundaries set by the 1971 National Culture Policy that continues to designate a heavy Malay-Islamic leaning as the ideal Malaysian Culture. Rhythm in Bronze's construct as a multicultural, syncretic, female-dominated ensemble clearly goes beyond these ethno-religious boundaries – showcasing a *gamelan* tradition that does not solely belong to a particular group of people, but a tradition that is pluralistic in identity and one that *can* belong to everyone irrespective of race, religion or gender.

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***NOBAT TABAL*– THE MUSIC THAT INSTALLS A SULTAN**

For article see published Proceedings

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**PASSING ON TRADITIONS: GIDDA-THE DANCE OF THE  
PUNJABI WOMEN IN PENANG**

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## TEACHING AND LEARNING OF *GAMELAN* MUSIC THROUGH MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCES

### Introduction

Howard Gardner's "Theory of Multiple Intelligences" recognizes the diverse competencies of human intelligences, and suggests eight different potential pathways to knowing and learning. According to this theory, each individual is capable of learning and solving problems through language, logical mathematical analyses, visual-spatial illustrations, physical engagements, musical experiences, an interpersonal understanding of others, an intrapersonal knowledge of self, and an experience in the natural world.

This paper focuses on the teaching and learning of *gamelan* music using an array of strategies and approaches from multiple entry points to develop the students' musical intelligence, in the playing of the *gamelan* instruments predominantly, and other intelligences subsequently. This research which involves three case studies comprising Form Two students from three secondary schools in Penang, Malaysia was carried out based on the module developed (according to the music syllabus) for teaching and learning music in the Integrated Secondary School Curriculum. Qualitative methods used in this research included observation, participant observation, focus group interviews, and video documentation of students' performance of understanding. Instruments used to further triangulate the findings include questionnaires and the *Multiple Intelligence Development Assessment Scale* (MIDAS) by Branton Shearer (1994).

### Strategies and Approaches used in the Teaching and Learning of *Gamelan* through Multiple Entry Points

The strategies used were adapted from the teaching and learning of *gamelan* in 'Music of Sound' pioneered by Prof. Tan Sooi Beng in 1989 which incorporates singing as practiced by the traditional artists in oral tradition, and *hands-on* playing on the *gamelan* instruments. Further instructional strategies are adapted and modified from multiple intelligences' resources pertaining to the teaching and learning strategies such as visual illustrations, patterning and floor games (Campbell, Campbell & Dickinson, 2004; Coan, 2000; Kagan & Kagan, 1998).

Learning approaches included the experiential approach and the collaborative approach. In the experiential approach, students explore and interact directly with the materials that embody or convey the concept in a concrete form. This approach seeks to build understanding and appreciation of the content through hands-on practice. The collaborative approach encourages joint intellectual efforts, sharing of authority and acceptance of responsibility among group members. Students work as an ensemble to learn and each child contributes distinctively to the group (Gardner, 2006; Panitz, 1996).

The instructional strategies used encompass singing and notating pitches through visual illustrations, observing the musical contour of the piece illustrated, analyzing visual illustrations of the musical piece, playing musical floor games which incorporate physical movements and singing; practicing the techniques of playing *saron* and *bonang* on picture cards; collaborative learning, and *hands-on* playing on the *gamelan* instruments.

### Teaching and Learning *Gamelan* Music through Singing and Visual Illustrations (Musical and Visual Intelligences)

Based on the experiential approach, students explored the musical pieces played by notating the pitches through creative visual illustrations. An example of a student's notation of *Lagu Perang* is depicted in Illustration 1. The findings demonstrate that all the students (except one) with various intelligence dispositions from the three schools were able to explore and notate the pitches of *Lagu Perang*

(3-4 phrases) correctly after singing a series of pitches in cipher notation (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, i) progressively from memory, and notating it through the visual form.

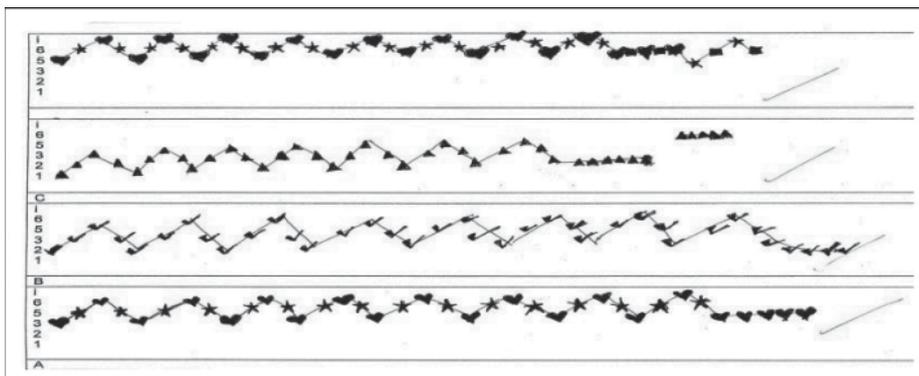


Figure 1: Visual illustration (Student with high visual abilities, 80%)

Students' musical perception of the Lagu *Perang* was further enhanced through singing the pitches aurally and observing the musical contour of the piece. This strategy enabled more students with high visual strengths to remember the musical pitches of the piece. According to Campbell, Campbell and Dickinson (2004), "Visual representation creates mental "hooks" for written information and increase understanding." As a student with visual abilities said, "I have learnt and remembered the pitches by notating and drawing the contour because it is easy."

#### Teaching and Learning *Gamelan* Music through Musical Floor Games (Musical and Kinesthetic Intelligences)

Musical floor games enhanced learning of the *gamelan* pieces besides encouraging active participation from students with kinesthetic capacity to show off their kinesthetic prowess and dexterity in utilizing their motor movements (Plate 1).

For plates see hard copy version

#### Plate 1. Musical floor games

Students moved according to the pitches of the lagu played on the numbered notation displayed on the floor. As highlighted by a student with physical abilities (60%), “The movements have helped me to remember the notes, besides having fun.” One of the students with high visual spatial intelligence emphasized that this activity enables her to remember the spatial arrangement of the *saron* besides remembering the notes.

The musical floor game also initiated a process of self awareness and discovery among the students regarding their physical competencies, and thus stimulates their kinesthetic intelligence. As declared by one of the students, “I didn’t think that I could dance, so this activity suddenly triggered my nerves. When we were in primary school, we just sat down, and sang songs.” More students from the three schools agreed and said that they are able to create simple movements and move according to the pitches of the lagu *Perang* after participating in this activity (Table 1).

	Disagree	Quite disagree	Not sure	Quite agree	Agree
Pre (SMK Biru)	48.6%	8.6%	40%	2.9%	
Post	2.9%	5.7%	20%	42.9%	28.6%
Pre (SMK Hijau )	57.9%	21.1%	18.4%	2.6%	
Post		7.9%	10.5%	21.1%	60.5%
Pre (SMK Kuning )	76%	16%	8%		
Post		8%	32%	16%	44%

**Table 1: Ability to create simple movements according to pitches of the lagu**

**Teaching and Learning Gamelan Music through Discerning Patterns and Their Relationships (Musical and Logical Intelligences)**

Through the logical entry point, students examined the subtle connections of the *Lagu Perang*, deducing the recurring patterns, melodic contours and motifs collectively from their visual illustrations (see Figure 1). Students were able to identify the similar recurring arch-shape motif that moves “up and down” in each phrase to form the melodic contour; the repetitive pitch at end of each phrase (except the last phrase); the recurring motif of phrase 1 at the end of the *Lagu Perang*; and the similar number of beats in each motif.

The systematic and analytical description of the *Lagu Perang* fostered students’ understanding of the lagu, and instilled awareness of the perpetual organization of the piece. As said by a student with high logical mathematical intelligence (87%), “This way is more systematic in helping me to understand and to remember the piece”.

**Teaching and Learning Gamelan Music through Hands-On Learning (Musical, Intrapersonal and Naturalist Intelligences)**

Hands-on learning engages the learner at a more personal level and inculcates self initiative. Preparatory exercises such as learning the technique of playing the *saron* (damping the notes), and *bonang* (*gembyang*) on picture cards were introduced to the students before facilitating direct experiences on the *gamelan* instruments (Plate 2).

For plates see hard copy version

**Plate 2. Practicing *bonang* on picture cards**

Involving students directly in the experience of playing *gamelan* stimulated their interest in learning. For example, students with discipline problems such as playing truant and being disruptive in class (but with keen interest in playing musical instruments) were seen hooked on the experience, and engaged themselves in mastering their respective instruments. A student who was not interested in learning music (47%) has begun to show his enthusiasm in learning the various *gamelan* instruments after achieving the skills in playing the *gambang*.

The findings revealed that it is vital to directly immerse students in the learning experience in order to gain a better understanding of the *gamelan* music, its' musical functions and the techniques of executing the musical instruments. As stated, "Children learn best when they are actively involved in the subject matter..."(Gardner, 2006, p.153).

**Teaching and Learning *Gamelan* Music through Experimenting and Creating a Fusion Collectively (Musical and Interpersonal Intelligences)**

Students with musical intelligence strengths but who associate traditional music with "backwardness" were also encouraged to draw different aesthetics collectively by combining the *gamelan* music with Western and Malay instruments. For example, a group of students collaboratively portrayed the *lagu Perang* to the accompaniment of electric guitars, folk guitars, keyboard and *kompang* (Malay frame drum). Western harmonies played on the keyboard and electric guitars, and specific interlocking rhythms punctuated by the *kompang* were inflected into the *lagu Perang*.

The experiment of musical synthesis between the West and traditional non-West in *gamelan* music mooted active participation from students who are not interested in traditional music. As described by one of these students, "This is the motivation for us to learn." Working and performing as an ensemble also encouraged active interaction and understanding among students of different ethnic background in the class. As acknowledged by one of the students, "I like creating a fusion together because we can see all the students working together harmoniously to create a piece."

## Discussion

The findings revealed that students from the three schools remembered the musical notation of the *lagu Perang* and acquired the skills of playing gamelan through their intelligence strengths. As said by a student with high kinesthetic and visual intelligence, "I have learned and remembered the pitches of *lagu Perang* through visual illustrations and floor games. I could play the *gambang* very well and I loved it." Another student with high musical intelligence and keen interest in playing musical instruments commented, "I remembered the notation of the *lagu* through singing and hands on playing on the *gamelan* instruments. I could play most of the instruments in the *gamelan* ensemble except the *gendang*." On the other hand, a student with high logical mathematical intelligence expressed that he learned the *lagu Perang* through systematic analysis of the *lagu* and hands-on playing on the *gamelan* instruments.

