



ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia

**(RE)PRODUCING SOUTHEAST ASIAN PERFORMING ARTS  
&  
SOUTHEAST ASIAN BODIES, MUSIC, DANCE AND  
OTHER MOVEMENT ARTS**

**Local Identity, Tourism and Commodification & Institutionalizing Southeast Asian  
Performing Arts Traditions in Modern Multi-Cultural Music Education  
Movement Arts and the Southeast Asian Body  
Movement Arts, Music, Ritual and Theatre  
New Research**



**Proceedings of the 2nd Symposium of the ICTM  
Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia**

**Chief Editor  
Mohd Anis Md Nor**

**Editors  
Patricia Matusky, Tan Sooi Beng,  
Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan & Felicidad Prudente**

**Production Editor  
Hanafi Hussin**



**Philippine Women's University  
2013**

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Philippine Women's University  
1743 Taft Avenue, Malate, Manila 1004



Symposium 2012  
International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia

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Program – Made Mantle Hood (Australia)  
Local Arrangements – Felicidad A. Prudente (Philippines)

### **Program Committee**

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PWU Multi-Media Office – Lorna Salutal, Meds Santiago

the staff and students in the Philippine Women’s University, Manila, Philippines

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### **Chief Editor**

Mohd Anis Md Nor

### **Editors**

Patricia Matusky, Tan Sooi Beng, Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, Felicidad Prudente,  
with editorial assistants provided by Nusantara Performing Arts Research  
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### **Production Editor**

Hanafi Hussin

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National Commission for Culture and the Arts

Philippine Women's University School of Music

University of the Philippines College of Music

Bayanihan, The Philippine National Dance Company

Philippine Madrigal Singers

Firewalkers of Alfonso, Cavite

Madukayan Turayan Artists of Tabuk, Kalinga

Alfira O'Sullivan of Suara Indonesia Dance Group

Editorial Assistance by Christine Yun – May Yong and Desiree A. Quintero, Nusantara Performing Arts Research Centre

**Thank you**  
**(*Maraming salamat, Terima kasih*)**

Patricia Matusky  
Chair, 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium Committee  
Chair of the Study Group and Program Chair

Felicidad Prudente  
Chair, Local Arrangements Committee

Made Mantle Hood  
Chair, Programme Committee

## INTRODUCTION

The 2nd Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia convened at the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) in Manila, the Philippines, and was hosted by the Citizens for Arts & Culture Manila, Inc., on 14-19 June 2012. The venue was one of historical significance being located in the Intramuros walled city of Manila, erected by the Spanish in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The official Symposium Secretariat site was at the White Knight Inn (where many delegates stayed) also in the Intramuros just a short walk from the NCCA building. This Symposium was attended by over 100 delegates from the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Germany, France, Australia, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the USA. They came together to hear and discuss over 50 paper presentations, and shorter reports on research by graduate students, as well as demonstrations, dance, music and ritual performances. In connection with one of the Symposium's main themes, an exhibit was set up at the NCCA Gallery, featuring pictures and written materials on the four Filipino cultural groups that performed during the event.

The Symposium began with the delegates' registration on 14 June, followed by welcoming remarks from Ms. Marlene Sanchez, Deputy Executive Director of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts. Welcoming comments also came from Dr. Patricia Matusky, Chair of the PASEA Study Group and from Dr. Made Mantle Hood, Chair of the Program Committee for this Symposium and Secretary of the PASEA Study Group.

### Themes

In this 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium of PASEA, the local host put forth Theme I, "(Re)Producing the Southeast Asian Performing Arts – Traditions in the Here and Now", which focused on the topics of local identity formation, tourism/commodification, and institutionalizing Southeast Asian performing arts traditions in modern multicultural music education. The topic of tourism and commodification was discussed by six presenters and encompassed the state of tourism in Malaysia, Cambodia, the Philippines, as well as in Bali and Sunda in Indonesia. Sixteen papers covered the topic of local/social identity and modernity in the music of various ethnic groups spanning nearly the entire Southeast Asian region, and including Taiwan. The topic of multicultural music education was discussed in four papers covering the Balinese performing arts institution Çudamani, the Royal Thai Armed Forces music ensembles, the Philippine kulintang tradition, and the teaching of a popular musical-theatrical form in Malaysia.

Theme II for this symposium, proposed by PASEA members, was "Southeast Asian Bodies, Music, Dance and other Movement Arts". A group of some twelve papers focused primarily on movement arts and the Southeast Asian body in relation to music and dance, while another group of some eight papers focused on movement arts in relation to music, ritual and theater.

The Symposium this year included several "lightning papers" of short duration, in which activity and progress of on-going field research projects were reported by graduate students and other scholars. Additional "New Research" was covered in six full length papers, with topics ranging from aspects of music by classical composers in the Philippines to the social and political ramifications of the martial arts in Malaysia, to a panel on tuning systems as found in Thailand, the Philippines and in Sulawesi and Bali, Indonesia.

In addition, a summation and commentary on this Symposium was given by Professor Dr. Ricardo Trimillos (University of Hawai'i at Manoa, USA) as part of the final session, reporting "the state" of this Symposium, which was intended to serve as a guide post to this young Study Group for the composition and organization of future symposia. Professor Trimillos noted that among the papers presented, about 25% were given by young scholars or graduate students, a fact which strongly upholds one of the primary objectives of this Study Group. We were pleased to hear this news and will continue our efforts to attract young scholars from Southeast Asia and elsewhere into this Study Group.

### Excursion

The third day of this Symposium was devoted entirely to an excursion away from the formal sessions and evening performances. The trip out of Manila took us first to Cavite Province to visit the Geronimo Berenguer de los Reyes Jr. Museum in General Trias to view its collection of vintage Philippine photographs. We then proceeded to Tagaytay City for a lunch of great Filipino food, and by late afternoon-early evening we witnessed the Tagalog Firewalkers ritual in the nearby town of Alfonso, and a few of the Study Group members joined in walking on the hot coals (we hope their purposes have been fulfilled).

### **General Study Group Meeting**

The General Study Group Meeting to discuss the business matters important to the running of this Group took place on the fourth day of this Symposium. The Bylaws and the Guidelines for Symposia were unanimously passed by the membership.

The hosting proposals for the 2014 Symposium (from Laos, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia) were presented and the final evaluation and decision would be made by the Executive Committee of this Study Group during the final months of 2012. The Executive Committee is especially concerned about keeping the cost to attendees as reasonable as possible, and maintaining one of the important objectives of our mission statement to bring in young scholars and graduate students from Southeast Asia and elsewhere. Possible themes for the 2014 Symposium were requested and a drop-box for proposed themes from the membership was put in place for the remaining duration of the Symposium.

The Executive Committee as it now stands (Patricia Matusky, Chair; Made Mantle Hood, Secretary & Program Committee Chair for the 2012 Symposium; Mohd Anis Md Nor, Publications Chair; Felicidad Prudente, Local Arrangements Chair; and David Harnish, Member-at-Large) will stay in place until new elections and re-appointments in 2014.

The Publications Chair explained the process for editing and formatting the Proceedings for the current 2012 Symposium (same as the process for the 2010 Symposium). All papers actually presented in this Symposium will appear in the Proceedings, and once edited and formatted by the editorial staff, the Proceedings will be published by the Philippine Women's University in time for distribution and sale at the ICTM World Conference in Shanghai in 2013.

The members present were urged to consult with colleagues and submit proposals for panels on Southeast Asian performing arts for the World Conference in Shanghai.

A new sub-study group on Studies of Performance in Royal Contexts (in Southeast Asia) was proposed by Lawrence Ross, discussed and approved by the membership. Anyone interested is welcome to join and should contact Lawrence directly (lawrence@um.edu.my). The first sub-study group, formed in 2010, focuses on Performing Arts of Muslim Communities in Southeast Asia and was organized by Mohd Anis Md Nor (anisnor55@gmail.com) who reports that there are about 20 members currently in that group. Finally, Paul Mason suggested this Study Group set up a Facebook page, discussion followed, and it was agreed to set up the social network page (Paul Mason will take care of it), which will function as an informal communication site for members and other interested individuals, while the current ICTM website and this Study Group's current google user website will carry the official information disseminated by this Study Group, including the Minutes of the General Study Group Meeting.

### **Great Entertainment**

Over the five days of sessions during this Symposium, the delegates were entertained in the early evening hours with music and dance by a number of diverse groups. The Bayanihan Philippine National Dance Company performed at the Conrado Benitez Hall of the Philippine Women's University, which was followed by a buffet dinner for all. The Philippine Madrigal Singers sang at the 16<sup>th</sup>-century cathedral San Agustin Church in the old, walled city Intramuros, and near the end of symposium the Madukayan Turayan artists of Tabuk City, Kalinga performed dances accompanied by flat gongs (*gangsá*), bamboo zithers (*tabatab*), and bamboo stamping tube ensemble (*tongatong*). We heard the Madukayan end-blown bamboo flutes (*baradong*), bamboo zither solo and duets (*kullitong*) and jaw's harp (*onnat*), while choral singing featured courting songs and several *salidummay* rendered with guitar.

One evening's performance was devoted to a demonstration, with delegates' participation, of Acehnese sitting dances (rhythmical body percussion dances accompanied by songs derived from devotional Islamic melodies) by dancer/choreographer Alfira O'Sullivan, founder of the Suara Indonesian Dance Group. The ICTM-PASEA Study Group extends many thanks to all the performers, to the members of the local arrangements committee who arranged these performances and to the designers of the exhibition banners and wall hangings that informed us about the performers and enhanced the walls in the performance gallery at the NCCA Building.

### **Acknowledgements**

On behalf of all members of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia, sincere thanks is extended to the host organization – The Citizens for Arts & Culture Manila, Inc., and to the venue agency – National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) in Manila. To Professor Ricardo Trimillos we say *maraming maraming salamat po!* Many, many thanks also to all members of the Program Committee and

the Local Arrangements Committee for arranging and presenting a stimulating and all-round excellent symposium. The complete Program, Biographical Notes of Presenters and the Abstracts for this symposium, and the current Minutes of the Study Group Meeting may be seen in this Study Group's website at:

< <http://sites.google.com/site/PASEAStudyGroup> >

This 2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing arts of Southeast Asia continues our efforts to a dedication 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 versions of the papers submitted by the presenters in the Symposium, the editors focused on uniformity of format and correctness of spelling and grammar, while the presenters themselves were responsible for the content and corrections of the written text. The papers presented during the Symposium that were not submitted for this Proceedings are represented by their Abstracts only. Upon completion of work by the editors, the final production tasks were carried out by Mohd Anis Md Nor (Chief Editor) and Hanafi Hussin (Production Editor) in Kuala Lumpur. Many thanks are extended to them for their diligent work in the final stages of production to get the Proceedings in publication by mid-2013. With the completion of the text in camera-ready copy, the printing was carried out in Manila and funded by the Philippine Women's University. The staff and persons involved with the production of this volume in the Philippines are also extended many, many thanks by this Study Group for their diligent work. This published Proceedings is a permanent record of the 2nd Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia (PASEA), held in Manila in June 2012.