Strategies and approaches that matched the students' intelligence strengths managed to cultivate their respective interests in learning, by engaging them in acquiring a skill, and thus developing their musical intelligence. For instance, a student with an interest in physical activities but with less pronounced musical abilities began to show his interest in learning the various instruments of the *gamelan* after acquiring the ability to remember the musical notation from playing musical floor games. He agreed that *gamelan* classes have changed his perception in music. "Now I like music. This is because I have gained new experiences from playing the musical instruments, and I am able to follow the rhythm." The findings supported Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences which states that "A matching system should help ensure that a student can rapidly and smoothly master what needs to be mastered, and thus be freed to proceed further along both optional and optimal path of development." (Gardner, 2004:389). As has been said "One intelligence may jump starts another" (Moran, Kornhaber & Gardner, 2006).

Research findings also demonstrated that more students agreed that singing musical pitches through the oral tradition has helped them to remember the pitches, and to render the piece smoothly and musically. All the students from the three schools were able to play at least one of the *gamelan* instruments and performed from memory as an ensemble.

## Conclusion

The teaching and learning of *gamelan* music across several dimensions has enabled more students from diverse intelligence strengths to develop their musical abilities, to experience the fun of playing *gamelan* and to rekindle the appreciation of traditional music. Rich experiences through multiple entry points and collaboration also served as venues to stimulate students' other intelligence strengths, to develop self-regulation and encourage active participation in the learning environment.

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## DEVELOPING *GAMELAN* VIRTUAL INSTRUMENTS FOR MODERN MUSIC

### Introduction

Presently, common digital tools lack the rich palate of sounds found only in Southeast Asia. This paper focuses on a project which aims to virtualise Javanese *Gamelan*, and to make the music easily available to the world stage.

By analyzing the traditional methods used to produce sounds unique to these instruments, the team developed new input devices which enabled equivalent gestures to be performed in the digital realm. The complete project consists of features such as:

- A comprehensive sound set of Javanese *gamelan*
- Library integration into industry standard platform (Avid, Pro Tools – Structure Sampler Workstation)
- User documentation

Judging from the title alone, one might wonder what exactly is modern music. When did it start? In this paper, the term modern music refers to music that was created with the use of technologies in areas where music is concerned. In particular, the term refers to any extent of the music production process which involves the use of virtual instruments software (plug-in).

### Methods

#### WHY VIRTUALIZE THE *GAMELAN*?

Today, technology offers convenience in digital music making. Sequencing with samples allows composers, musicians and music engineers to ‘perform’ virtually on any instrument without the need to master one physically.

A timeline-based sequencer records, edits and recalls MIDI data. The concept of storing and recalling data was initiated in 1801 by a French silk-weaver named Joseph- Marie Jacquard (1752-1834). He used a series of cards with holes in them as a stored program to replace the weaver in producing patterned cloth. This technology was later applied to the field of music sequencing in 1895 using the player piano, known as Pianola.

Modern composers embrace the use of virtual instruments for the reason that they allow a quick preview of one’s own compositions. Utilizing virtual instruments is also more efficient as music production is demanding in the fast expanding media business.

The following chart provides a quick glance of a typical sequence of content creation and actions, relevant to general media, which deals with original music composition.

The chart below gives us an idea about the various key statistics in decision-making, namely the producer and budget. In some cases, combinations of semi-sequence with semi-live musicians are arranged when there is limited budget of the production.

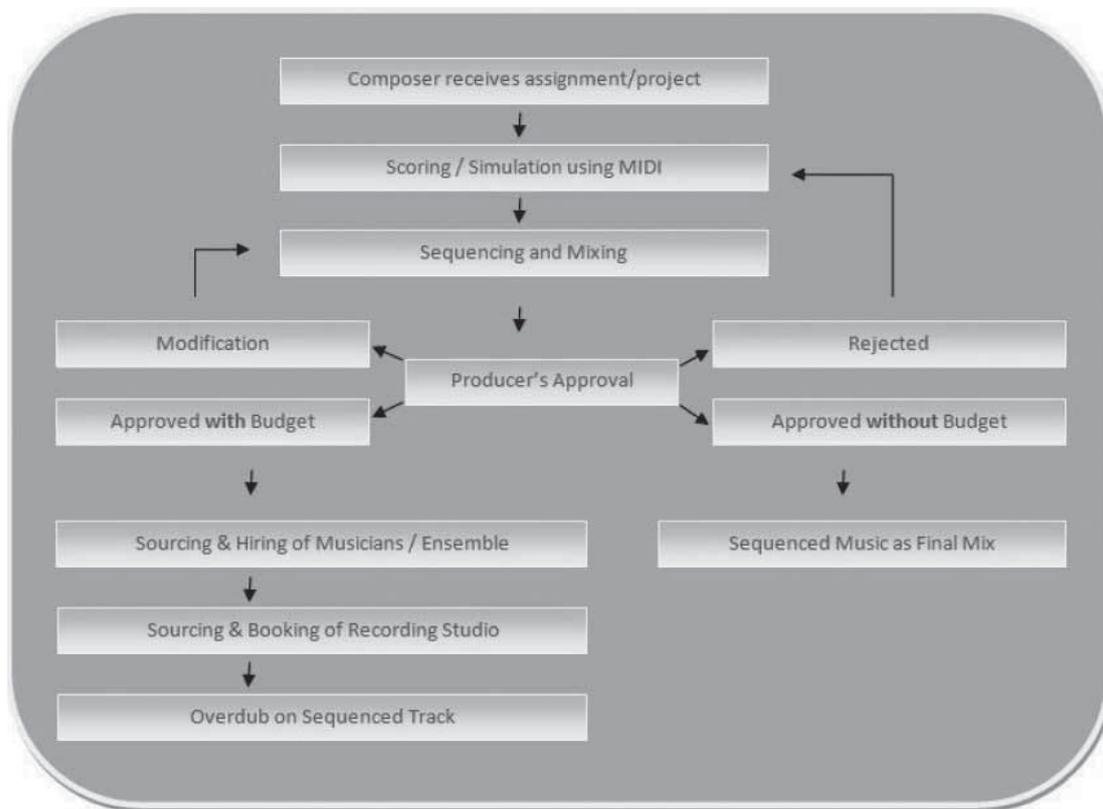
Bear in mind that the steps taken from composing to recording are constrained by deadlines. Therefore to many composers, virtual instruments can be their best friends, musical tools and also their principal investments in their music-making career. Although virtual instruments possess numerous advantages, they may pose challenges to create musical sequences with a human touch for beginners and amateur users.

In a perfect world, composers will always prefer to have their works recorded by musicians to attain the highest level of musicality and beauty of the musical work.

*"MUSIC LIVES ONLY WHEN THE NOTES FLY OFF THE PAGE AND SOAR INTO GLORIOUS SOUND. THE PERFORMER, THE CONDUCTOR, RELEASES THEM FROM*

BONDAGE THROUGH HIS OR HER FEELING FOR THEIR MESSAGE, THROUGH THE POWER OF IMAGINATION, AND BY MEANS OF THE PHYSICAL TECHNIQUE ONE DEVOTEDLY ACQUIRES.

(ELIZABETH A. H. GREEN)



Courtesy from Professor Paul Hoffert, Chair of the Guild of Canadian Film Composers

Now let us take a quick look at the listed pitched Ethnic instruments in the General MIDI (GM) instruments.

- |            |               |               |             |
|------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| 105. Sitar | 107. Shamisen | 109. Kalimba  | 111. Fiddle |
| 106. Banjo | 108. Koto     | 110. Bag pipe | 112. Shanai |

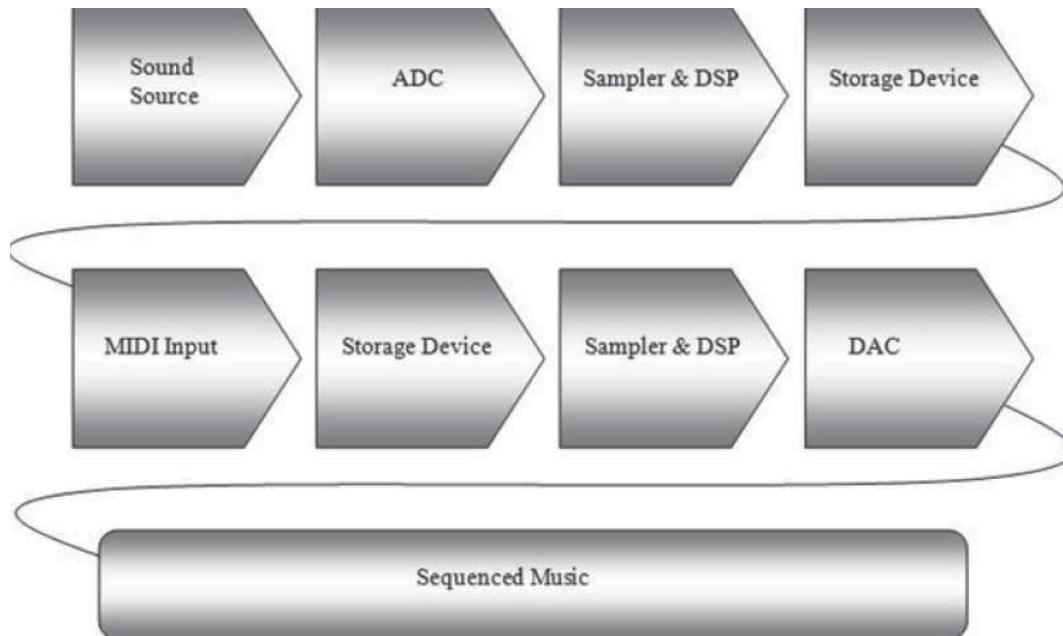
Out of 128 instruments and sound effects, there are only 8 pitched World musical instruments. Interestingly, *Gamelan* Instruments are not included in the list be it Javanese; Balinese or Sundanese. Thus, this project will aid composers in having more choices in their creative works.

#### WHAT IS SAMPLING?

The recorded signal undergoes a conversion in order to be stored as digital (binary) data or a sound file through an analogue-to-digital converter (ADC). Further processes are made before storing which allows it to be recalled in real time, passing through a digital-to-analogue converter (DAC). For higher fidelity, a higher sample rate is needed which also increases the memory usage. One minute of stereo recording, sampling at 44.1 kHz/ 16 bit will take up around 10MegaBytes of memory space.

Not to be confused with sampler, sampling is the sound conversion process creating digital versions of analogue sound. Sampler is a type of application on digitized signal where the signal (natural/musical instrument sound) can be edited and modified through communication of MIDI and other parameters. The application of sampler can be found in both hardware and software and generally, the sampling process will take place in the early stage of the sampler application in order to manipulate a stored digitized signal, which can be addressed as a sample. The term sample library refers to a collection of samples. Triggering of sample is usually made by the musical keyboard

controller or within the computer's software synthesizer. Common applications within a sampler includes playback at different pitches; modify ADSR envelop; filtering; looping; reverse looping.