PHOTOS (EVENT)



*Bayanihan, The Philippine National Dance Company*, performing a dinner concert on the first day of the Symposium

PHOTOS (EVENT)



*Philippine Madrigal Singers*, a special concert on the second day of the Symposium at San Agustin Church, Intramuros, Manila, Philippines

PHOTOS (EVENT)



*Firewalkers of Alfonso, Cavite performing firewalks for the Symposium participants at the Community Hall, Cavite*

PHOTOS (EVENT)



Special performance from *Madukayan Turayan Artists of Tabuk, Kalinga* on the fourth day of the Symposium at National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), Intramuros, Manila

## PROGRAMME

THURSDAY — 14 June 2012

9:00 – 10:30 AM REGISTRATION at NCCA Lobby

10:30 – 11:00 AM **OPENING REMARKS at the Locsin Auditorium**

- Prof. Felipe de Leon, Jr., NCCA Chairman (represented by Ms. Marlene Sanchez, Deputy Executive Director, NCCA)
- Dr. Patricia Matusky, ICTM-PASEA Chairperson
- Dr. Made Mantle Hood, ICTM-PASEA Program Chair

11:00 AM – 12:30 Noon

### **SESSION 1 Theme I (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts – Tourism and Commodification**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Elizabeth McLean Macy

- 1) MARGARET SARKISSIAN, Smith College (USA)  
Full Circle: Marking five hundred years of Portuguese presence in Malacca
- 2) CELIA TUCHMAN-ROSTA, University of California at Riverside (USA)  
From Sacred Art Form to Commodity: Cultural Tourism and Classical Dance in Cambodia
- 3) CLARE CHAN SUET CHING, Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris (Malaysia)  
Informed Choices and Aesthetics? Reproducing Orang Asli (Indigenous People) Music and Dance from Mass Mediated Reinvented Versions of It

12:30 – 1:30 PM LUNCH BREAK

1:30 – 3:00 PM

### **SESSION 2 Theme I: (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts – Tourism and Commodification**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Margaret Sarkissian

- 1) REBEKAH E. MOORE, Indiana University (USA)  
A City Cacophonous: Traversing Denpasar, Bali's Disparate Soundworlds (*Lightning Paper*)
- 2) ELIZABETH MCLEAN MACY, Chapman University / UCLA (USA)  
Balinese Music and Cultural Tourism: Struggling into the 21st Century
- 3) LI JIA, University of the Philippines (Philippines)  
Genre Formation of Pinoy Pop Music: Perception Discrepancy and National Identity (*Lightning Paper*)
- 4) RANDAL BAIER, Eastern Michigan University (USA)  
Music in the Tourist Landscape: The Photographic Iconography of the Sundanese Angklung Ensemble

3:00 – 3:30 PM TEA BREAK

3:30 – 5:00 PM

### **SESSION 3 Theme I: (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts – Local Identity**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Paul Mason

- 1) SHOU-FAN HSIEH, Tainan National University of the Arts (Taiwan)  
Music, Migrants and Cultural Identities: Musical Activities of Indonesian Migrants in Taiwan and Their Diasporic Phenomena (*Lightning Paper*)

- 2) ANDREW C. MCGRAW, University of Richmond (USA)  
The Ethical-Aesthetics of I Wayan Sadra (1953-2011)
- 3) RUSS SKELCHY, University of California at Riverside (USA)  
“Growing the Tradition”: Discourses of Genre and Identity Among Keroncong Musicians in Yogyakarta

6:00 – 7:00 PM **Bayanihan, The Philippine National Dance Company**  
at the Conrado Benitez Hall, Philippine Women’s University Taft Avenue, Manila

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FRIDAY 15 June 2012

8:30 – 10:30 AM

**SESSION 4 New Research**

**Panel on Tuning Systems, organized by Made Mantle Hood**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Felicidad A. Prudente

- 1) MADE MANTLE HOOD, The University of Melbourne (Australia)  
Musical Invasives: Hybridity and the Forces of Diatonicization in Balinese Children’s Music
- 2) KRISTINA BENITEZ, Philippines Women’s University (Philippines)  
Insights into Concepts of Melody and Tuning among Practitioners of Traditional Musics in the Philippines
- 3) MAYCO A. SANTAELLA, University of Hawai’i (USA)  
Nationalizing Kakula: The Works of Hasan Bahasyuan in Central Sulawesi
- 4) JOHN GARZOLI, Monash University (Australia)  
Musical Consonance and Cultural Dissonance: An issue in Musical Hybridity

10:30 – 11:00 AM TEA BREAK

11:00 AM – 12:30 PM

**SESSION 5 Theme II: SEAsian Bodies, Music, Dance and Other Movement Arts –  
Movement Arts and the SEAsian Body**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Jose Buenconsejo

- 1) UWE U. PAETZOLD, Robert Schumann University of Music (Germany)  
*Benjang* – An Indigenous Fighting Art and its Music Coping with the Challenges to Maintain its Identity in the Eastern Suburbs of Bandung City, West Java (Indonesia)
- 2) PAUL H. MASON, Macquarie University (Australia)  
Sound Movement: Self-accompanied and Musician-accompanied Movement in West Sumatran Plate Dancing
- 3) LILYMAE F. MONTANO, University of the Philippines / Philippine Women’s University (Philippines)  
Claiming Social Justice in a Cordillera Community in the Philippines: The Ifugao *Himong* Revenge Dance

12:30 – 1:30 PM LUNCH BREAK

1:30 – 3:00PM

**SESSION 6      Theme I: (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts – Institutionalizing  
SEAsian Performing Arts Traditions in Modern Multi-Cultural Music Education**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Patricia Matusky

- 1) DAVID HARNISH, University of San Diego (USA)  
Between Traditionalism and Postmodernism: Multiple Identities of the Balinese Performing Arts Institution, Çudamani
- 2) SUPEENA INSEE ADLER, University of California at Riverside (USA)  
Sources of Order: Thai musical ensembles in the Royal Thai Armed Forces
- 3) PAMELA COSTES-ONISHI, Nanyang Technological Univ. (Singapore)  
HIDEAKI ONISHI, National Univ. of Singapore (Singapore)  
The Institutionalization of the Philippine Kulintang Tradition: A Proposal for an Alternative Teaching Methodology that is Consistent with its Stylistic Essence

3:00 – 3:30 PM      TEA BREAK

3:30 – 5:00 PM

**SESSION 7      Theme II: SEAsian Bodies, Music, Dance and Other Movement Arts –  
Movement Arts and the SEAsian Body**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Tan Sooi Beng

- 1) MARIA CHRISTINE MUYCO, University of the Philippines (Philippines)  
Space Constitutions in Panay Bukidnon's Music and Dance
- 2) HANAFI HUSSIN, University of Malaya (Malaysia) and MCM SANTAMARIA,  
University of the Philippines Diliman (Philippines)  
*Igal Campur: Interrogating Hybridity in Sama Dilaut Dance (Lightning Paper)*
- 3) TOH LAI CHEE, Teacher Education Institute (Malaysia)  
Transformation in the Teaching and Learning of *Boria* at Institute and Schools in Penang
- 4) CYNTHIA AFABLE, Philippine Women's University / University of Sto. Tomas (Philippines)  
The Tagalog *Paawitan* Today in the Province of Quezon, Philippines (*Lightning Paper*)

7:00 – 8:30 PM      **The Philippine Madrigal Singers at San Agustin Church in Intramuros**

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SATURDAY 16 June 2012

**Cultural Trip to Tagaytay & Alfonso, Cavite for the Tagalog Firewalkers**

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SUNDAY 17 June 2012

8:30 – 10:00 AM

**SESSION 8**

**GENERAL/BUSINESS STUDY GROUP MEETING**

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

Room: Locsin Auditorium

10:00 - 10:30 AM      TEA BREAK

10:30 – 12:30 Noon

**SESSION 9      Theme II: SEAsian Bodies, Music, Dance and Other Movement Arts –  
Movement Arts and the SEAsian Body**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair/Discussant: Ricardo D. Trimillos

- 1) WAYLAND QUINTERO, University of Malaya (Malaysia)  
Not Muslim Music and Dance! Filipino American Responses to ‘Muslim’ and Islamophobia
- 2) BERNARD ELLORIN, University of Hawai’i at Manoa (USA)  
*Samahan* versus *Pasacat*: Hybridity and Mimesis of Philippine Folk Dance and Music in San Diego, California
- 3) DESIREE A. QUINTERO, University of Hawai’i at Manoa (USA)  
Costuming as ‘Moro’: Filipino Americans as Shifters in the Re-Siting of Filipino-ness
- 4) RICARDO D. TRIMILLOS, University of Hawai’i at Manoa (USA)  
Discussion and Commentary

12:30 – 1:30 LUNCH BREAK

1:30 – 3:00 PM

**SESSION 10      Theme I: (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts –  
Panel: Philippine Music, Social Identity & Modernity**

Panel organized by Jose Buenconsejo

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Lawrence Ross

- 1) JOSÉ S. BUENCONSEJO, University of the Philippines (Philippines)  
Fury in Paradise: An American musical stereotype of Zamboanga, Philippines (1937)
- 2) CHRISTINE DE VERA, Miriam College (Philippines)  
Dissolving Barriers: The Case of Contrasting Modes of Singing at Funeral Ceremonies Among the Bontoc People of Northern Philippines
- 3) ARWIN TAN, University of the Philippines (Philippines)  
An Inquiry on the Status of a Philippine Town Maestro: The Case of Don Lorenzo Ilustre of Ibaan, Batangas
- 4) MA. ALEXANDRA IÑIGO CHUA, University of Sto. Tomas (Philippines)  
Hispanic *Villancicos* in 19th Century Manila: Musings on Representation, Appropriation and Identity in Music

3:00 – 3:30 PM TEA BREAK

3:30 – 5:30 PM

**SESSION 11      Theme II: SEAsian Bodies, Music, Dance and Other Movement Arts –  
Movement Arts and the SEAsian Body**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Mohd Anis Md Nor

- 1) MOHD ANIS MD NOR, University of Malaya (Malaysia)  
Zapin-Melayu in Johor: Constructing Malay-ness from the body, music and dance of Hadhramaut
- 2) PATRICIA MATUSKY, Independent Researcher (USA)  
Puppets, Movement and Music: Knowing and Meaning in a Malay *wayang kulit* tradition
- 3) MARINA ROSEMAN, Queen’s University Belfast (Ireland)  
Bodies in Trance-Dance, Bodies in Life

- 4) JACQUELINE PUGH-KITINGAN, Universiti Malaysia Sabah (Malaysia)  
Music, Movement, Sport and Identity: The *Moulilian Tagunggak* of the Gana Murut of Sabah, Malaysia

6:00 - 7:00 PM **Maducayan Kalinga Music and Dance at NCCA**

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MONDAY 18 JUNE 2012

9:00 – 10:30 AM

**SESSION 12 Theme I (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts – Local Identity**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Mohd Anis Nor