As technology improves, multisampling has been regarded as the norm. It was previously opposed by cost issues as memory capacity and processing power increased with the number of samples. Multisampling allows more than one sample being attached to a key, thus reducing or eliminating the need of transposing samples to extend its mapping range as transposition will cause sonic degradation. This function allows better replication of an instrument playing at different volumes and musical nuances of an instrument which can be switched within the same key.

A dedicated team of audio engineers created the *Gamelan* instrument patches in which they placed themselves in the position of the end users, whom we assume, may come from vast musical backgrounds ranging from light to heavy users of virtual instrument plug-ins. In particular, the engineers were concerned about the compromised tuning system which was used predominantly in sequencers which oppose the cultural aesthetics of *Gamelan* music and its unique temperament.

## TUNING

*“CONVENTIONAL EQUAL-TEMPERAMENT IS THE NORM IN WESTERN MUSICAL ENVIRONMENTS, BUT THERE MAY BE CASES WHEN ALTERNATIVE TUNING STANDARDS ARE REQUIRED IN ORDER TO CONFORM TO OTHER TEMPERAMENTS OR TO NON-WESTERN MUSICAL STYLES.”*

*(RUMSEY, F. P. 71)*

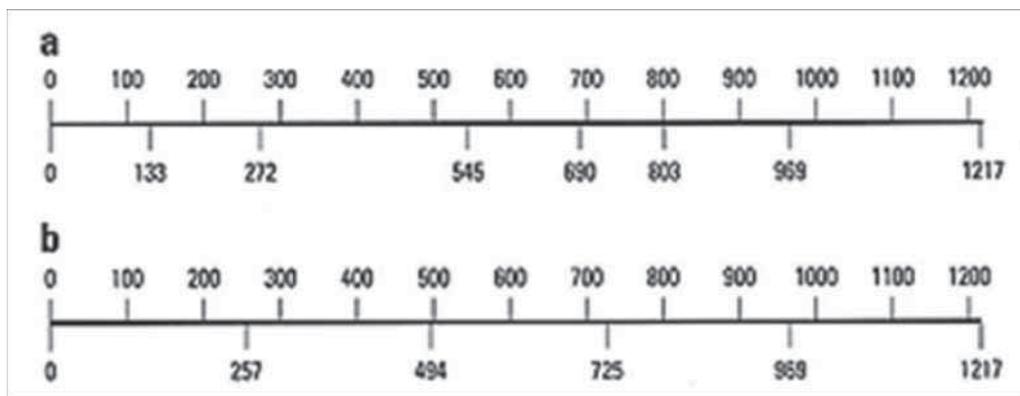
Equal temperament is a compromised system of scales and harmonies derived from tuning keyboard instruments which cannot be altered during a performance. Before this system was used predominantly, people created and utilized other varied tuning systems like Pythagorean/ Mean Tone and Just Diatonic.

*“THIS IS THE ONLY SYSTEM WHICH ALLOWS COMPLETE FREEDOM OF MODULATION. ITS PRINCIPAL DEFECT IS THAT THE THIRDS ARE BADLY MISTUNED, EQUAL TEMPERAMENT MAJOR THIRDS BEING TOO WIDE BY 14 CENTS AND MINOR THIRDS TOO NARROW BY 16 CENTS.”*

*(CAMPBELL, M. AND GREATE)*

“EQUAL TEMPERAMENT IS ONE IN WHICH THE TWELVE FIXED TONES OF THE CHROMATIC SCALE ARE EQUIDISTANT. ANY CHORD WILL BE AS HARMONIOUS IN ONE KEY AS IN ANOTHER.”

(FISCHER, J. P. 97)



a. Twelve Tone Equal Temperament against *Pelog* scale (unit in cents)

b. Twelve Tone Equal Temperament against *Slendro* scale (unit in cents)

As we know, *Gamelan* instruments do not conform to Western temperament as they have their unique temperament. The team successfully produced original Javanese *Gamelan* patches which were tuned to the Twelve Tone Equal Temperament (12 TET). In this arrangement, we were able to conserve the musical culture in a digital domain and also expand the versatility and musical range of the rich Javanese *Gamelan* samples in numerous ways which were not possible before.

## RESULTS

In one of the musical excerpts, the author composed an original track using *Gamelan* Structure patches which conformed to the Twelve Tone Equal Temperament (12 TET). To make things more multifaceted, the Sundanese *Gamelan* scale was used in the composition which triggered samples of a Javanese *Gamelan* instrument, originally tuned in *Pelog*. The compromised *Gamelan* patches worked brilliantly with the other 12 TET instruments of the Western musical instruments. In many fusion ensembles, arrangement of the music must be carefully crafted by the composer/arranger so that it does not show the disparity of temperaments between instruments. Therefore, the virtualised Javanese *Gamelan* instruments can be redefined in the hands of modern composers, being well versed in areas of music and technology.

The mentioned track was used in a commercial project which organized customized music, ambience sounds and voiceovers to aid in the quality of rest in insomnia patients in a local hospital. The whole album consists of many musical genres and instrumentation. *Gamelan* inspired music was specifically listed as one of its inclusive tracks.

Compromised temperament like the Twelve Tone Equal Temperament has been made available to modern composers due to their choice of using certain musical elements like scales or harmonies. Hopefully by using the patches, 12 TET users will embrace, understand and appreciate other musical cultures and aesthetics. This point has been made in reference to the general public in developed countries where Western Musical instruments are more commonly used and sought after. For example, all the student helpers for this project did not know the existence of the *Gamelan* until they embarked on this project. Additionally, many modern composers might not understand the coherent scale used in *Gamelan* music.

The potential impact is to market to users of industry standard digital audio editing tools like Avid Pro Tools. Composers around the world will have access to a rich and useful set of unique sounds that would otherwise be difficult and expensive to acquire.

At the current stage, our virtual instrument patches will be sent to the staff and engineers of Avid, Pro Tools for their perusal. The project aims to position *Gamelan* patches to be included as standard Instrument plug-ins at Pro Tools Digital Audio Workstation platforms where users will be augmented with a wider variety of musical instrument patches.

## DISCUSSION

The evolution of music in terms of musical styles, timbre variations and various channels of media to reach out to consumers has been influenced by the present technology. Composers/ music engineers decide on the selection of available equipment, tactics, technical procedures and many other factors which influence the final musical outcomes. In many music and sound productions, the final product relies on human and machine factors.

*“IT DOESN’T REALLY MATTER WHETHER THE FINISHED PIECE IS PLAYED BY A BANK OF SYNTHS OR BY A HIRED ORCHESTRA, WHOSE ROLE IS SIMPLY TO REPRODUCE THE COMPOSER’S ORIGINAL WORK AS FAITHFULLY AS POSSIBLE.”*

*(WHITE, P. P. 81)*

*“GERMAN BORN HANS ZIMMER WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO ESTABLISH HIMSELF IN THIS FIELD, AND HAD MANY SUCCESSFUL SCORES USING EITHER ENTIRELY ELECTRONICALLY GENERATED MUSIC OR A COMBINATION OF ELECTRONIC AND ACOUSTICAL SOUNDS.”*

*(DAVIS, R. P. 63)*

The following points are usually the main deciding factors which will have an effect on the final decision on the method of music production. Basically selecting between pure recorded music and pure MIDI sampling production; or finding a suitable balance of both areas.

- Cost of hiring musicians/ studio session player
- Contacts of musicians/ studio session player
- Budget of production
- Instrumentation required
- Music as primary or secondary element
- Quality of music
- Scale of project
- Time constraint
- Types of usage or purpose
- Genre and style of composition
- Targeted audiences’ listening requirements
- Size and Type of recording/MIDI studio required and its availability
- Rare and limited availability of an instrument and its performer

*“PERHAPS THE BEST REASON FOR USING A MIDI SEQUENCER IS THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO HIRE AN ORCHESTRA OR A BAND OF SESSION MUSICIANS; EVEN A RELATIVELY INEXPENSIVE MULTI-TIMBRAL SYNTHESIZER WILL PROVIDE ALL OF THE SOUNDS YOU WILL NEED. ...AS WITH A SCORE, IF YOU’RE NOT HAPPY WITH SOMETHING YOU’VE WRITTEN YOU DON’T HAVE TO START FROM SCRATCH: YOU CAN JUST ERASE THE UNWANTED NOTES AND ‘WRITE’ NEW ONES.”*

*(WHITE, P. P. 80)*

Realistic sound libraries are in demand by many recording musicians and composers. When they write music for film or television, composers need to simulate a persuasive piece of sampled music for the director or producer’s approval, so that they can obtain the budget for the real orchestra recording. Sometimes when the budget is limited, quality sampled music is used for the final stage of production. This cheaper alternative can cut down the cost by eliminating the need for hiring

musicians and the rental of recording studios. Quality samplers are also affordable and can be reused infinite times for other subsequent projects.

“THE SAMPLER IS A NOW WELL-ESTABLISHED, EVEN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT IN A MODERN MUSIC-MAKING ENVIRONMENT.”

(DUFFELL, D. P. 182)

“YOU CAN AFTER ALL, MAKE ANY KIND OF MUSIC WITH A SAMPLER.”

(DUFFELL, D. P. 183)

Technology has provided more previously unknown possibilities, presenting aural benefits for our species to embrace new forms and styles of music. Sequencing can be seen as a form of substitute for people without access to acoustic instruments and above that, it allows instantaneous playback for composers / musicians. It eliminates the need to hire an orchestra for checking and fine tuning of composition. It is a tool which poses many possibilities in education and the training sector for transcription, ear training, vocal training and musical experimentation. Thus I believe that this project -- the virtualization of Javanese *Gamelan* -- will benefit many individuals.

“LIVE PERFORMANCES AND ‘REAL’ INSTRUMENTS HAVE AN UNDOUBTED APPEAL, AND ALWAYS WILL – BUT THERE’S ALSO NO DOUBT THAT SAMPLERS WILL REMAIN ESSENTIAL COMPOSING AND RECORDING TOOLS, NO MATTER WHAT STYLE OF MUSIC IS IN VOGUE AT ANY TIME.”

(DUFFELL, D.P. 183)

On a final note, I hope that this paper provides various key aspects of the importance of developing *Gamelan* virtual instruments which may influence modern composers in their digital music making techniques. Moving on, I would like to further develop samples of Javanese *Gamelan* by coupling them with Sound & Synthesis techniques, exploiting and experimenting with technology using traditional sounds.

## GLOSSARY

Analogue- sounds that is not digital. Not divided into numerical steps, but a continuous voltage representation of a sound wave.

ADSR - Common sections of a musical sound, Attack, Decay, Sustain and Release

PELOG - A 7 TONE SCALE OF JAVANESE *GAMELAN* MUSIC

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Ng Ting Hsiang

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**KADAZANDUSUN GONG ENSEMBLES  
IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MAPPING OF TAMBUNAN, SABAH, MALAYSIA**

**Background**

The Fundamental Research Grant Scheme (FRGS) project entitled *The Ethnographic and Cultural Mapping of Sabah, Malaysia. Part 1: Tambunan District* was carried out from 2007 to 2010 by the author as Kadazandusun Chair, UMS, together with Assoc. Prof. Hasan Mat Nor (Centre for Social, Development and Environmental Studies, UKM), Mr. Oliver Valentine Ebo (GIS Laboratory, School of Social Sciences, UMS), Mr. Laurentius Kitingan (Field Coordinator and Kadazandusun Language Translator), Mdm. Audrey Patriccia Fung (Data Management Expert) and members of the Kadazandusun community of Tambunan in the interior of Sabah, the east Malaysia state on the island of Borneo. This is believed to be the first detailed ethnographic mapping project conducted in Malaysia.

Interview schedules in the Sabah Malay dialect were designed and pre-tested. Questions were divided into sections covering major areas under: (i) village profile, (ii) village history, (iii) infrastructure, (iv) economic livelihood, (v) economic development, (vi) human resource development, (vii) traditional culture, and (viii) social systems. Planning meetings were held with District Office officials, Representatives of the Native Court, Community Development Officers, and others who later distributed copies of the questions for perusal to village headmen (*ketua kampung*) and chairmen of the Village Development and Security Committees (*pengerusi JKKK*) from the most accessible villages.

Tambunan has around 100 villages, 88 of which have populations of over 150 and are thus officially registered. These are categorized into seven *Mukim* or administrative zones from north to south: Kirokot, Patau, Sunsuron, Toboh, Lintuhun, Nambayan, and Monsorulung.

The village headmen and JKKK chairmen from 80 villages took their own initiative and enthusiastically filled in the interview schedules as if they were questionnaires. They were then interviewed in the Kadazandusun language at meetings held in each *Mukim* (or half-*Mukim* if the villages were widely dispersed). A huge amount of data has been collected and keyed into a database. Maps of the main data are now being prepared.

**Ethnohistory of Tambunan**

Tambunan is an inland upland plain in the interior of Sabah, surrounded by the Crocker Range in the east and northeast, and the Trusmadi Range in the west. Its population of over 33,000 is mainly indigenous Kadazandusun. They are mostly agriculturalists growing traditional wet rice on the plain and dry rice on surrounding hills, as well as a variety of other traditional and introduced crops (Tambunan produces 1/3 of all the ginger in Malaysia). An acephalous society with bilateral kinship and gender balance, they live in villages that were formerly composed of longhouses. Roman Catholicism is the dominant religious affiliation in the District.

The Kadazandusun are the largest single indigenous ethnic group and largest overall group in Sabah. Those from Tambunan mostly speak a dialect of Kadazandusun labelled by linguists as Central Dusun, while the Monsok dialect is spoken in the Kg. Kuala Monsok area in the southeast of the District (Miller 1988:1). There are, however, phonological variations within the Central Dusun area, and in Tambunan these can be traced back to migrations of Dusunic people into the area over the past several hundreds of years.

There are three main origin points from where the people migrated into what is today named the Tambunan District: Nunuk Ragang, Libodon (Ulu Tuaran) and Kionop (Ulu Papar).

Nunuk Ragang ("Red *Nunuk* Tree") is a village on the Liwagu River near Tompios in the remote part of what is today the Ranau District to the northeast of Tambunan. From here, waves of Dusunic peoples moved out to other areas of northern Borneo, over the past millennium. These included not only the ancestors of most of today's Kadazandusun, but also speakers of other Dusunic

languages, including the Rungus, Tobilung, and Kimaragang of northern Sabah, the Labuk Dusun of the Labuk and parts of the Kinabatangan Rivers, and the Kuijau of Bingkor on the Keningau Plain to the south of Tambunan.

Libodon is a village in the remote area of Tuaran District to the northwest, high in the Crocker Range. This is said to be the original location of the Tagaas, a branch of the Kadazandusun. Kionop is a village in the remote area of Papar District to the west, also in the Crocker Range. This is located on a major salt trail by which people from Tambunan used to cross over the mountains to trade with the Kadazan of the west coastal plains of Penampang and Papar.

There were traditionally six main dialectal groups in the Tambunan area, including the Tambunan, Tagaas, Tuhauwon, Bundu Liwan, Kuruyou and Liwan. Today, these terms are rarely used. Of these the Tambunan are said to have been some of the earliest to come over the mountains from Nunuk Ragang, possibly up to 1,000 years ago. They live in the central part of the plain, in the villages of Karanaan, Noudu, Timbou, Botung, Maras-Karas, Lumondou, Piasau, and Tibabar. The people of these villages were called Tambunan (which is now applied to the whole District), because they covered (*moninibun*) the roofs of their longhouses with *tolidus* leaves. The Tagaas, who formerly constructed their houses of strong *tagaas* wood along high ridges in the Crocker Range, came from Libodon. The Tuhauwon, many of whom came from Kionop as well as Nunuk Ragang, were so-named because they planted *tuhau* ginger near their houses. The Bundu Liwan migrated from the Bundu Tuhan area to Libodon, and from there to the Tambunan area. The Kuruyou of the remote Monsok area in the southeast, also came from Nunuk Ragang and are said to be the origin of the large Kuijau Dusun group of Bingkor on the Keningau Plain. The Liwan to the north are the most recent to come into the area from Nunuk Ragang over the past 200 years (Pugh-Kitingan 1988:23-24, 2003:1-2). These ethnolinguistic variations are also evidenced in the results from the project.

Today's administrative *Mukim* correspond roughly, but not exactly, to the areas traditionally occupied by the various historical dialectal groups. For example, Kg. Karanaan on the plain is placed in Mukim Lintuhun, when linguistically it belongs with other "Tambunan" villages in Mukim Toboh. With intermarriage and movement, no village and *Mukim* is totally homogenous today, and many new villages of people from different parts of the district have sprung up over the past 30 years, especially in the Mukim of Patau and Monsorulung.

This paper examines the representative gong ensembles found in the different *Mukim* areas of the Tambunan District. They are compared and contrasted in terms of the numbers and types of gongs in each, gong nomenclature, the inclusion or absence of a drum in each ensemble, terms for music and dance, and the use of *dunsai* mourning music.

### Gong Ensembles in Tambunan

As shown previously (Pugh-Kitingan 1988:26-27, 35, 43-45, 54-56; 2003:4-11, 35-37; 2004:108-111, 128-148; Matusky & Tan 1997:216-221, 2004:185-190), the typical gong ensembles of villages on the plain consist of a small hand-held gong, seven larger hanging gongs of various types and a single-headed "native" drum with tuning pegs around its head (Plate 1). The drum is usually laid horizontally on the ground and hit with a single beater. Sometimes, depending on its length and if the performer is seated, it may be stood vertically. From previous research, it appears that the drum may be omitted and the numbers of gongs may be less in some ensembles, especially from Liwan villages in the north of the District.

In the typical ensemble, the gongs are normally hung from the viewer's right to left in order of musical entry, with the smaller higher pitched gongs first leading down to the larger deeper-sounding gongs (Figure 1). In Mukim Kirokot and some Mukim Patau villages, the gongs are hung in order from left to right.<sup>1</sup>

The hand-held gong and the first three hanging gongs are of a type known in Kadazandusun as *sanang*. These are relatively small gongs of thick brass, with flat front surfaces around their bosses. Their front diameters are much wider than the back. The next two hanging gongs are of a type known as *tagung*. These are large gongs made of thin brass with short sides, and little difference between front and back diameters. Each front has a raised surface around the boss. The last two hanging gongs are of a type called *tawag*. They are large thick heavy brass or bronze gongs, with raised front surfaces around their bosses and deep sides. Front diameters are much larger than the back.

Each of these gongs is known separately by its particular type. When put into an ensemble, however, it loses its generic name and is called by a musical name that denotes the rhythmic pattern that it plays.



Plate 1. The *songkogungan* of Kg. Tikolod (in Mukim Monsorulung); from right *karatung* (drum, front), *koritikon* (behind), *lambatan*, *kuribadon*, *kutowon*, *durulung tolison*, *durulung tolobou*, *tohoongon*, and *polombuson*.

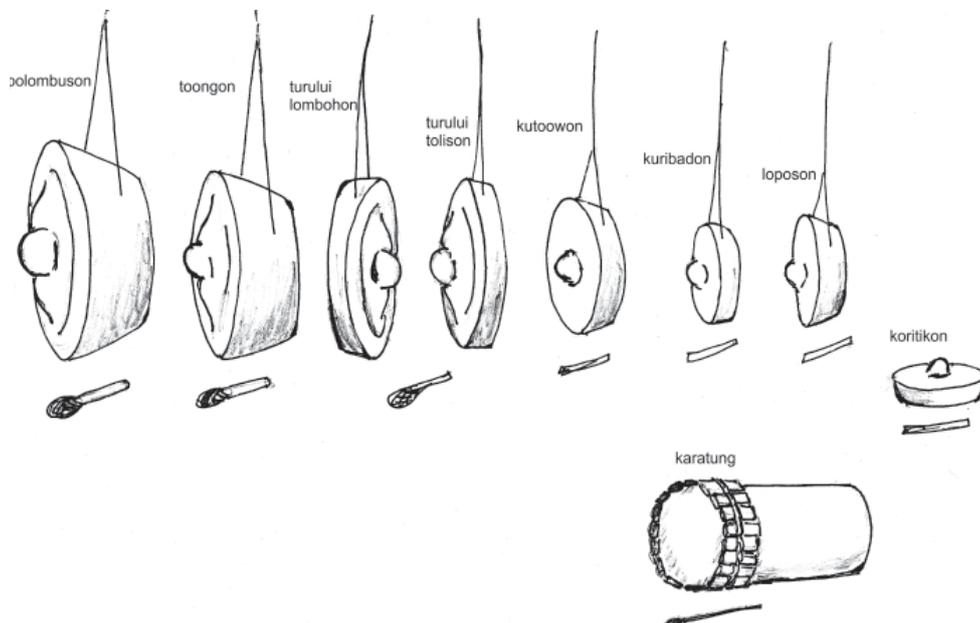


Figure 1. The *Songkogungan* from Kg. Nambayan (in Mukim Nambayan).

This standard arrangement and number of gongs is found throughout the District, with two exceptions. Among the so-called Tambunan dialect villages in the central part of the plain, the two

*tagung* are hung after the first two hanging *sanang*. But they are played in the same order as in other gong ensembles. (Sometimes, the first hanging *sanang* here is slightly larger than the second.) In the northern part of the District especially among Liwan villages of Mukim Kirokot and Patau, and in some villages of the southern area, there are ensembles where the “hand-held” gong is not hand-held but is hung with the other gongs, and there are less numbers of gongs with usually only one *tagung* type. The drum may also be absent from these ensembles from the northern and southern areas.