- 1) JAMES D. CHOPYAK, California State University at Sacramento (USA)  
The Many Versions of the Malaysian National Anthem, *Negara Ku, My Country*
- 2) JULIA CHIENG, Universiti Putra Malaysia (Malaysia)  
Musical Adoption: Gurkha Music in the Lebu' Kulit Longhouses of Sungai Asap, Sarawak
- 3) AZTI NEZIA SURIYANTI AZMI, Independent Scholar (Malaysia)  
On Screen, On Stage and In Demand: Mediated Traditions in Malaysian Music and Dance

10:30 – 11:00 AM TEA BREAK

11:00 – 12:30 Noon

**SESSION 13 Theme I (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts – Local Identity**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Made Mantle Hood

- 1) ALEX DEA, Independent Scholar (Indonesia)  
The Five-Minute *Bedoyo* and the Sacred *Wayang Kulit* Cabaret: Local Cultural Circuits and Expressive Culture in Java
- 2) PHANG KONG-CHIEN, Universiti Teknologi MARA Malaysia /  
Universiti Putra Malaysia (Malaysia)  
*Pesta Muzik* Klang: Musical Expression of Malaysian Chineseness?
- 3) SCHU-CHI LEE, Taipei National University of the Arts (Taiwan)  
Searching through Musical Instruments for the Trace of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples and the Austronesian-speaking Peoples

12:30 – 1:30 PM LUNCH BREAK

1:30 – 3:00 PM

**SESSION 14 Theme II: SEAsian Bodies, Music, Dance and Other Movement Arts –  
Movement Arts, Music, Ritual and Theatre**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: David Harnish

- 1) FELICIDAD A. PRUDENTE, University of the Philippines / Philippine Women's  
University (Philippines)  
Inducing Trance in a Ritual of the Buaya Kalinga People of Northern Philippines
- 2) TSUNG –TE TSAI, Tainan National University of the Arts (Taiwan)  
Religion, Chant, and Healing: *Ruqyah* Medical System and Islamic Chant in Java

- 3) SUMARSAM, Wesleyan University (USA)  
Islamic Perspectives on Traditional Javanese Music and Theater

3:00 – 3:30 TEA BREAK

3:30 – 5:00 PM

**SESSION 15 Theme II: SEAsian Bodies, Music, Dance and Other Movement Arts –  
Movement Arts, Music, Ritual and Theatre**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Paul Mason

- 1) TAN SOOI BENG, Universiti Sains Malaysia (Malaysia)  
Mediating Pluralism and Modernity through Comic Songs in Colonial Malaya
- 2) PATRICIA HARDWICK, Independent Scholar (USA)  
A King, A Palace, A Country: Exploring The Conceptualization of the Body in *Mak Yong* Healing Performances in Rural Kelantan, Malaysia
- 3) PHAKAMAS JIRAJARUPAT, University of London (UK)  
*Lakhon Phanthang*: A Cultural Product of Urban-Bangkok in the Nineteenth Century

5:30 – 6:30 PM **Acehnese Saman Demonstration by Alfira O’Sullivan at NCCA**

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TUESDAY 19 JUNE 2012

9:00 – 10:30 AM

**SESSION 16 Theme II: SEAsian Bodies, Music, Dance and Other Movement Arts –  
Movement Arts, Music, Ritual and Theatre**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Jose Buenconsejo

- 1) CHRISTINE YUN MAY YONG, University of Malaya (Malaysia)  
*Monkey Business*: Interweaving Stories into Contemporary Gamelan Performance
- 2) SARAH ANAÏS ANDRIEU, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (France)  
Creative Processes, Perception and their Redefinition in Contemporary Traditional Performance: The example of Sundanese *wayang golek* (West Java, Indonesia)
- 3) AKO MASHINO, Tokyo University of the Arts / Kunitachi College of Music (Japan)  
The Body Producing the Music: Voice, Body, and Music in the Balinese Musical Theater, *Arja*

10:30 – 11:00 AM TEA BREAK

11:00 – 12:30 Noon

**SESSION 17 Theme I: (Re)Producing SEAsian Performing Arts – Local Identity**

Room: Locsin Auditorium

Chair: Randal Baier

- 1) GISA JÄHNICHEN, Universiti Putra Malaysia (Malaysia)  
One Song - Two Stories
- 2) MI HYUN OH, University of the Philippines (Philippines)  
Emotion and Representation in *Kasfala* Recontextualization among the Sarangani Blaan People of Southern Mindanao, Philippines
- 3) ROWENA GUEVARA, University of the Philippines (Philippines)  
Re-interpreting Tiruray *Agung* Music and Dance Tradition

12:30 – 1:30 PM LUNCH BREAK

1:30 – 3:00 PM

**SESSION 18 New Research**

Room: Loosin Auditorium

Chair: Patricia Matusky

- 1) NEAL MATHERNE, University of California at Riverside (U.S.A.)  
Remembering Maceda: *Ugnayan* and National Memory in the Philippines
- 2) LAWRENCE ROSS, City University of New York (USA)  
For the Sake of Religion, Race, and Nation: Articulating Malay-ness through *Silat* in Malaysia
- 3) LEO EVA REMPOLA, University of the Philippines (Philippines)  
Metaphors of Power and Propaganda in Lucino T. Sacramento's *Ang Maharlika* and *Ang Bituin*  
Concertos for Piano and Orchestra

3:00 – 4:00 PM **CLOSING**

Room: Loosin Auditorium

PROF. DR. RICARDO D. TRIMILLOS

A Summation of the 2nd ICTM-PASEA Symposium

DR. PATRICIA MATUSKY

Closing Remarks



## THEME ONE

### (RE) PRODUCING THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN PERFORMING ARTS – TRADITIONS IN THE HERE AND NOW

The early sessions of the Symposium focused on Theme I “(Re)Producing the Southeast Asian Performing Arts – Traditions in the Here and Now” and addressed the topic of tourism and commodification of the Southeast Asian performing arts. Margaret Sarkissian (Smith College, USA) began the session speaking about “Full Circle: Marking Five Hundred Years of Portuguese Presence in Malacca”. Continuing with this topic, recent developments in Cambodia were discussed by Celia Tuchman-Rosta (UC Riverside, USA) in her paper “From Sacred Art Form to Commodity: Cultural Tourism and Classical Dance in Cambodia”, while Clare Chan Suet Ching (UPSI, Malaysia) spoke about “Informed Choices and Aesthetics? Reproducing *Orang Asli* (Indigenous People) Music and Dance from Mass Mediated Reinvented Versions of It”.

In the early afternoon the topic of tourism continued with Rebekah Moore’s (Indiana Univ., USA) “A City Cacophonous: Traversing Denpasar, Bali’s Disparate Soundworlds” which was a lightning paper read for Rebekah, who could not be present, by Made Mantle Hood. The papers that followed were Elizabeth McLean Macy (UCLA, USA) on “Balinese Music and Cultural Tourism: Struggling into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, and Randal Baier (Eastern Michigan Univ., USA) speaking on “Music in the Tourist Landscape: The Photographic Iconography of the Sundanese Angklung Ensemble”. Randal’s paper was the sole presentation with a powerpoint ingeniously projected from an iPad!

The Theme I “(Re)Producing Southeast Asian Performing Arts” with a focus on local identity began with a lightning presentation by the young scholar Shou-Fan Hsieh (Tainan National Univ. of the Arts, Taiwan) entitled “Music, Migrants and Cultural Identities: Musical Activities of Indonesian Migrants in Taiwan and Their Diasporic Phenomena”. Still focusing on Taiwanese and Austronesian peoples, Schu-Chi Lee (Taipei National Univ. of the Arts, Taiwan) presented “Searching through Musical Instruments for the Trace of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples and the Austronesian-speaking Peoples”. The topic of local identity in Vietnamese culture was addressed in the paper entitled “One Song–Two Stories” presented by Gisa Jaehnichen (UPM, Malaysia). Although Andrew McGraw (Univ. of Richmond, USA) could not be present, his paper “The Ethical-Aesthetics of I Wayan Sadra (1953-2100)” was read by David Harnish. Russ Skelchy (UC Riverside, USA) spoke about “Growing the Tradition: Discourses of Genre and Identity Among *Keroncong* Musicians in Yogyakarta”, and Alex Dea’s (Independent Scholar, USA) paper was entitled “The Five-Minute *Bedoyo* and the Sacred *Wayang Kulit* Cabaret: Local Cultural Circuits and Expressive Culture in Java”. James Chopyak (CSU-Sacramento, USA) spoke about “The Many Versions of the Malaysian National Anthem, *Negara Ku, My Country*”, Phang Kong-Chien (UTM-MARA, Malaysia) presented “*Pesta Muzik* Klang: Musical Expression of Malaysian Chinese-ness”, and turning to East Malaysia Julia Chieng (UPM, Malaysia) presented “Musical Adoption: Gurkha Music in the Lebu’ Kulit Longhouses of Sungai Asap, Sarawak”. Mi Hyun Oh (Univ. of the Philippines) spoke about “Emotion and Representation in *Kasfala* Recontextualization Among the Sarangani Blaan People of Southern Mindanao, Philippines”, and Rowena Guevara (Univ. of the Philippines) presented “Re-interpreting Tiruray *Agung* Music and Dance Tradition”. Li Jia (Univ. of the Philippines) presented a lightning paper “Genre Formation of Pinoy Pop Music: Perception Discrepancy and National Identity”.

In a special panel of four papers devoted to the topic of local identity in the Philippines, Jose S. Buenconsejo (Univ. of the Philippines) presented “Fury in Paradise: An American Musical Stereotype of Zamboanga, Philippines (1937)”, Christine De Vera (Miriam College, Philippines) spoke on “Dissolving Barriers: The Case of Contrasting Modes of Singing at Funeral Ceremonies among the Bontoc People of Northern Philippines”, Arwin Tan (Univ. of the Philippines) presented “An Inquiry on the Status of a Philippine Town Maestro: The Case of Don Lorenzo Ilustre of Ibaan, Batangas”, and Ma. Alexandra Iñigo Chua (Univ. of Sto. Tomas, Philippines) spoke about “Hispanic *Villancicos* in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Manila: Musings on Representation, Appropriation and Identity in Music”.

The Theme I sub-topic Institutionalizing Southeast Asian Performing Arts Traditions in Modern Multi-Cultural Music Education was covered in four papers in this Symposium. These were David Harnish (Univ. of San Diego, USA) “Between Traditionalism and Postmodernism: Multiple

Identities of the Balinese Performing Arts Troupe, Çudamani”, Supeena Insee Adler (UC Riverside, USA) speaking on “Sources of Order: Thai Musical Ensembles in the Royal Thai Armed Forces”, Pamela Costes-Onishi (Nanyang Tech. Univ., Singapore) and Hideaki Onishi (National Univ. of Singapore) addressing “The Institutionalization of the Philippine Kulintang Tradition: A Proposal for an Alternative Teaching Methodology that is Consistent with its Stylistic Essence” and finally Toh Lai Chee of the Teacher Education Institute in Penang, Malaysia spoke on “Transformation in the Teaching and Learning of *Boria* at Institutions and Schools in Penang”.