### Findings on Gong Ensembles from the Project

There is not room here to discuss the findings from each village, nor indeed for each *Mukim*. A general comparative summary is provided in Table 1. Here, the gongs are listed in order of musical entry, not in order of hanging. If a drum is present, the first gong is hand-held and usually initiates the music followed by the drum.

The gong ensemble is generally called *songkogungan* throughout the District, but it is also named *sopogandangan* in many older villages on the plain, particularly the “Tambunan” villages of Mukim Toboh and Mukim Lintuhun. According to the people in these areas, *sopogandangan* denotes the complete set of gongs with the drum (*karatung*), while *songkogungan* refers to the set of gongs without the drum. While this appears to be generally true elsewhere, most of the ensembles in Mukim Sunsuron are called *songkogungan* and usually have the drum (here called *gandang*).

The drum is present in most of the ensembles of villages on the plain, but becomes rarer the further away from the central part of the plain that a village is located. Remote villages like Kg. Kaingaran in Mukim Toboh, and all the Liwan villages of Mukim Kirokot and Mukim Patau in the north do not traditionally have a drum in their ensembles. Villages in Mukim Patau that do have the drum are relatively new (two were only formed in the 1930s and one in the 1970s), as people moved from other villages in the district in search of fertile wet padi land.

There appears to be a direct correlation with the presence of a drum in the gong ensemble of a village and the cultivation of wet padi. Villages in the mountains which rely on the swidden cultivation of hill rice normally do not have a drum in their ensemble. This may be because in former times, the drum was used as a ritual object by *bobolian* (priestesses) in some of the rituals connected with rice, and wet rice communities appear to have a greater diversity of traditional rituals compared to dry rice communities. The cultivation of wet rice on the plains involves more processes than dry rice. The drum is known as *karatung* in nearly every village where it is played on the central part of the plain in Mukim Toboh and Lintuhun and parts of Nambayan. Elsewhere, especially in Mukim Sunsuron, it is called *gandang* or *gondang*.

As noted earlier, ensembles from most Liwan villages in Mukim Kirokot to the north and parts of Mukim Patau have only seven hanging gongs, of which only one is a *tagung* type (Gong 5). This is also true for some of the more remote villages in Mukim Monsorulung to the south, particularly in the Monsok area (Gong 5 or 6). Elsewhere when pairs of *tagung* are present, one has a higher pitch (denoted as *tohisson/tolison* or *totohis/totolis* meaning high pitched) about a major third above the other (described as *tohombou/tolombou* or *lombohon* meaning low pitched). These two gongs play an interlocking pattern within the larger texture of the surrounding gongs, and are sometimes hit by the same performer if there are insufficient players for all the gongs. Names such as *durulung*, *turului*, *dururung* and *tuyuyui* reflect their pulsating patterns. If only one *tagung* is present, its part is a regular pulse in the texture of the other gongs.

The various names for the hand-held or first gong denotes its sound and its speed. *Koritikon* means “a knocking sound,” while names such as *sarakan*, *saarakan* and *sarak-sarakan* refer to its fast pace. Similarly, the second gong can be called *bobogon* or *lambatan* referring to the way in which the boss is hit hard with a length of coconut frond stem, or *loposon* and *lopos-loposon* meaning that it is the first hanging gong to enter near the start of the music. The various terms for the other gongs, such as *kuribadon*, *kutoukutowon* and *tongtoongon* also refer to their particular rhythms, with dialectal variations in some cases. Names for the last, large *tawag*, such as *polombuson*, *lombuson* and *pongutas* refer to its role as the last gong to enter and to its complicated rhythm that underlies those of all the other gongs.

	Name of <i>Mukim</i>	Name of Set	Instruments (gongs numbered in order of musical entry)								Music Name	Dance Name	<i>Dunsai</i>	
			Drum	Gong 1	Gong 2	Gong 3	Gong 4	Gong 5	Gong 6	Gong 7				Gong 8
1	Kirokot	<i>songko-gungan</i>	--	<i>kolintang-on/sarakan/sarakan</i>	<i>lambatan/loposon/loposon/lambatan</i>	<i>Kiribadon</i>	<i>kutowon</i>	<i>tiyuyui</i>	--	<i>tohongon</i>	<i>tawag/lombuson/lombuson/polombuson</i>	<i>tinindal/tinondot/padsayadhan</i>	<i>sumayau</i>	--
2	Patau	<i>songko-gungan</i>	-- <i>gandang</i> (only in 3 villages)	<i>sarak-sarakani/totokoni/koritikon</i>	<i>loposon/loposon/loposon/lambatan</i>	<i>Kiribadon</i>	<i>kutowon/kutowon/kutowon</i>	-- <i>tiyuyui/tolison</i>	-- <i>tiyuyui/tolombou/duri-lungon</i>	<i>tong-toogon/tindion</i>	<i>tawag/polombuson/lombuson/pongutas</i>	<i>tinondot</i>	<i>sumayau/magarang</i>	--
3	Sunsuron	<i>songko-gungan</i>	<i>gandang</i>	<i>sarak-sarakani/koritikon</i>	<i>lambatan</i>	<i>Kiribadon</i>	<i>kutowon/kutowon/kutowon</i>	<i>dururung totolis</i>	<i>dururung tolombou</i>	<i>tong-toogon/toogoni/tongon</i>	<i>tawag/polombuson/taag</i>	<i>pongigalan/tinondot</i>	<i>mongigol</i>	--
4	Toboh	<i>sopogandangan/songko-gungan</i>	<i>karatung</i>	<i>koritikon</i>	<i>Bobogon</i>	<i>Kiribadon</i>	<i>kutowon/kutowon</i>	<i>tagung tohison/tagung tohohis</i>	<i>tagung tohombou</i>	<i>tong-toogon</i>	<i>tawag/tawag manawag</i>	<i>tinondot</i>	<i>magarang</i>	<i>Dunsai</i>
5	Lintuhun	<i>songko-gungan/sopogandangan</i>	<i>karatung</i> (only 5 villages)	<i>koritikon</i>	<i>bobogon/lambatan</i>	<i>Kiribadon</i>	<i>kutowon/kutowon</i>	<i>tagung tolison/tagung totolis</i>	<i>tagung tolombou</i>	<i>tong-toogon</i>	<i>tawag/tawag manawag</i>	<i>tinondot</i>	<i>magarang</i>	<i>Dunsai</i>
6	Nam-bayan	<i>songko-gungan</i>	<i>karatung/gandang</i>	<i>koritikon</i>	<i>Loposon</i>	<i>Kiribadon</i>	<i>kutowon</i>	<i>turului/turului totolis</i>	<i>turului/turului tolombou</i>	<i>toogon/tongon</i>	<i>tawag/polombuson</i>	<i>tinondot</i>	<i>magarang/sumayau</i>	<i>Dunsai</i>
7	Monso-rulung	<i>songko-gungan</i>	-- <i>karatung/gandang</i> 2 villages	<i>koritikon/sorok/kalinangon</i>	<i>bobogon/lambatan</i>	<i>Kiribadon</i>	<i>kutowon/kutowon/kutowon</i>	-- <i>dururung/turulong/dura-rongan</i>	<i>dururung/turulong/dura-rongan</i>	<i>tohoogon/ibonga-tongon</i>	<i>tawag/lombuson/polombuson</i>	<i>tinondot</i>	<i>sumayau/magarang/modsirid/mongigol</i>	-- (only in 2 village)

Table 1: Comparative Summary of Terms for Gongs, Ensembles, Music and Dance According to *Mukim* in Tambunan

The name for the celebration music played by the gong ensemble is generally *tinondot* although some say *tinindot*. Villages that use the term *mongigol* for dance, also sometimes use the term *pongigalan* for gong ensemble music. This is particularly so in large Kg. Sunsuron in Mukim Sunsuron.<sup>2</sup> Gong music of the older villages on the plain is faster and more syncopated when compared with that of Liwan villages in Mukim Patau and Kirokot.

The term *magarang* denoting dance accompanied by celebratory gong ensemble music is recognised everywhere, but *mongigol* is the main term used in villages of Mukim Sunsuron, and *sumayau* is exclusively used in Mukim Kirokot. Elsewhere, there is a tendency to use either *sumayau* or *magarang*.<sup>3</sup>

*Dunsai*, special gong music played during mourning prior to burial, is found only in older villages on the plain in Mukim Toboh, Lintuhun and Nambayan, and in new villages (since the 1970s) in Mukim Monsorlung.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere during mourning, all forms of music, including any gong beating, are prohibited.

## Conclusions

This study on gong ensembles is based on data collected as part of the FRGS project *The Ethnographic and Cultural Mapping of Sabah. Part 1: Tambunan District*. It has confirmed a correlation between gong ensemble structure, nomenclature and music with dialectal variations throughout the District, despite intermingling of the population due to marriage and movement. These dialectal variations point back to waves of migrations into the area from Nunuk Ragang, Libodon and Kionop over many hundreds of years.

The oldest wet-rice planting villages on the plain appear to have the greater complexity in terms of numbers of gongs in their ensembles, the presence of a drum and faster more syncopated celebratory gong music. *Dunsai*, the gong music for mourning, is also found here, but is absent elsewhere. Hill rice planting villages situated in the ranges away from the plain, particularly those of the Liwan in Mukim Kirokot to the north and to the south in the Monsok area of Mukim Monsorlung, do not use a drum with the gongs, have less numbers of gongs in their ensembles, play slower gong music and do not perform *dunsai*.

This brief documentation of the diversity of gong ensembles in Tambunan is but one small aspect of the whole ethnographic mapping project. The project was enthusiastically taken up by village leaders in the Tambunan District. "This will become a record of our culture," they said, "for our children, grandchildren and future generations."

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Brass and bronze gongs were formerly traded into the interior from coastal areas. The main gong making centres in the region for northern Borneo were Brunei (including of the west coast, especially the Iranun gong making industries of Tempasuk) and Mindanao. Today, gongs are still imported from Mindanao through barter trade, but cheap gongs made from spray painted zinc are now produced by the Rungus community of Kg. Sumangkap, Matunggong.

<sup>2</sup> Kg. Sunsuron is the largest village in Sabah with over 6,000 inhabitants. It has been administered as two villages, Sunsuron Ulu and Sunsuron Bawah, since the 1930s. It is mainly composed of Bundu Liwan speakers.

<sup>3</sup> When speaking specifically, *sumayau* actually refers to the dance motif in which the arms swing gently at the sides as the dancer shifts weight from one foot to the other, while *mongigol* in Tambunan refers to the motif in which the arms are raised and the dancer steps up on the toes.

<sup>4</sup> The seven hanging gongs are taken from their stand, laid on the floor and bashed in unison with a regular beat. The hand-held gong and drum are not played, and no dancing occurs, being prohibited during mourning.