**MARGARET SARKISSIAN (USA)**  
Smith College

### **FULL CIRCLE: MARKING 500 YEARS OF PORTUGUESE PRESENCE IN MALACCA**

In 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese Viceroy of India, conquered the bustling port of Malacca. This marked the beginning of almost 450 years of colonial domination during which the flags of four different nations flew over the city. It is easy to imagine that marking the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of such a defining historical moment might be a sensitive issue in a post-colonial world, but Malacca is a complicated place. Long known as “Malaysia’s Historic City” and designated a UNESCO World Heritage City in 2008, it is a place in which history is clearly important and certain dates – like 1511 – are enshrined in the popular imagination. In this paper, I will consider the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary from four different perspectives: those of the Malaysian government, Portuguese nationals, community members, and inhabitants of the virtual world. I will discuss ways in which it was marked, focusing on performances that occurred in Malacca’s Portuguese Settlement, a small residential village that is both an important tourist site and well known for performances of folkloric music and dance. Finally, I will compare two videos – one local, the other Portuguese – to explore the distance between local and Portuguese readings of the event.

#### **Four Perspectives**

From the perspective of the Malaysian government, the anniversary could have been a potentially sensitive event. Yet it also had the capacity to boost tourism, create revenue, and generate positive publicity for the state, factors clearly recognized by the chief executive officer, Datuk Seri Mohd Ali Rustam:

MALACCA: Five centuries of Portuguese heritage in Malacca has turned the state into a “melting pot of the world,” according to Chief Minister Datuk Seri Mohd Ali Rustam.

He said the legacy left by the Portuguese had greatly impacted Malacca in terms of cultural diversity and also provided an impetus for the local tourism industry.

‘I would like to compliment the Portuguese community for their relentless commitment to place Malacca in the world map as a unique state with cultural extravaganza.

‘Malacca is the birthplace of a community with mixed European and Asian parentage, commonly known as Eurasian,’ he said in an interview ahead of a four-day celebration to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca....

Mohd Ali said the existence of the Portuguese community here was significant as it brought about a new kaleidoscope, turning Malaysia into a colourful multi-cultural paradise.

He said the state would continue to safeguard the community's status as a minority group. He added that the state would also protect their welfare besides conserving the rich heritage and customs inherited from their ancestors (Murali, 2011).

Even though the journalist (R. S. N. Murali) uses the provocative word “conquest”, notice how the Chief Minister frames the contribution of the Portuguese community by emphasizing positive keywords (“cultural diversity”, “multiculturalism”, “heritage” and “tourism”), while avoiding references to the colonial era or to locally sensitive issues like religion or racial differences. This is important because, as frustrating as the Portuguese community can be to the state government, it is one of the anchors of the tourism/heritage industry on which the state depends. It is thus perfectly possible for a senior government officer to highlight the long-standing contributions of the Portuguese

community to the multicultural present while conveniently overlooking crucial implications of the colonial past.

From a Portuguese national perspective, in contrast, the colonial past stands front and center. The year 1511 marked the beginning of Portuguese expansion, a “Golden Age” of exploration and discovery. The 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary is thus a feel-good, nostalgic moment for a nation enmeshed in massive social and economic crises. For some Portuguese, this has led to heightened interest in the Portuguese diaspora and what is now being called “Portugality”.<sup>1</sup> Malacca is an exotic place, made more mysterious by its non-continuous contact with the homeland. Certain images recur in romanticized Portuguese narratives of Malacca: Alfonso de Albuquerque, *fidalgos* (noblemen) and caravels (sailing ships). For example, in a Portuguese documentary (to be discussed further below), the narrator solemnly intones:

“The stones still remember, and the men as well; Alfonso de Albuquerque marked the territory and the people. Five hundred years later, for many, it is as if it were yesterday, or better, as if it were today” (*Viagens*: 1.40); “This figure [Albuquerque] and this deed are still seen in the mythic history of his caravel” (*Viagens*: 3.24); and “At nightfall, under the rain, festively celebrating the arrival of Dom Albuquerque 500 years ago. Around here, no one speaks of invasion” (*Viagens*: 9.31).<sup>2</sup>

A small group of more pragmatic (but perhaps no less romantic) Portuguese nationals formalized their interest in Malacca in June 2008 by registering an NGO called Associação Cultural “Coração em Malaca”/Korsang di Melaka (Cultural Association “Heart in Malacca”). The Association, based in Torres Vedras, a municipality on the outskirts of Lisbon, maintains a website on which photographs, videos, a newsletter, and other links are posted.<sup>3</sup> President Luísa Timóteo outlined their goals in a talk given at the Camões Institute (Lisbon) on June 4, 2009: “sharing the historical and cultural heritage of Malacca and supporting the desires of the ‘Portuguese’ [*sic*] of Malaca and working with them in order to strengthen cultural ties with Portugal” (IC No Mondo, 2009). To support these goals, the Camões Institute established the Fernão Mendes Pinto Scholarship for a teacher to “promote the teaching and learning of Portuguese and Creole Kristang through methodologies that favor mutual comprehension strategies” (IC No Mondo, 2009).<sup>4</sup> The first recipient, Cátia Barbara Candeias, a young woman with training in “community development,” was particularly successful in engaging Settlement children and harnessing their interest in the Internet. Financial support from the Camões Institute has also supported shorter-term visits from music and dance instructors.<sup>5</sup>

From the perspective of residents of the Portuguese Settlement, the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary was confusing: should it be an opportunity to remind their Malaysian compatriots that they have been around for 500 years, or should they keep quiet about it in a world in which *not* talking about sensitive issues is the norm? This ambivalence was clearly marked: the Settlement leadership – the *Regedor* (headman) and his committee – did nothing to mark the anniversary. When it became clear, by the Festa San Pedro in late June 2011, that the Settlement leadership was not going to act, the Malacca Portuguese Eurasian Association (MPEA), a broader-based group led by Michael Singho, took charge.<sup>6</sup> Singho’s aims were twofold: “to do something to mark our place in the nation,” and “to bring everyone together – residents, Eurasians from all over Malaysia and Singapore, expatriates from Australia and beyond, and international guests” (M. Singho, personal communication, June 27, 2011). With precious little lead time Singho did something novel: he used Facebook (FB) to organize and promote the event. Despite being new to social media, he began posting voraciously and made over 650 FB friends in about three months. Most innovatively, he posted/shared YouTube videos of music from Portuguese communities throughout Asia, which generated conversations and lively discussion between locals and FB users from Tugu, Daman, Goa, Macau, and further afield. Direct exchange of this sort was totally new and led to all sorts of side conversations between people who would never otherwise have encountered each other.

Singho’s foray into Facebook opens up a fourth perspective, that of inhabitants of the virtual world. Residents of this world can come from anywhere, be of any age, and represent themselves as they wish; their connection with Malacca can be real or imaginary. New networks of engagement are constantly evolving as people from different backgrounds and locations “friend” each other. While these networks are by nature amorphous and overlapping, there are clear nodes, like Singho, around which virtual communities form. A related community has coalesced around the Korsang di Malaca’s

FB page, which had 1379 FB friends as of June 2012, more than the population of the Portuguese Settlement (usually estimated at around 1200). Cátia Barbara Candeias is a key node in this network and attracts many young Portuguese nationals to this and her own FB page, which both cross-post material from her blog *Povos Cruzados* (Interconnected Peoples).<sup>7</sup> Self-appointed local historian S. T. Rajagopal, a retired government worker from Kuala Lumpur of Indian heritage, is a third node in the virtual world. Connected to the community through marriage, Rajagopal's frequent posts include upcoming events, topics of current interest, copies of letters he has written to newspapers over the years, and portraits of significant individuals. His posts often lead to fruitful dialogues as community members add their own reminiscences in the form of comments, which are regularly "liked" by various Portuguese nationals (notably key Korsang members), effectively confirming their participation in the virtual conversation.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Celebration...**

After much debate on how to pitch the celebration appropriately, the MPEA decided to call it "500 Years: Our Roots... Our Heritage... Our Home."<sup>9</sup> The four-day event (October 26-29, 2012) featured demonstrations (cooking, crafts, traditional games), exhibitions, stalls, a fun fair, special performances each day, an "opening ceremony" attended by the Chief Minister on Day 3, and a large community dinner and award ceremony on the final evening.<sup>10</sup> While many of the special stage events – beauty contest, cultural shows, invited bands each evening, and so on – are familiar sights at the annual Festa San Pedro celebrations, there was a greater emphasis on including Eurasian performers from elsewhere (Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, and Australia) and introducing young Settlement artists (Roseanne de Costa, vocals, and Jonathan Theseira, saxophone) in addition to the usual Settlement icons (Noel Felix and Joe Lazaroo).

Unable to attend the event in person, I was in this instance a voyeuristic inhabitant of the virtual world, watching it unfold on Facebook, engaging in correspondence and conversations with participants, and later studying videos of the event. Two videos in particular – one made by the MPEA, the other produced by a Portuguese television company – show clear differences in the ways that local and Portuguese audiences perceived the same set of events. By examining them closely it is possible to pinpoint what each constituency considered important and illustrate significant differences in interpretation.

### **...What Settlement Residents Saw**

The Settlement version (30 minutes of footage filmed by the MPEA) focused on three highlights from the community perspective.<sup>11</sup> First, Settlement musical icons Joe Lazaroo (b. 1941) and Noel Felix (b. 1930) were featured and accompanied by Os Pombos, a nationally well-known band of Settlement musicians based in Kuala Lumpur. The two singers' choices of attire and repertoire were perfectly in character: Lazaroo wore Portuguese folkloric costume (including an embroidered white shirt from Portugal) and performed a Portuguese song (*Uma Casa Portuguesa*), while Felix wore formal Malaysian attire (a long-sleeved *batik* shirt) and sang a locally composed song with a strong country-western influence (*O Amor*) and a *branyo* (the Settlement version of the Malaysian *joget*).

Second, Malaysian musical icons, the Trez Amigos, were honored. The close-harmony trio was famous nationwide during the 1950s and 1960s and performed at the Independence Day celebrations in 1957. Two of the Amigos, Horace Sta. Maria (b. 1922) and his younger brother Arthur (b. 1932), had returned from Perth for the occasion and were joined by Emile Moissinac (b. 1939, a later member of the trio and well known national radio show host). Dressed in black pants, white shirts, and black bow ties, with Horace seated, his cane at his feet, the Amigos performed some of their best-loved songs (*Moon over Malaya*, *Sambal Belachan*, and others) in English and Malay to a rousing ovation from the crowd. Michael Singho reported that,

The Trez Amigos [performance] was sweet and nostalgic. They were seemingly moved with the response and the Award they received for Outstanding Achievement in Music (M. Singho, personal communication, November 3, 2011).

Indeed, Horace Sta. Maria wrote specially to tell me how touched he was by their reception: “At last our contribution to Malacca Portuguese music was recognised and we were treated like celebrities” (H. Sta. Maria, personal communication, December 12, 2011).