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PRACTICING BELONGING IN BALI'S INDIE MUSIC SCENE

Projects in ethnomusicology often examine music performance as a medium through which people negotiate their individual identities and social alliances. Music, John Blacking wrote, both generates and projects “patterns of human relations” (1995:13)—patterns for belonging we classify with words like nationality, religion, ethnicity, gender, and economic class. But people also form social alliances based on shared understandings of *music*.

In Bali, Indonesia an indie music scene, comprised of individuals who share a D.I.Y. (do-it-yourself) business ethic and disdain for the monolithic mainstream of Indonesia’s national music industry, has established a local music market substantial in output, national influence, and genre diversity. Commercial recognition and financial success are tangential issues for scene participants, however. What, specifically, preoccupies them is key to understanding the scene’s remarkable growth and staying power. Certain mutually valued *ideals* shape the creative process of making music and staging performances, strengthen social alliances, and, ultimately, nourish Bali’s indie scene; and scene *practices*—the range of habitual, music-related activities in which music producers and fans participate—are the conduits by which these core ideals of musical and, consequently, social difference are created and shared.<sup>2</sup>

I begin with a brief introduction to underground music in Indonesia as a means to contextualize the various *aliran* (musical streams) presented here according to their local trajectories. Metal and hard rock bands of Bandung, West Java nourished the roots of Indonesia’s underground in the 1970s, as artists covering their favorite songs by rock legends such as Black Sabbath and Deep Purple ushered heavy metal into the Indonesian soundscape (Putranto, 2004). Two decades later, with the increasing popularity of death and thrash metal, widespread melodic punk fanaticism ignited by California-based Social Distortion and Green Day, and the formation of enclaves of grunge devotees with a taste for the Seattle-grown alternative rock of Nirvana, Pearl Jam, and Alice in Chains, the terms *alternatif* (alternative) and *tanah bawah* (underground) became fashionable designations for Indonesian bands playing these *aliran keras* (hard genres). In Indonesia’s urban centers, *tanah bawah* further indexed rising youth-based music and fashion scenes, focused around these genres and their various subdivisions. Media deregulation (Baulch, 2007), a series of large underground music festivals in Java (W. Putranto, personal communication, 19 February 2009), and a substantial increase in the number of cassette releases by underground bands between 1995 and 2000, were additional catalysts for the solidification of underground scenes (Wallach, 2008). In the cities of Bandung, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Malang, Medan, and, in Bali, Denpasar and Kuta, local underground music scenes materialized, sharing in common a predilection for hard rock genres, passion for the foreign artists who popularized them, and commitment to a D.I.Y. ethic for music production and promotion (Wallach, 2003:36).

In the last decade the word *indie*, an English-language abbreviation of “independent,” has largely replaced *underground* in industry, media, artist, and consumer vernaculars. In its association with music, indie generally comprises two meanings: one, as a business and social ethic that suggests a proclivity for independently produced projects over those by contract with a major music/entertainment label; and the other, as a stylistic category (also called indie rock) that gained popularity in the 1980s and 90s in the U.S. and U.K. In Indonesia, the former usage is more widely recognized and accepted. The same preference for hard rock, grassroots organizing, and independent music projects characteristic of today’s indie scenes can be traced to the underground, however, and the terms *underground* and *indie* are still sometimes used interchangeably.

By 2008, Bali’s indie scene, centralized within the southern and most populated Badung regency, was flourishing, and scene heavyweights capitalized on a local, long-established enthusiasm for non-mainstream rock.<sup>2</sup> A melodic punk band with a strong national following, Superman Is Dead, was preparing for their first U.S. tour and a new album release, *Angels and the Outsiders*. Though still bound to a five-album contract with one of the majors, Sony Music Entertainment Indonesia, the band’s personnel supported local indie music by hosting special performance events and financially backing or producing rising acts. The thirteen-years-strong grunge/psychadelic rock band Navicula was busy

promoting its sixth studio album, *Salto* (Somersaults), and organizing a two-week tour through Java. Nympha's alternative rock hit-single "Malaikatmu" (Your Angel) was broadcasted nationally on radio airwaves. A host of other bands were preparing for or celebrating debut and compilation album releases.



**Plate 1. Band Geekssmile at *Melayu Bersatu, Concert for Peace* between Indonesia and Malaysia, Twice Bar, Kuta, 2009.**

Two local production houses, Antida and Pregina, now boasted skilled technicians and state-of-the-art sound equipment and software imported from Europe and the United States. Song recording, mixing, and mastering could all be accomplished locally, rather than through a Jakarta or Surabaya-based studio. Media support was strong for local indie groups. Radio stations assigned weekly time slots for indie music. Locally owned and distributed magazines featured articles, editorials, and reviews of indie bands, concerts, and tours, and Bali's top bands were featured in the national magazines *Rolling Stone Indonesia*, *Hai*, and *Trax*. Finally, indie music artists and fans interacted at a feverish rate on the Internet through the social networking sites My Space, Facebook, and Twitter. They shared gig information, announced album launches, sold merchandise, and strengthened communal ties locally and nationally, between indie music producers and fans.

Today, an increasing number of artists, producers, managers, sound engineers, and music critics from Bali work as industry professionals. Scene growth is not unchallenged, however. Jakarta remains the epicenter for Indonesia's music industry, and Bali-based artists struggle to overcome notions that their music is *daerah* (regional) or *kampung* (provincial), labels that suggest they cannot compete in terms of quality or professionalism with artists based in the nation's capital. Unlike nightclub DJs or top-40 bands, indie bands are still largely excluded from earning a living within Bali's thriving tourism industry. Owners of venues popular with tourists prefer to hire bands that they call the "party" groups—reggae bands they believe evoke a carefree, island lifestyle or top-40 bands or DJs spinning out the latest hits to which audience members can sing along. Opportunities for indie musicians to perform are scarcer, and of these, even fewer are paid. Musicians playing hard genres such as death metal and grindcore face particular difficulty securing permission to play local venues. Bands suffer high personnel and management turnover due in large part to the difficulty of achieving financial security within this (as yet) minor industry. Album production and distribution are still prohibitively expensive for all but the most well known bands, as are nation-wide tours. Most frustrating for many artists, a loyal fan-base willing and able to purchase albums and pay for live performances continues to be difficult to secure in Bali.

Despite the challenges of making music on the fringe, the indie music scene endures. Indie musicians and their producers, managers, publicists, runners, and roadies work hard and, frequently, without pay to secure and promote performances, scrape together the financial capital to record and release

albums, open sites for distribution or hand deliver albums and merchandise to *distro* (local independently-owned cassette/CD distribution outlets), and contact radio and television stations, magazines, and newspapers for media coverage. Their dedication to overcoming the difficulties of the local and national music markets demonstrates a high level of commitment to scene sustainability and development that cannot be explained simply by an end goal of commercial or financial success. Instead, the scene's significance, for those who maintain it, is illuminated by particular shared values emergent through a range of scene practices.

Bali's indie scene is formed through the habitual practices—including rehearsals, performances, recording sessions, album production and promotion, tours, and ritual “hanging out” (*nongkrong*)—that provide opportunity for social interaction surrounding music. Band rehearsals take place in players' homes or rehearsal studios available for rent. During rehearsals, bands prepare for concerts, recording sessions, or tours; they write new songs, discuss upcoming events, and address managerial logistics such as scheduling issues and budgets. Performance opportunities in Bali range from large-scale music festivals to university events, as well as special community outdoor gatherings like motorcycle rallies, neighborhood bazaars, or national holiday celebrations. They can be paid performances for large music venues such as Hard Rock Cafés or unpaid gigs at smaller clubs, usually owned by scene members. Performance opportunities also include store openings at shopping centers, political rallies and charity concerts (*konser amal*), and special events at favorite indie hangouts, including family compounds and music stores.

Song recording and album production can preoccupy a band and a production house's staff for months. Indie bands release their albums independently: they raise the financial capital to record, mix, and master audio tracks, as well as produce, print, and distribute their albums without a contract with a Jakarta-based national or international major label. Promotional activities for a new album include local performances and nationwide tours, as well as the design and distribution of band merchandise, print and broadcast media interviews, and the range of self-promotion activities on the Internet.



**Plate 2. Dadang of bands Navicula and Dialog Dini Hari during a recording session for Dialog Dini Hari's single “Aku Adalah Kamu,” Pregina Studio, 2009.**

Tours most frequently take senior bands to Jakarta and other major cities on Java. Touring is not only an essential means for indie bands to widen their fan-base and distribute their albums and merchandise, it is also a strategy for strengthening bonds between indie scene participants throughout Indonesia. Thus, tours help to develop a national network of indie music producers and fans.

Furthermore, through strategic social networking during Java tours, a handful of artists secure production and/or distribution contracts with independent record labels based in Jakarta or Bandung, thus ensuring their albums land on the shelves of *Disctarra* and other massive, nationwide music distribution outlets.

A final indie scene activity intersecting all others is *nongkrong*, hanging out. Together at cafes, music stores, the beach, friends' houses, or studios, scene participants smoke, joke, strum guitars, and talk about music. *Nongkrong* may be the activity least focused on music production, but it is critically important for deep, mutual reflection about scene ideals<sup>3</sup> *Nongkrong* is also not limited to face-to-face interaction. Using handphones, office computers, or laptops at cafes with Wi-Fi, scene members engage with one another via a variety of online channels, particularly Twitter; Facebook's status updates, notes, and chat features; and Yahoo Instant Messenger. These web-based interactions are also modes of "hanging out" and are, therefore, important for the formation of scene ideals.

Ethnomusicologists agree that sharing music can establish social bonds by communicating shared values. Our subjectivities as human beings—that is, who we think we are and with whom we identify—are negotiated through musical-related activities. Bali's indie scene is characterized by demographic heterogeneity. It includes the relatively affluent and poor, university educated and high school dropouts, Javanese, Balinese, Sumatran, and expatriate residents, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and agnostics. Principally, two factors—residential proximity (nearly all scene members live and work in Denpasar or Kuta) and notions about "music," rather than ethnicity, religion, class, or some other frame for social solidarity—draw the boundaries of the indie scene. Indie subjectivities are shaped by several shared (although flexible and frequently debated) scenic preoccupations. Work ethic, artistic integrity, genre, creativity, and talent are collective values that assemble the scene's "logic"—to draw from Bourdieu's usage (1984). Those who share an interest in and understanding of these preoccupations become "insiders."