Third, two visiting Portuguese university *tuna* ensembles were included. Significantly, they were mostly shown performing with Joe Lazaroo (*Vinyo Verde*) and Noel Felix (*O Malhão*). The only example of them performing on their own was a short clip of both groups on stage together with fancy dancing from one group’s tambourine player. Their visit, facilitated by Korsang di Melaka, apparently allowed little off-stage opportunity for the young Portuguese musicians to interact with locals. One resident wrote,

They performed free [but were] not accommodated near the Settlement so they could not mingle with the people ‘cause they did not have transport to the Settlement....My husband, myself, and Uncle Noel sat and talked to them and had a drink with them and we exchanged singing songs and listened to them play the guitar and drum. They were really good (M. Danker, personal communication, January 29, 2012).

### ...What Portuguese Viewers Saw

The Portuguese version (*Viagens pela Ásia*, a 28-minute professionally filmed and edited documentary made for the series *O Oitavo Dia* by TVI – Independent Television, a private company owned by the Catholic Church – and hosted by Padre Antonio Rego, an important and influential priest in the Portuguese media) raises fascinating issues, three of which I will touch upon here: romanticization, authority, and cross-cultural understanding (or lack thereof).

First, romanticization: the longest sequence in the film follows a night time parade in which two floats (a model of Alfonso de Albuquerque’s caravel, the *Flor de la Mar*, and a decorated fishing boat) were followed by a half dozen locals sumptuously dressed as Portuguese *fidalgos* and a large number of Settlement youths with faces and bare chests painted in the colors of the Portuguese flag. The narrator’s voice-over, quoted above, is a clear example of Portuguese romanticized narratives of Malacca. The documentary ends with reflections by three *tuna* members (named in subtitles) who each, in his own way, reinforces the romanticized perspective of Portuguese nationals. Michael Martins:

The experience here in Malacca has been very different from what we expected. This Portuguese community, discovered 500 years ago, has not had contact with the Portuguese in 420 years. To come so far and find people speaking Portuguese with surnames like de Mello, de Silva, Carvalho, to find such distant people of our language is something comforting (*Viagens*: 21.11).

Americo Cardoso:

Across Malacca, we see that the Portuguese came here, were present and continue to form part of the history of this city. The Portuguese Settlement preserves maybe more of this legacy, but the feeling that I had was that they are a group set apart, maybe a group a little ostracized, marginalized by the rest of the society, and that need something to hold on to. Maybe Portugal is that little bit of hope that they can recognize themselves (*Viagens*: 21.43).

And Pedro Felisberto:

Without help and serious protection from the outside, like maybe from the Portuguese state itself, this culture will disappear. And we will probably be the few Portuguese that know Malacca in the way in which they are today (*Viagens*: 22.26).<sup>12</sup>

Second, authority: some voices are clearly more important than others. In addition to the omniscient but invisible narrator, two Portuguese “experts” appear on screen over subtitles that tell us their names: “Cátia Candeias”, the local agent of Korsang di Melaka, appears as a kind of tour guide, walking us around the town and interacting with mostly unnamed locals, and “António Graça” is identified as “Estudioso de Malaca” (scholar of Malacca). While the former has direct experience of

Malacca, the latter is a member of the virtual community, a wine dealer from Portugal who created the website and Facebook group, Portugality. On his first actual visit to Malacca – a visit that lasted precisely 3½ days – Graça was deemed enough of an authority to opine on the history of Portuguese music in Malacca (*Viagens*: 6.02).<sup>13</sup> In contrast, local voices are glossed over. Michael Banerji, community elder and Korsang Vice President, is identified only by the subtitle “Michael”. Speaking in front of the Santiago Gate (the only Portuguese monument in Malacca), Banerji is interrupted by an off-camera male voice asking why he isn’t speaking Portuguese. His answer – in English – is submerged beneath the narrator’s disembodied mistranslation. Noel Felix, shown performing on stage with one of the *tuna* ensembles, is verbally identified, not by name, but as “a spontaneous spectator...who speaks English, but could not be more Portuguese” (*Viagens*: 19.33).<sup>14</sup>

Third, cross-cultural understanding: there are moments in which the Portuguese gaze of the documentary disguises cultural misunderstandings. For Portuguese viewers, differences between the two *tuna* ensembles are clear: the Templar Tuna of Tomar, from the medieval stronghold of the Knights Templar, references all sorts of romanticized Templar imagery in both costume and song lyrics (*Viagens*: 7.21); the Tuna of the Polytechnic Institute of Porto, Health Technology Department, in contrast, presents a more prosaic image through dress and their school song lyrics (*Viagens*: 17.13). Such subtleties went unnoticed by local spectators: no one understood the lyrics and most thought they were a single group, “Tuna, from Portugal”, as listed in the program and announced by the MPEA emcee. The lack of understanding cut both ways: in an attempt to show interaction between the *tunas* and the audience, the camera appears to cut away from the Porto group singing *Bailinho de Madeira* with Noel Felix, to show the audience dancing along. Any local viewer would be highly amused by the obvious edit, because the dancers are actually performing the distinctive steps of the *branyo* (*Viagens*: 19.47).

### Concluding Thoughts

It strikes me as significant that while performance is clearly central in representations of the community, the actual type of performance highlighted varies according to the perspective from which the community is viewed.<sup>15</sup> What these performances reference can be as varied as the Trez Amigos and their reminder of bygone innocence rooted in old Malaya, Antonio Graça’s “Portugality”, the Korsang’s “projects”, and Fr. Rego’s soft-focused imperialist nostalgia, or even Michael Singho’s foray into the virtual world and his conversations with post-colonial equals. Each perspective claims its own authenticity; each has the potential to disenfranchise the others, yet all coexist.

For most Portuguese Settlement residents, Portugal remains an abstract place to which they have a strong nostalgic attachment, but some of its nationals have re-invaded their living space; others reach out in cyberspace. The virtual world has become a meeting place, one in which absence leads to disenfranchisement. By not claiming space in the virtual world, the *Regedor* has ceded power and effective leadership to Michael Singho. As Rajagopal noted in a Facebook post, “Without FB, they seem to have been cut off from the outside world” (Rajagopal, FB post, February 20, 2012). For Portuguese nationals, Malacca is no longer a locus of wistful nostalgia; it is now directly accessible. Some, like Cátia Candeias, visit, engage with residents, and “teach” them about Portugal; others “friend” the community, plan projects, and connect with residents in the virtual world. And, by bringing young Portuguese musicians to Malacca and taking Joe Lazaroo and Noel Felix back to Portugal, Korsang di Melaka has used performance to complete the circle begun 500 years ago.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> As defined by the website of the same name, “Portugality” is “the culture resulting from global cultural fusion started by Portuguese navigators of the XVth century and lasting to this day in places like Brazil, Mozambique, East Timor or Melaka, among many others. It is expressed through the vast heritage in architecture, music, religion, language, social organization and people. But above all, by people, the most important legacy of all: the Portuguese Global Village, the first in the World!” Retrieved from <http://portugality.yolasite.com/about-us.php>

<sup>2</sup> “As pedras ainda se lembram, e os homens também; Afonso de Albuquerque marcou o terreno, e o povo. Quinhentos anos depois, para muitos, é como se fosse ontem, ou melhor, como se fosse hoje” (*Viagens*: 1.40); “Essa figura e esse feito ainda hoje, são olhados na história mítica da sua caravela” (*Viagens*: 3.24); and “A anoitecer, debaixo da chuva, celebrando festivamente o chegada de D. Afonso de Albuquerque há quinhentos anos. Por aqui, ninguém fala de invasão” (*Viagens*: 9.31). I would like to thank Katie Hoyer (Smith College) and

Gonçalo Antunes de Olivera (Universidade Nova de Lisboa) for transcribing and translating the 27-minute documentary, *Viagens pela Ásia*, which can be viewed in its entirety online at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xMHawOJvFxY&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.acemkdim.com/Default.aspx> Useful documents, such as the Association's Constitution, Board of Directors, and List of Officers, are posted on the website. Noticeable, however, is the paucity of active participants from Malacca. Only two names appear in the List of Officers: Michael Banerji ("Vice President and Head of Delegation in Malacca") and Michael Singho (on the Advisory Board as "Coordinator of Public Relations in Asia"). These titles may be more decorative than functional; Michael Singho reports not being "in the loop" regarding Korsang activities (M. Singho, personal communication, May 25, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> "Na sua intervenção, a directora da Associação Korsang di Melaka, Luísa Timóteo, apresentou os principais objectivos da associação que passam pela divulgação do património histórico e cultural de Malaca, apoiando a vontade dos 'Portugueses' de Malaca e com eles trabalhando no sentido de estreitar os laços culturais com Portugal. Foram também apresentados os principais projectos que a associação quer realizar. De entre eles, o projecto Papiah Kristang, transversal a todos os outros, irá contar com o apoio do Instituto Camões através da atribuição de uma Bolsa Fernão Mendes Pinto a uma estagiária que, durante oito meses, estará no Bairro Português de Malaca para ensinar e promover o ensino e a aprendizagem do Português e do crioulo Kristang, através de metodologias que privilegiam estratégias de intercompreensão." I would like to thank Jaelyn Perrault, for translating this document. The Camões Institute is devoted to the promotion of Portuguese language and culture around the world.

<sup>5</sup> Some community members have expressed the opinion that resident music and dance teachers would be more beneficial than Portuguese language instructors. This feeling has been enhanced by the lack of success experienced by the second holder of the scholarship, Manuel Ribeirinha.

<sup>6</sup> One might ask why the *Regedor* chose not to organize a public event, effectively ceding cultural leadership to the MPEA. For much of 2011 he was preoccupied first with negotiations surrounding the conversion of the community hall into a chapel and later with supervising the construction work. Settlement residents have long wanted a church on their land and this was the best compromise the *Regedor* felt he was able to make in a climate not favorable to Catholic expansion. Michael Singho works and lives primarily in Kuala Lumpur, but maintains a family home in the Settlement and returns for weekends when possible.

<sup>7</sup> <http://povos-cruzados.blogspot.co.uk/>

<sup>8</sup> The virtual world also has the potential for mystery and anonymity. For example, a FB page called *Yo Falah Lingu Kristang* (I Speak the Kristang Language) focuses on the Settlement language and posts short conversations in Kristang with grammatical commentary. It had over 1100 friends as of June 2012, many from the Portuguese Settlement, but no one from the community knows who runs the site. This raises important questions: who controls the language? Who has the authority to decide what is linguistically correct? And perhaps even, who has the right to speak for the community?

<sup>9</sup> Reflecting on the event several months later, Michael Singho confirmed his deliberate sensitivity to local feelings: "The Portuguese are small and we don't want to show the arrogance of conquest. Our choice of words was very important" (M. Singho, personal communication, July 23, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> At RM500 per table of ten for the cheapest seats, the dinner was out of reach of many Settlement residents. Nevertheless, 120 tables were sold, drawing Eurasian delegations from Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Perak, Australia, and Hong Kong. Conscious of the inequity, Singho held the event in the open air, so that residents could at least enjoy the stage show and participate in the dancing.

<sup>11</sup> A two-hour version of final night's celebration was released by the MPEA in June 2012. It contains a lot more footage of audience and local stage performers, but generally confirms and reinforces the highpoints evident in the 30-minute version.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Martins: "A experiência aqui em Malacca tem, tem sido muito diferente daquilo que nós contávamos, aliás porque viemos para uma comunidade portuguesa descoberta há quinhentos anos, que já não tem contacto com portugueses há quatrocentos e vinte anos. E vir de tão longe para encontrar alguém a falar português com apelidos como Mello, como Silva, como Carvalho, encontrar tão distante gente da nossa língua é algo reconfortante." Américo Cardoso: "Em toda a Malacca, vimos que realmente os Portugueses vieram la, estiveram presente e continuam também presente, fazem parte da história, e o bairro Português é talvez uma cidade que preserve talvez mais dessa herança, ou a sensação que fiquei foi que...são um grupo aparte, talvez um pouquinho ostracizado, marginalizado pelo resto da sociedade, e que precisam de algo a se agarrar, e talvez Portugal seja essa bocadinho de esperança que eles vem, e reconhecem-se como Português tal, tal Português porque disso também." Pedro Felisberto: "Se não houver esforços por parte, tanto de nós, na medida em que cá vimos, como, se calhar do próprio estado Português, de haver uma séria protecção, desse, desse tipo de cultura, ela vai desaparecer. E provavelmente vamos ser os únicos portugueses que conheceram a Malacca da maneira em que eles estão hoje em dia."

<sup>13</sup> "Na música, houvesse processo imensas músicas da, do bairro português, que usam muitos ritmos portugueses, muitos melodias que são tipicamente nossas melodias folclóricas portuguesas, também as danças. A própria dança que eles criaram aqui no bairro português, o branyo, é uma dança completamente inspirada em ritmos e passos

portugueses, e é ca uma clara herança viva, em Malacca, da nossa passagem por este, por este lugar no mundo” (*Viagens*: 6.02).

<sup>14</sup>“Surge [um spectator] espontâneo, que falando inglês não poderia ser masi Português” (*Viagens*: 19.33).

<sup>15</sup> Oddly, neither video included footage of something that has become synonymous with the Settlement: Portuguese cultural dance. Although listed in the program and documented by the tireless S. T. Rajagopal, who posted his own photographs of the event on FB, the dancers went unnoticed in both videos. To be fair, the MPEA’s two-hour version does include a short, rather chaotic, segment of Portuguese dance performed by very young children in their Academy, but the fact remains that none of the established dance troupes performed on this occasion.

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**FROM SACRED ART FORM TO COMMODITY: CULTURAL TOURISM AND CLASSICAL  
DANCE IN CAMBODIA**

For article see published Proceedings

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**INFORMED CHOICES AND AESTHETICS? REPRODUCING *ORANG ASLI* (INDIGENOUS PEOPLE) MUSIC AND DANCE FROM MASS MEDIATED REINVENTED VERSIONS**

**Introduction**

The mobility of information and knowledge systems of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century has enabled diverse groups from unlimited spaces to adapt, reconstruct, and create newly invented versions of performances viewed from the media. In an age where copying, scanning, imitating, and plagiarizing are ubiquitous in society, the value of originality in cultural capital experiences a breakdown. This phenomenon is also observed in the various dimensions in which the traditional music and dance performances of the *Orang Asli* (*orang*: people; *asli*: original), the indigenous ethnic minorities of peninsular Malaysia, are represented and performed by grassroots troupes, state cultural troupes, commercial popular singers, and Orang Asli school children. This article examines issues involving ownership, authority, “invented traditions”, and cultural production in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

I relate characteristics of cultural production in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century to Baudrillard’s three categories of the simulacra, each emerging prominent in three historical periods. In the first category, the pre-modern period, society revel in the originality and irreproducibility of an artifact, composition, or situation. A representation of the real is considered artificial and devalued for its lack of originality. The second order, associated with the era of Modernity in the Industrial Revolution is marked by the emergence of mass-reproducible products. In this era, a breakdown occurs in the distinction between reality and representation. Technological advancement leads to the production of machines capable of mass-reproducing original versions into imitations. Societies’ indulgence in maximizing profits through mass production does not assist in maintaining the “sacredness” of the “original.” The third order, associated with Postmodernity of the Late Capitalism, is when the simulacrum precedes the original and the difference between the original and its representation is blurred or even non-existent. Originality becomes a totally meaningless concept (Baudrillard, 1994; Hegarty, 2004).

I utilize Baudrillard’s theory of the simulacra, focusing on the second and third order to relate the behaviour of contemporary society toward the music and dance performances of the Orang Asli today. Baudrillard’s description on the various stages of value accredited to original ideas and products embody the phenomenon encountered in the production of Orang Asli performances described in this article.

**Background**

The Orang Asli are the earliest inhabitants of Peninsular Malaysia. They live in scattered villages along the foothills of the Titiwangsa or Central Range, and the mangrove forests along the southwest coastal plains of the Peninsula. In the 2004 census, the Orang Asli numbered 0.6 percent of the national population of 23,953,136 people. The Orang Asli are divided into three major groups; Negrito, Senoi, and Aboriginal Malays (Bellwood, 1998; Benjamin, 1975; Dentan et. al., 1997; Nicholas, 2000). Each group is further divided into six sub groups. The Mah Meri and Semai fall under the Senoi category. The Orang Asli’s ancestors were hunter-gatherers, swiddeners, or sea people. Today, many of them are dependent on wage labor due to the destruction of their ecological niche, the source of their basic resources. The encroachment of their ancestral land by developers, loggers, and city planners in the name of development has resulted in their inability to survive on subsistent activities.

The Orang Asli and the current dominant ruling Malay government have an interesting historical relationship. Andaya (2008) states that a relationship of reciprocity and dependency prevailed between the Orang Asli and the Malayu<sup>1</sup> during the first millennium and a half CE. The Malayu saw the Orang Asli as partners in trade and depended on them for sourcing valuable forest resources desired for international trade. This relationship of alliance began to deteriorate due to two factors. First, the Orang Asli were reluctant to embrace Islam, the dominant religion that penetrated the Malaccan

Empire in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This religion was widely adopted by Austronesian speakers which comprised the Bugis, Minangkabau, Rawas and Mandailings who migrated from the Indonesian islands into the peninsular. After Independence in 1957, these groups were conglomerated and absorbed into the Malay ethnic category. Second, the decline in the demand for forest products decreased the importance of the Orang Asli to the Malays. The Orang Asli refused to abandon their hunter-gatherer and swidden agricultural lifestyle, and the Malays began to see the Orang Asli as “primitive” and uncivilized through the perspective of their newly adopted Muslim religion.

In Malaysia today, the government (comprising a majority of Malays) has adopted a patriarchal approach toward the indigenous Orang Asli. Nicholas (2000) states that the Malaysian government believes it is acting in the Orang Asli’s best interests through its policies of assimilation, development, and modernization. Education, medical amenities, electricity, and water are among the many modern “improvements” introduced to Orang Asli villages (Nicholas, 2000, p. 44). These improvements are intended to convert Orang Asli paradigms, influencing them to integrate with modern society.

Many Orang Asli groups are invited to perform for state-sponsored events. The stronger- weaker power relationship between the Malays and the Orang Asli appears to be perpetuated in the performing arts in a non-harmful manner. In Malaysia, there is a trend for state cultural troupes to learn the dances of each ethnic group in Malaysia and perform them during national, state or tourist festivals. These groups often master a version of each the Malay, Chinese, Indian, Sabah and Sarawak and Orang Asli dances, recreating the movements and choreography usually with more angular, energetic, dynamic, and punctuated movements. Their costumes are redesigned to be more intricate, glitzy, and extravagant as representatives of the music and dances of the various cultures of Malaysia. These performances are aimed toward large spectacles, their goal is to excite and ignite excitement among their audience. In the next section, I show examples of four cases in which the Orang Asli’s music and performing arts have been reinvented by various agencies. I argue that the simulacra (Baudrillard, 1994) has penetrated into these productions. The first case study examines how the National Department of Culture and Arts’ (JKKK) Cultural troupe had spiced up the Orang Asli music and dance performed during the Malaysian Aborigines and Indigenous Arts Festival held from the 12th-13th November 2011.

### ***State Cultural Troupe versus Grassroots Troupes***

During the opening ceremony of this event, the Orang Asli grassroots troupes were given a few minutes to perform a compact version of their dance in a vibrant, extravagant introduction medley. At the same time, the National Department for Culture and Arts’ (JKKK) cultural troupe of Selangor imitated and adapted a version of the grassroots troupe’s dance movements alongside the troupe below the stage (Plate 1). The Department of Culture and Arts’ (JKKK) cultural troupe comprised dancers dressed in designed costumes and stage make-up; the ladies were tall, slim and wore stilettos while the men were good looking and slightly effeminate. The Orang Asli grassroots troupes were shy, held-back, and less refined in their make-up and costume.

JKKK members were mostly Malays and seemed less held back by fears of offending the Orang Asli culture by their reinvented version of the latter’s dance movements, as they would be of the Chinese, Indian, Sabah and Sarawak cultures. They did not find it an obligation to seek the Orang Asli’s permission to perform the adapted version of the Orang Asli music and dance. Neither did the Orang Asli feel a need to voice any concerns or resistance toward the cultural troupe’s actions of spicing up the overall performance. The Orang Asli were performing their music and dance while the cultural troupe adapted a version of the Orang Asli’s dance movements. It appeared that there was no competition between the two as each were performing in its own space. Ironically, this crowded confusion combining a hodge-podge of diversity during the festival actually stimulated an aura of unity and togetherness – which complements the national aspiration of creating the Malaysian “imagined community”.

The next case examines the musical production of a popular commercial singer’s musical production inspired by Orang Asli culture for a popular singing contest – the *Juara Lagu* (Song Championship) Malaysia competition.



**Plate 1. The National Department of Culture and Arts' (*Jabatan Kebudayaan dan Kesenian Selangor*) cultural troupe (below stage) dancing their version of the Orang Asli dance that is simultaneously being performed onstage (Photo: C. Chan, 2011)**

### ***Popular commercial singer's musical production inspired by Orang Asli culture***

In the 2005 *Juara Lagu* competition, Noraniza Idris, a popular Malay singer presented a song titled *Ayuh Juragan*. A Malay songwriter, Fedtri Yahya composed the lyrics to *Ayuh Juragan*. This song competed under the *Irama Malaysia* (Rhythms of Malaysia) category and made it to the finals. The lyrics of *Ayuh Juragan* is about an Orang Asli boy called Juragan whose desire and passion to explore the world is hampered by his weak spirit and cowardiness. *Ayuh Juragan* is a creative musical composition based on the imagination and romanticization of Orang Asli livelihood, lifestyle and culture.

*Ayuh Juragan* begins with an accented rhythmic pulsation produced on a didgeridoo accompanied by a group of "indigenous" men stamping a pair of bamboo stamping tubes. Interjecting the music are squeaky shouts with the nonsensical vocables, *ei hau*. The cultural troupe dancers, representing the Orang Asli, enter the performance space from the floor and stage. They move to peculiar movements, bouncing up and down, and quivering their heads and shoulders. They face their bended-over-back to the audience, cheering and shouting while shaking their butts. The dancers roll over on the dance floor and lie on their sides to form Cleopatra-like poses. They swagger their hips and bodies in energetic snake-like movements.