"Work ethic" is the most prominent preoccupation for scene participants. While artists and producers have different professional goals, most value a code of artistic independence and grassroots business principles. They must work hard and independently to pursue their artistic and professional visions, and hard work becomes a primary value in the scene. The designation "indie" is a badge of honor for many artists, an indicator that powerful entertainment conglomerates do not influence their artistic vision. Artistic freedom maintains artistic integrity, a degree of consistency in the quality of one's musical work. Notions of artistic integrity, in turn, impact aesthetic parameters. Scene members establish genre ideologies, aesthetic criteria by which they judge whether or not an artist's music is considered indie. Certain genres, generally falling under the umbrella term *pop*, are considered mainstream, diluted, or commercial; these genres are not indie. Diverse genres, including blues, grunge, hard rock, death metal, grindcore, punk, hardcore, rockabilly, psychobilly, and electronica coexist within the indie scene because they are acceptably antithetical to mainstream music. These ideologies also impact lyrical material: artists must be intellectually engaged with their social worlds and interested in facilitating positive change. Most indie recordings offer some sort of social critique, as artists take on issues such as environmental degradation, political corruption, drug use, sexism, racism, and violence. The uninspired love songs they say dominate the airwaves in Indonesia are unsatisfactory for indie scene participants.

While scene members expect artists to meet certain expectations based on genre standards, they also tend to value aesthetic creativity over strict adherence to a particular style. Artists should create something new or different—an alternative to the mediocrity of carbon-copy hits they identify with the nation's "pop factory," that is, the national recording industry. Finally, indie participants take pride in the quality of indie performances. They frequently comment upon the skill level, or *talent*, of song writers, vocalists, guitarists, bassists, drummers, and other players, as well as sound technicians and producers.

These various preoccupations are implicated in processes of differentiation; shared values are a means to determine who belongs. Who the Other is varies. It may at once be an artist whose pedestrian pop ballad becomes a number-one hit on the radio, a club owner who only hires top-40 bands or foreign DJs, or even members of a "former" indie band who compromised their artistic integrity in order to secure a major label contract. Scene membership is a matter of choice, and continued "enrollment" is contingent upon individuals' engagements in shared practices and, thus, shared business, musical, and social ideals.

Scene values are not fixed scaffolding to which individuals attach their own interpretations. Rather, they are emergent within the intersubjective experience of social interaction. Thus, music

practices give rise to meanings that are directly responsible for a scenic atmosphere of camaraderie and social closeness locally, and for a deeply felt allegiance to likeminded indie scene participants elsewhere in Indonesia and farther afield.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This paper was prepared as a synopsis of a dissertation in progress. Based on twenty-four months ethnographic research in Indonesia, the dissertation, "Indie Music in Post-bomb Bali: Participant Practices, Scene Subjectivities," examines the social constitution of meaning through music-based practices, theoretically interpreted via works in sociological phenomenology (Schutz, 1964[1951] and Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and Blumer's symbolic interactionism (1993 [1969]). A combination of these theories suggests that meaning is not inherent in an object, idea, actor, or institution, but arises out of social interaction.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of Bali's earlier underground music history, see Baulch, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the social significance of *nongkrong* among amateur musicians, see Wallach, 2008.

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**GONG TRADITION, TRADE, AND TOURISM IN IFUGAO, PHILIPPINES**

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**TRADITIONAL AND FILIPINO AMERICAN KULINTANG IMPROVISATIONS:  
MAKING AUTHENTICITY ISSUES CURRENT IN THE GLOBAL AGE**

**Introduction**

The Philippine *kulintang*, a gongs and drum tradition largely practiced in the southern Philippines, gained popularity among the second and third generation Filipino Americans in the latter half of the twentieth century. It was first introduced by the Maranao Usopay Cadar and Maguindanaon Danongan Kalanduyan through a fellowship at the University of Washington in the late 60's. The two musician-scholars remained in the United States where they became the important sources of *kulintang* learning among the Filipino American community across the country.

This paper specifically deals with the issues surrounding the authenticity of *kulintang* performance by looking at its central defining aspect, which is improvisation. Although postcolonial and postmodern scholars are arguing that the term authenticity itself may no longer be applicable in this globalized age, the unique situation of the dissemination of the *kulintang* tradition proves that authenticity is still an issue, specifically, in the way it has been adopted, taught, and performed in the academe by non-native practitioners. Restoring the idioms authentic to the tradition while adapting to the global institutional challenges will actually restore the *kulintang*'s integrity as a musical tradition and, as we argue elsewhere, assist in its dynamism and continuity even in the hands of non-native musicians (Costes-Onishi & Onishi, 2010).

We wish to focus on the improvisational aspect of the *kulintang*, which as scholars in the music agree is at the heart of its practice. Usopay Cadar refers to this aspect as the constitution of the *kulintang* (Cadar, 1999). However, as the tradition becomes transmitted and learned by outsiders, the personal approaches to a *kulintang* melody become rather fixed and thus regarded merely as pieces to be memorized whether by rote or notation. The issue of authenticity becomes compounded when a *kulintang* piece is performed using a traditional pattern and as an ensemble. In this paper we would use a case study among the members of a youth ensemble in Tacoma, Washington called Tunog Pil-Am (Sound of the Filipino Americans).

**Kulintang and Authenticity**

The authenticity of the *kulintang* has already been questioned by scholars such as Gaerlan (1999) and Talusan (1999), specifically in the way it has been copied from the stylized and composed pieces of the Bayanihan Dance Troupe from the Philippines by Filipino Americans. There are also many fusions of the *kulintang* done by individual artists among Filipino Americans, but the Tunog Pil-Am group is unique in that they do not fuse the *kulintang* with any western instruments in order to modernize (Costes-Onishi, 2010). Furthermore, they maintain the same principles governing the interaction of the instruments in a traditional ensemble but they imbue their renditions with their own musical exposure and background. To the uninitiated, it will be very difficult to perceive how it really differs from the traditional, precisely because the deviation is very slight.

We will mainly compare the rendition of the Tunog Pil-Am of the Maguindanaon Tagunggo melody with that of Danongan Kalanduyan, a Maguindanaon master musician. This is to clarify the differences and learn in the process how a traditional improvisation should be executed. In doing the comparison, we are not placing any value judgment on the efforts of Tunog Pil-Am to improvise on the instruments; rather, we would like to highlight the currency of personal expression to define authentic traditions based on specific individualities. As a conclusion, we would like to define authenticity in both bounded and unbounded terms to demarcate the need to use the terminology to protect one's tradition from outsiders and at the same time to empower new identities that are being created in this global age (Griffiths, 1994).

**Kulintang in Filipino American Music-Making**

The *Kulintang* became prevalent among the Filipino Americans specifically during the mid to late 90's. The resurgence of interest could have been caused by a generation ready to seek their

cultural roots. The criticisms received from scholarly studies regarding the then prevalent means of connection to these roots in music and dance facilitated the move towards the search for the more “authentic” way of performing these traditions. In the process of this search, new creativities abounded and the traditional has been incorporated in the music of some of the well-known Filipino American musicians in various forms.<sup>1</sup>

The Tunog PiL-AM (Tunog Pilipinong Lumad ng Amerika, or Sound of the Filipino Natives of America) is a youth ensemble, ages 12-23, under the non-profit organization called FAYCCA (Filipino American Youth Center for Culture and the Arts). It was founded in 2000 by the ensemble youth members and Pamela Costes-Onishi, one of the co-authors of this paper. Costes-Onishi served as the director of the ensemble while a graduate student at the University of Washington. The group performed traditional kulintang initially but has grown into a contemporary ensemble of Philippine instruments, fusing both Philippine northern bamboo traditions and southern kulintang.<sup>2</sup>

The innovation in the traditional kulintang was created by some of the top players of the ensemble, not intentionally initially, but simply as an expression of individuality. They were aware that the kulintang should be improvised and in order to appreciate this principle the ensemble started to react musically to each other’s playing style, which resulted into the *Tagunggo* version to be analyzed in this paper. In being free to incorporate their ideas, the members acknowledged that the music became more enjoyable for them. It is not that they were not enjoying the traditional patterns, but they were aware that they simply remain copies of someone else’s rendition and thus the improvisational aspect being talked about in the music has always remained a mystery to them. In their teenage years at that time, the group was more inclined to contemporary music as well, and their ideas as drawn from the music they were listening to were evident in improvising on the patterns.

### **The Global Traffic of the Filipino American Kulintang Music**

In her dissertation, Costes-Onishi (2005) discussed the flow of traffic in the global age specific to the Kulintang as the tradition was transplanted to the United States. The flow demonstrates the kind of ‘cultural supermarket’ (Matthews, 2000) where ideas are drawn from and how they are limited by it in creating the Filipino American sound. Examining the flow will help understand why the improvisations by groups such as Tunog PiL-AM resulted in certain styles. It should be pointed out however, that in allowing these sources to become a repository of ideas in which to utilize for creativity can one be truly free in exploring specific identities. There is the concern of the importance of adhering to only traditional elements of the kulintang, but in doing this, based on our observations, most kulintang music remain copies of the exact versions of traditional musicians and thus the improvisational aspect has not really been explored or understood. The reluctance to diverge from what is “authentic” or as most will put it “the way it’s done back in Mindanao” freezes the kulintang in time and context, thus killing its growth and development in new histories and contexts (Costes-Onishi, 2010).

For diagram, see hard copy version

#### **Diagram 1. The Five-Way Kulintang Traffic in the United States.**

Among the Tunog PiL-AM members, Hip-hop is one of main sources of inspiration for their improvisations in the Kulintang ensemble. In a recent interview with one of the members of TUNOG

PiL-AM Alex Montances, who plays the agung (the two bass gongs) in the example to be analyzed later, related that when they were members of the ensemble they used to listen to a lot of hip-hop from the South, music represented by such artists as Juvenile and Ayanna Porter (also known as INOJ). He also made a specific mention to INOJ's songs, including "Love You Down," "Time After Time," and "Ring My Bell," all of which are covers of the songs by Ready for the World, Cyndi Lauper, and Anita Ward, respectively. Hip-hop can thus be a source of influence on TUNOG PiL-AM's performance style of kulintang, as we shall soon see.

### **Comparative Analysis of *Tagunggo* by Danny Kalanduyan and TUNOG PiL-AM**

In order to examine TUNOG PiL-AM's unique kulintang performance style in relation to the traditional one, we will compare *Tagunggo*, one of the Maduindanaon genres, as rendered by Danny Kalanduyan and by TUNOG PiL-AM, Hector Montances, on the kulintang,

Figure 1 is the opening of the kulintang part of Kalanduyan's *Tagunggo* that he recorded in 1994. What you see is a transcription in the new notational system Hideaki Onishi devised for this paper. Although cipher notation has been widely used in the kulintang community for the purpose not only of transcription and teaching but also of performance since it was introduced by Aga Mayo Butocan in the 1980s, we adopt a new notational devise, which is a combination of cipher notation and Western staff notation. We have adopted Western staff notation so that the lowest gong 1 is placed on line 1, gong 2 in space 1, gong 3 on space 2 and so forth with the highest gong 8 in space 4. No clef or time signature is applied. In addition, numbers 1 through 8 replace the note head and are used for the corresponding gongs. The rhythmic notation of the Western system has been applied without change because of its ability to represent the proportional relationships between notes.

Regarding the direction of a stem, the following rules have been set for the transcription in this paper: 1) melodic notes are *always* stemmed upwards, regardless of the hand to play with; 2) melodic notes played with the left hand are *also* stemmed downwards; and 3) doublings and underlying rhythmic patterns played with the left hand are stemmed downwards.

For score, see hard copy version

**Figure 1. *Tagunggo* improvisations by Danongan Kalanduyan.**

Before comparing it to the TUNOG PiL-AM rendition, let us make some observations, a summary of this is shown in Table 1 below.

	<b>Kalanduyan</b>	<b>Tunog PiL-AM</b>
Main Sections	A & B	
Formal Design	Intro-[A1-B1-A2-B2-A3-B3-A4]-Conclusion	
# of A patterns	6	3
Variation of A patterns	Highly varied and elaborated	Repetitive (unique improv in A3, A4)
Phrase Structure	Irregular	Regular (by power of 2)
Other Features		Hip-hop influenced <i>agung</i>

**Table 1. Summary of Observations on the Improvisations of Daongan Kalanduyan and Hector Montances.**

Both follow the same formal design of an introduction, an alternation of two different sections that we call A and B, and a short concluding phrase. They also have the same number of A and B Sections: 4 A's and 3 B's. However, the two renditions of Tagunggo differ in many other respects:

- First, Kalanduyan has much more melodic patterns in store. For example, he has six basic patterns in A Sections while Hector has only three.
- Second, each of the six basic patterns is highly varied and elaborated in Kalanduyan's rendition. One of them is performed in no less than eight variations. In contrast, Hector Montances does not make any variation at all in Sections A1 and A2. This may be due to the lack of more intensive training in kulintang, although it can be considered as a reflection of the aesthetics of their favorite music such as rock and hip-hop, which consists mostly of the simple repetition of rhythmic and melodic patterns.
- Hector Montances *does* make variations in Sections A3 and A4, but they are also based on the repetitive motion between the two hands as we will hear shortly.
- Third, Kalanduyan freely jumps between the six basic pattern and creates an irregular phrase structure, whereas Hector Montances sticks, again, to the repetition of the three patterns by the power of two and creates a regular phrase structure of eight. At this point, the repetition seems to be becoming a clue to TUNOG PiL-AM's performance style.
- We would also like to draw your attention to the unique *agung* style, performed by Alex Montances. His improvisation is highly untraditional and heavily influenced by hip-hop, as can be heard in the rhythmic pattern and a profuse use of the flat surface of the gong, which makes a cymbal-like sound. Below is a transcription of Hector Montances's rendition of Tagunggo, recorded in 2004.

For score, see hard copy version

**Figure 2. *Tagunggo* improvisations of Hector Montances.**

To summarize, improvisation is a personalized musical practice and TUNOG PiL-AM members have successfully incorporated their musical influences into a unique, if not traditional, performance style.

### **Conclusion**

In this paper, we have shown how authenticity is still an effective terminology to use both to differentiate the style of traditional kulintang and of emerging kulintang styles to empower new identities. The question of authenticity of traditions will always be current in the global age and especially in the borderless age. Among Kulintang scholars questions are continually being raised and discussed on ‘how kulintang should be performed’ or ‘how it should be done as it is practiced in Mindanao’ which are simply reworded statements to describe ‘authenticity’ in the performance practice of the tradition.

Through examining improvisation, the primary governing principle of the kulintang, we hope to achieve a deeper understanding of the techniques and idioms appropriate for the tradition but do not necessarily imply that kulintang practitioners should only copy what native musicians do in order to personalize their playing styles. The creation of many versions of a single kulintang melody is an admired skill in its practice as stated by Kanapia Kalanduyan in our recent lessons with him. Improvisation itself is personal and so the different repository of ideas from the cultural supermarket of an individual should naturally be evident. These influences should not be suppressed but rather encouraged within the constraints of the improvisatory idioms of the kulintang. Only by allowing these personal aspects into kulintang practice will the music become dynamic in its different contexts. It is

high time to acknowledge that kulintang's authenticity does not merely mean playing it 'the way it's done in Mindanao;' it is time to face the fact that it has been globalized and adapted by people outside of Mindanao for their personal empowerment and enjoyment.

Based on the discussion presented in this paper, we would like to define authenticity in both its bounded and unbounded terms. Authentic is *bounded*, to the extent that its legitimacy adheres to a condition of practice and dissemination by either a culture bearer or a learner of the tradition. Authentic is *unbounded*, because its survival depends on the dynamism of its practitioners as they are positioned as individuals who constantly interact and evolve within history.

And lastly, *Improvisation*, because of its highly personalized nature, can be a barometer of the boundedness/unboundedness of the authentic.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Some of the most notable ones creating fusion kulintang music are Electric Kulintang, Eleanor Academia, e:trinity, and Kulintronica. For a full discussion of the styles of these artists, please refer to Costes-Onishi (2010).

<sup>2</sup> Please refer to Costes (2005) for more information about this group and their music.

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Pamela Costes-Onishi and Hideaki Onishi

**Delegates not submitting a paper for the publication of the PROCEEDINGS ---**

**ABSTRACTS**

**1. James Chopyak “Gus Steyn: Malaysian or World Musician?”**

Gus Steyn was born in Holland in 1927, and he received his formal music education there. He lived in Indonesia in the late 1940s, Australia and Singapore in the 1950s and early 1960s. Although he was a citizen of Singapore, he was regarded as one of Malaysia’s best composers and arrangers for nearly 30 years. He was also an orchestra conductor and pianist and was a true World Musician. This paper explores the early days of music at Radio Television Malaysia and the role of Gus Steyn in that era as well as Gus Steyn himself. The paper explores what this tells us about Malaysian music in the early years of the country. It also reviews the life and music of Gus Steyn.

**2. Bussakorn Binson “The Thai Music Archives at Chulalongkorn University.”**

This paper explores the history of a 1994 project for archiving traditional Thai music by the great national artist Master Prasit Thavon. Master Thavon was an exceptionally talented student of Master musician Loung Pradit Pairow, who was more famously known as Sorn Silapabanleng. This archival project was sponsored by Chulalongkorn University's Cultural Center. Its aim was to preserve the recordings of all the ensembles that had leaders who studied with Master Sorn. This project resulted in a collection of over 1000 recordings that was later digitized for broader accessibility.

**3. Endo Suanda “Audiovisual Archives of Indonesian Cultures; and Report on Methodology and Strategy.”**

In the field of study of traditional cultures in Indonesia, and in Southeast Asia in general, the most rarely found and poorly managed resource is the audiovisual cultural archives. It is a regrettable and ironic aspect of these culturally rich countries. It is not because there are no documents available, in fact, an abundance of documented materials exist, and the number of documentation projects continues to grow, but there is almost no effort to build an archival system.

In this paper, I would present the locus of these documents, institutional and individual, provide an overview of the conditions at this time, and will try to explore the reason “why” audiovisual archives has never been considered as an important resource in the development of cultural knowledge and science. Most of my presentation, however, will be a report on my experience in the archival projects, stories of both disappointments and success. On the technical aspect, I will show our system on metadata platform, and I would propose that we should develop a metadata standard so then we can “harvest” it in the future. I will present more on the online access methodology: the interconnectivity of formats, and multicultural approaches. In my advocacy experience, this is rather effective to encourage social support for the need of the archives, so that people can see that there is so much to learn from it. Even those who initially were more concerned and worried that Indonesian cultural knowledge would be taken by foreigners, after looking at documents I presented from the Dutch archives, many said “We are lucky, that the Dutch keep our knowledge [in the forms of audiovisual archives].”

As we know, to develop a good archive, besides taking a lot of energy and professional expertise in both IT (editing and online) and academic aspects, requires substantial and sustainable financial support. Therefore, I would be interested if we can form a working team, to develop a good “Southeast Asia Culture Resource Center.” This centre will not be important for academic needs only, as resource for education, but it will also be important to develop social, political, and economic relations. If we are able to do so, I think we will gain greater acknowledgement and support, socially and politically.

**4. Fredeliza Campos *The Changing Musical Tradition of the Ifugaos in Northern Philippines: An Ethno-archaeomusicological Exploration.***

The cultural manufacture of sound is a provocative yet underrepresented area in the study of Philippine music and history. This research focuses on the analysis of the musical instruments of the *Ifugaos*, a prominent group of mountain-dwelling people from the Cordillera region in northern Philippines to demonstrate the degrees of change and probably disappearance of particular aspects of the group's ritualistic and musical tradition. A two-pronged framework, that is, both ethnoarchaeological and musicological will be used in the analysis of the *Ifugao* musical instruments which were collected by anthropologists between the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present. The collections are currently housed in three different institutions, namely, the U.P. Center for Ethnomusicology, the National Museum of the Philippines, both of which have materials dating from the 1950s and the Field Museum in Chicago, which contain instruments collected from the early 1900s.

Ethnoarchaeology is a subfield in archaeology that utilizes anthropological data of modern-day communities to understand past cultures and as such will be directly applied to examine the enduring community of the *Ifugaos*, which asserts a pre-colonial culture like of the many ethno-linguistic groups in the country. This study thus hopes to augment a greater understanding of musical cultures that have not received if not minimal influence from the Spanish colonizers more than 500 years ago.

Joyce Teo  
Chair, Local  
Arrangements  
Committee



Patricia Matusky  
Chair, Program  
Committee



Larry  
Witzleben  
ICTM Board  
Representative



**Business Meeting**



Discussion and  
planning the future  
for PASEA Study  
Group





Presenters and Participants of the Symposium



Presenters/Participants of the Symposium and Republic Polytechnic's students who took good care of us throughout the Symposium

Session on hybridity:

F. Prudente,  
S.B. Tan (Chair),  
K. Stepputat,  
B. Ellorin.



P. Mason, showing *silat* movement in his presentation



Questions and Answers



Session on New Research: Mohd Anis (Chair), L. Montano, A. Hamid



Session on Silat: U. Paetzold (Chair), M. Kartomi, Bussakorn, G. Jaehnichen

Sessions on Archiving & Documentation:

A. Dea (Chair) and presenter  
Endo Suanda  
Bussakorn  
G. Gorfinski



A. Dea (Chair)  
G. Jaehnichen  
J. Chieng  
M. Hood  
B. Salazar



Session on hybridity: M. Hood (Chair), M. Sarkissian, S.E. Tan, S.B. Tan



Session on New Research: Bussakorn (Chair), J. Pugh-Kitingan, T.H. Ng, C. Yong



Final Session: J. Chopyak (Chair), New Research -- R. Iskandar, Mumtaz Begum, H. Onishi, P. Costes-Onishi; Cultural Studies -- Sumarsam