Noraniza Idris is dressed in a bright yellow blouse. Attached to her headgear is a feather that resembles an accessory worn on the headgear of a past Iban warrior. However, there is little historical evidence of Orang Asli being warriors in the past and the feather is not a decorative ornament in Orang Asli culture. The dance choreography of line formations and couple-dancing in *Ayuh Juragan* does little to represent the Orang Asli's traditional dance such as *Sewang*, which is always danced in a circle. The lyrics to *Ayuh Juragan* were not written in Orang Asli language but in Bahasa Melayu, Malaysia's national language.

*Ayuh Juragan* became a popular hit after the competition. Viewed by a massive audience, it gained wide popularity among a variety of audiences. The music and dancing of *Ayuh Juragan* bore little semblance to those performed by Orang Asli grassroots troupes. The Orang Asli were not very aware that Noraniza Idris' cultural production represented the Orang Asli. Even if they knew, I believe they would not see it as an Orang Asli production but an invention by outsiders. They would not view it as a misrepresentation of their identity but rather, a popular work of art inspired by their culture. In this case, I argue that *Ayuh Juragan* is indeed a new composition that illustrates Baudrillard's third order – when the simulacrum precedes the original and the original becomes insignificant or even non-existent. It is an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm, 1983) inspired by Orang Asli culture.

Optimistically, *Ayuh Juragan* may trigger audience interest in the "real" Orang Asli music and dance performances instead. Even so, the dissemination of *Ayuh Juragan* through the media inspired a snowball of "new" performances by other state cultural troupes and Orang Asli school children. These

groups imitated, adapted, reconstructed and invented “new” performances by combining fragments of ideas from *Ayuh Juragan*, labeling their performances as “Orang Asli” performances.



Plate 2. *Ayuh Juragan* performed by Noraniza Idris during the 2005 *Juara Lagu* (Song Championship) Malaysia (Photo: C. Chan, 2011)

### ***The State Cultural Troupe’s Representation of the Orang Asli Performing Arts during Cultural Shows and Tourism Events***

The popularity of *Ayuh Juragan* snowballed into a series of reproductions by various organizations. During the *Citrawarna* or “Colors of Malaysia” parade in 2007, an extravagant festival hosted by Tourism Malaysia, the cultural diversity of Malaysia was showcased. Instead of the inviting the people themselves, Orang Asli music and dance was performed by JKKN’s cultural troupe. The troupe imitated, adapted and rearranged the music and dance choreography of *Ayuh Juragan*. The cultural troupe extracted bits and pieces of Orang Asli cultural artifacts such as masks from the Mah Meri culture and blowpipes and bamboo stampers from the Semai culture. These cultural symbols were mixed and molded together to represent the Orang Asli cultural performance. This “cut and paste” phenomenon embodies the postmodernist culture of fusing influences from a variety of sources into a new creative genre.

In my opinion, it is important to provide accurate knowledge on the background of the performances, musicians, composers and dancers to international audiences. A “representation inspired by” or a “reinvented version” of Orang Asli performances would provide more clarity for the audience’s situation and understanding of the performance. This vagueness of information in contemporary performances perpetuates Baudrillard’s third order – the era when the simulacrum dominates the “original”.

### ***Mah Meri School Childrens’ Representation of Mah Meri Culture during an Inter-School Dance Competition***

During my ethnographic fieldwork in 2009 at Carey Island, the home of the Mah Meri – one of the eighteen subgroups of Orang Asli – I observed the elementary school children’s dance practice for an inter-regional school competition. The school teacher, an outsider to their tradition, combined the indigenous dance movements of the village with a rearranged and rechoreographed version of Noraniza Idris’ *Ayuh Juragan*. The teacher had learnt some of the dance movements of the Mah Meri from the village’s grassroots troupe. The teacher taught his rearranged music and dance choreography to the Orang Asli children of the village. This performance competed under the title of “Mah Meri” traditional performance at an inter-regional state school dance competition. The school won the first prize at this competition. The dance was also performed and labelled as the “Dances of the Mah Meri” during the opening ceremony of the Commonwealth Leader’s Meeting in 2009.

In this situation, the school children performed a representation of their cultural tradition taught to them by an outsider to the tradition. This outsider combined his knowledge of Malay traditional dance with what he had learnt from the Mah Meri dancers, creating it into a “new” performance and labelling it as a “Mah Meri” traditional dance. Since the village also has its own grassroots troupe that performs “original” and “authentic” traditional performances, an odd juxtaposition occurs here. Within the same village itself, there are various performances claiming to be “Mah Meri”. What does this imply about society and culture today?

## Conclusion

In the first case, the National Department of Culture and Arts’ (JKKK) cultural troupe was mainly interested in the Orang Asli’s music and dance for aesthetical purposes. Its motive for adapting the Orang Asli’s music and dance was founded on a desire to ignite excitement in their audience. When I questioned the Mah Meri about their thoughts on the cultural troupe’s adaptation of their music and dances, they laughed and lamented at the situation but were neither emotional nor too concerned about it. Having regular contact with these cultural troupes, the grassroot troupes merely accept that the national cultural troupe’s function is to represent the various cultures of Malaysia, whereas the Orang Asli’s aim is to assert their identity. Even though their aims differ, there is almost an unconniving sense of alliance between the Mah Meri and the cultural troupes in evoking the Malaysia energy during national and tourist events.

In the second case, the dissemination of Noraniza Idris’ *Ayuh Juragan* to the public through television and the internet triggered a domino effect of continuous reproduction. The internet, the speediest and most convenient way of accessing information whether accurate or inaccurate, has become the main source of knowledge today. It is the means in which knowledge is conveyed from one end of the earth to the other. Baudrillard’s theory of the simulacra illustrates the snowball effect of Noraniza’s piece. His argument is that a simulacrum is not a copy of the real, but becomes truth in its own right: the hyper real. A caricature is a good way to understand the simulacrum. In drawing the caricature, the artist approximates the facial features of the model. The sketch could just as easily be a resemblance of any person rather than the particular subject. The artists exaggerate the prominent facial features far beyond their actuality. A viewer will pick up on these features and be able to identify the subject, even though the caricature bears far less actual resemblance to the subject. Deleuze (1968) describes the simulacra as the avenue by which accepted ideals or “privileged position” could be “challenged and overturned.” To some tourists, the simulation of a national park or a diving spot equipped with fake reefs and corals in Disney’s world has become more attractive than the actual park or ocean. Cypher and Higgs (2001, p. 419) state “. . . the boundary between artificiality and reality will become so thin that the artificial will become the centre of moral value.” Thus, *Ayuh Juragan*, the state cultural troupe’s choreography and the school children’s representation of Mah Meri music and dance resemble what is simulated based on some basic essence of Orang Asli culture. They are new compositions that gain more popularity than the subject that inspired it. In the simulacra, Eco (1986, p. 46) suggests “. . . we also enjoy the conviction that imitation has reached its apex and afterwards reality will always be inferior to it.”

In conclusion, is this kind of knowledge dissemination or “creative” composition disturbing or problematic? I believe the question falls back on who is judging and to whom it occurs to be a problem. If the Orang Asli children are composing their ethnic performances from watching *Ayuh Juragan*, the source that spurred this phenomenon lies rooted in the fact that there is change in Orang Asli livelihood and lifestyle. Since the beginning of time, culture has always been dynamic and evolving in new and different ways. In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, evolution in culture is largely shaped by technological advancements. Technological advancements catapults change in different ways than before. The manner in which change happens is characterized by agency in human beings. The pastiche, cut and paste, simulation and simulacra are ways in which culture is evolving today. The simulacrum is real and is here to stay.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Andaya, L. (2008, 241, fn 3) uses “Malayu” instead of “Melayu” to include those living in Malaysia and various parts of Indonesia, such as the east coast of Sumatra and offshore islands to the south of the Malay Peninsula. This

term avoids confusion with the term “Malay,” referencing the dominant ethnic group in Malaysia today. However, after the British establish British Malaya, the term “Malay” or “Melayu” (spelled with a pepet e) now becomes used for those Malayu living on the Peninsula (L. Andaya, personal communication, August 31, 2010).

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**REBEKAH E. MOORE (USA)**  
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**A CITY CACOPHONOUS: TRAVERSING DENPASAR, BALI'S DISPARATE  
SOUNDWORLDS**  
(Lightning Paper)

As I roam the streets of Denpasar, Bali, the city's cacophony is striking: the streets are invaded by organized sound, and everything is amplified. The *azan* (call to prayer), distorted and crackling, emits from the loudspeaker of a *masjid* (mosque). The processional for a *ngaben* (Hindu cremation), accompanied by the *beleganjur* (Balinese processional ensemble consisting of bronze gongs, cymbals, and keyed metallophones),<sup>1</sup> passes down the middle of the street, overwhelming public space and bringing traffic to a grinding halt. Javanese *dangdut*<sup>2</sup> and pop songs emanate from a local *kafe*, a place where men purchase libations (and company) from attractive, young women. In front of a neighborhood *distro* (music and band merchandise shop), savage voices and furious guitars unite in the guttural roar of a death metal anthem during an album release party, as one hundred young fans head-bang, mosh,<sup>3</sup> and spill into the streets, congesting traffic even further.



**Plate 1. Rock band Navicula performing in an alley at a neighborhood youth group's social gathering, Tanjung Bungkak, Denpasar (Photo: R. E. Moore, 2011)**

**Bali's Urban Underbelly**

For nearly four consecutive years I have lived in Denpasar and traversed its urban landscapes in search of this aural thickness, though my ethnographic proclivity for rock music more often steers me toward the *distro* than the temple. The highest profile gigs tempt my taste for the hard stuff and draw me farther down the road to the many live music venues located in Bali's southern tourism districts, centered in Kuta and radiating out in capitalistic sprawl to the surrounding neighborhoods of Seminyak, Kerobokan, and Canggu to the northwest, Tuban and Jimbaran to the south, and my adopted city to the northeast. An unobservant newcomer may overlook the borders between these distinct neighborhoods, as all compose the "overpopulated bedlam" of southern Bali (as a Balinese friend once dubbed it). My surroundings are nearly devoid of the lush, tropical vegetation that once blanketed the landscape of an island I hear was once a paradise (Vickers, 1996) – before I lived here. I encounter more motorbikes and asphalt than forests and fields and concede, despondently, that Bali's ecological health is all but defeated by parasitic tourism and overdevelopment.

Undoubtedly, despite the illusion of island tranquility peddled by the province's tourism board, southern Bali progressively resembles an overpopulated metropolis: Denpasar is the adopted home for tens of thousands of domestic immigrants, drawn to the region by the prospect of employment in the tourism sector. In the city, encounters between people of diverse ethnic and

linguistic backgrounds, religions, occupations, and musical tastes are made possible by the close proximity of urban residences (Krims, 2008).

### A Diverse Musical Ecology

Where the natural environment is decimated to make room for more shopping centers, villas, and five-star hotels, musics blossom in astonishing heterogeneity: there is music for gamelan, ranging from ancient ensembles and sacred repertoires played for an audience of gods, spirits, and ancestors; to truncated and swiftly crafted tourist productions of *kecak*<sup>4</sup> and *legong*.<sup>5</sup> There are *kreasimoderen* – experimental new compositions created by music conservatory students and instructors for island-wide competitions – and the most surprising fusions of bronze cymbals, bamboo flutes, and electric guitars, broadly called *musiketnik*. National and international pop dominates domestic radio’s airwaves, while top-40, DJ house, and drum and bass proliferate Kuta’s crowded nightclubs. There is West African drumming on the beaches and *kirtan* sing-alongs in the yoga classes. Islamic recitation, Christian hymns, and priest’s chants fill disparate places of religious worship. Experimental jazz, regional pop in the Balinese language (*pop Bali*), metal, punk, classic rock, emo, and reggae each find audiences in diverse live music venues – from smoky bars to university parking lots to temporarily-erected stages in dusty soccer fields. All of these diverse musics survive on an island, despite a progressively uniform economy and natural environment.

### The Metal Soundworld, Galvanized

Pausing at the *distro* and taking in the death metal band, the enthusiasm for a genre born in a distant “elsewhere” (Baulch, 2007) may surprise the uninitiated. But metal’s history in Indonesia is long. Since the 1970s, young musicians and fans have avidly followed the careers and music of metal’s internationally famous artists, initially accessed through foreign magazines and local fanzines<sup>6</sup> (Putranto, personal communication, 2010); in the 1990s on cassettes purchased through mail order catalogues (Baulch, 2007, p. 57) and through programming on MTV; and in recent years on various websites, including streaming radio, file sharing, and social networking sites, as well as locally authored webzines and weblogs. Beginning with Indonesia’s metal heyday in the 1990s, many local bands produced regionally or nationally distributed albums and received critical accolades in the nation’s most widely circulating entertainment magazines. Factoring in tours to Indonesia by metal gods such as Metallica, Sepultura, Lamb of God, and Iron Maiden, Bali’s *metalheads*<sup>7</sup> have a plethora of resources to satiate their musical appetite and inspire homegrown experiments.

Metal’s pervasive and ongoing popularity in Bali, however, cannot be explained only by accessibility. Over the decades, individual agents – ranging from metal artists and music critics to recording studio and venue owners and radio disc jockeys – have cultivated a localized metal fandom. Their initiatives led, subsequently, to formalized socio-musical collectives, or *komunitas*. The first, 1921, was formed in the early 1990s, and took its name after a popular metal radio show (Baulch, 2007). Its modern-day manifestation, Bali Corpsegrinder, contributes to the genre’s (and its numerous subgenres’) vitality through weekly gatherings and jam sessions, as well as by organizing a number of metal concerts featuring Bali-based bands.

Bali-based metal may be conceptualized as an independent soundworld, what Michael Frishkopf (2009, p. 52), drawing on works in sociological phenomenology defines as “the affectively charged sonic-social intersubjectivity, that lived social world of empathetic understanding, intuitive communication, and shared values, as developed, expressed, and reproduced in the social experience”. Metal constitutes its own sonic-social intersubjectivity, distinguishable – both within and beyond its own atmosphere – from other, equally valuable soundworlds in urban Bali. Observations of metal *komunitas* and interviews with metal artists and fans suggest that the metal soundworld itself is as valuable to metal practitioners as the music and fashion by which metal insiders are distinguished. The soundworld creates a sense of mutual understanding and social belonging, engendered by shared music taste.

### Metal's "Place" in the "Local" Soundscape

An examination of metal's enculturation in Bali begs the question: Is metal Balinese music? Emma Baulch's work on genres of underground music in 1990s Bali depicts young people claiming ownership over aesthetic traditions born abroad, such as metal, reggae, and punk, as part of their process of self-definition (Baulch, 2007, p. 64). Thus, young people gesture "elsewhere" (Baulch, 2007, p. 64) in their musical identifications, rather than "locally" toward indigenous music traditions, as a rejection of the ideological projects of cultural elites. From a slightly shifted perspective, Brent Luvaas (2009) analyzes indie music in Indonesia as a genre emphasizing "placelessness" rather than "westernness"; a genre, among others, that allows young Indonesians to explore their globalized selves and actively resist nationalist or regionalist identity projects – those politically pursued through official government policy and commercially, through the mainstream music industry.

My research consultants, however, suggest an ambivalent attitude toward ideologies of regionalism or Balineseness. Corroborating interviews suggest that a taste for globally circulating musics is just that: a matter of free, personal taste, not overt resistance to an elitist-germinated agenda for defining Balinese culture. Bali's metal practitioners do not behave as disaffected youth seeking to shed their cultural shackles and "modernize" by engaging so-called "western" popular musics, instead of seeking out "local" inspiration. Rather, they choose to play with the multiple styles of music to which they have access in one, single place: urban Bali.

The city's musical versatility provides a case study for the richly variant and unpredictable processes of cultural adaptation. Scholars examining musical change in Bali view rapidly changing musics as strategies for coping with a rapidly changing world<sup>10</sup> – resulting from the influx of domestic and foreign newcomers through tourism, foreign immigration, and domestic migrant labor, as well as products and media through capitalism and globalization (McIntosh, 2010, p. 3). But the expansion of musical diversity eclipses southern Bali's increasingly (and underestimated) diverse demography, as musical encounters inspire new generic trajectories and the urban environment provides a subjective touchstone for individuals endeavoring to understand, critique, and shape the sonic-social space they call home.

Yet culture-producing institutions like the Tourism Board and Arts Conservatory, as well as the many individuals who stand to benefit from a narrowly defined regionalism – including academics, journalists, and tourism entrepreneurs (Picard, 1990) – ignore Bali's alternative soundworlds in order to stake a claim on the "real" musics of Bali. Balinese Hindu religion is conflated with Balinese culture. Therefore, Bali's multi-religious, multiethnic, and multi-musical reality is misrepresented or disregarded altogether. Given the musical diversity briefly outlined here, I argue that there is no acceptable common denominator – no one music that defines a people. Cohabiting soundworlds must be embraced as a modern reality.



Plate 2. Navicula performing at the Lapangan Puputan during the Denpasar City Festival (Photo: R. E. Moore, 2009)

Attention to the diverse, sometimes divergent ways in which people assign meaning to musical experience – as well as to how social groups and music genres are “mutually encoded” by geographic spatialization (Krims, 2008, p. 17) – is imperative, if we hope to understand how musical alliances embody and shape social alliances. In the context of urban Bali, metal, jazz, punk, or pop is each a fully domesticated soundworld, as present, meaningful, and worthy of scholarly critique as the many traditions of Balinese Hindu gamelan that have dominated Balinese music studies. Furthermore, to question musical ownership by conflating origins with authenticity is problematic, and may serve to gloss over individual interpretations that have nothing to do with the logics of cultural imperialism or global hybridities – it also sanctions the mercenary agendas of cultural tourism currently bleeding the island dry. By examining grounded exchange practices, we can determine the relative significance of these musics to the people who make and enjoy them.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> *Beleganjur*, which translates to “walking warriors,” is a fixture in a variety of Hindu ceremonies and the focus of a number of music competitions and festivals throughout the island. For a detailed account of modern *beleganjur*, see Bakan, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> *Dangdut* is a genre of national popular music influenced in its early history by Indian film music, vocal styles common in Muslim recitation and West Asian song, and Malaysian orchestral music. More recently, popular *dangdut* artist Rhoma Irama’s influenced the inclusion of rock music instrumentation. *Dangdut* is a common sonic presence in Bali; it is popular among a labor force of itinerant workers from other parts of Indonesia. The genre also influences a number of Balinese pop recording artists. For a detailed account of *dangdut*, class relations, and national identity in Indonesia, see Wallach, 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Moshing is a style of dance that emerged out of punk music’s pogo dance and became popular throughout most of the world’s underground music scenes in the 1980s and early 90s. Intentionally aggressive bodily contact among participants defines the style. Through wild physical gestures, moshers clear a rough circle in a space reserved for standing spectators at a live music venue, usually close to the stage. For detailed accounts of moshing, see Tsitsos, 1999; Fonarow, 2006, pp. 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> *Kecak* is an experimental form of dance and drama created in the 1930s as a tourist presentation that most frequently presents selections from the Hindu epic Ramayana. *Kecak* emphasizes interlocking vocal parts that imitate the various instruments of the gamelan.

<sup>5</sup> *Legong* refers to a Hindu temple dance in which the performers, traditionally young girls, present welcome offerings to the gods, spirits, and ancestors; however the term is often used within the tourism market to denote various and sundry dance styles tailored specifically for foreign audiences (See Picard, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Popular within underground and indie music scenes in many parts of the world, the fanzine is a grassroots publication written, printed, and distributed by music fans or musicians. In indie circles, well-written and respected fanzines may be considered more valuable as sources of music critique than mainstream magazines and professionally authored weblogs (Fonarow, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> One of several monikers employed by heavy metal fans to describe individual identities according to musical taste, as well as to connect musically likeminded individuals, locally and globally.

<sup>8</sup> See Wallach’s description of Indonesia’s megacity and capital, Jakarta for a similar description of Indonesian urban life (2008, pp. 43-49).

<sup>9</sup> For sources on urbanization and the development of popular music industries, see Nettl (1978), Reyes Schramm (1982), Manuel (2007), and Krims (2008).

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Bakan (1999), Baulch (2007), Harnish (2005), Heimarck (2003), Laskewicz (2004), and Picard (1990).

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**ELIZABETH MCLEAN MACY (USA)**

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## **BALINESE MUSIC AND CULTURAL TOURISM: STRUGGLING INTO THE 21ST CENTURY**

This essay addresses the commodification of culture in Bali, Indonesia from its historical roots to the present-day obstacles that music and cultural tourism face – all through the lens of my own encounters with the island in an autoethnography of sorts. Tourism in Bali serves simultaneously as a means of essentializing Balinese culture (standardizing performance and experiences) and of widening the scope of Balinese performance. Here, cultural tourism shapes Balinese identity. With cultural tourism and music tourism intricately aligned with the production and replication of images of the “authentic”, musical experiences in Bali impact tourists and locals alike. Today, as Bali faces the difficult task of navigating increasing problems related to over-development and rapid increases in tourist activity, I highlight the role of music and cultural tourism for the island.

Foreign tourist arrivals in Bali for the first quarter of 2012 increased by nearly 15% over the same time period in 2011, and current projections for the year 2012 are over 3 million foreign tourist visitors – record numbers for the island (Bali Discovery, 2012). For a formerly suffering tourism economy, this rapid increase in tourist numbers has been both heralded and lauded for its economic benefits and for the mass consumption it produces, a movement away from the island’s original focus on cultural tourism. In this essay, divided into three sections, I first historically position cultural and music tourism on the island; second, I’ll address the impact of, and recovery from, the 2002 and 2005 Bali bombings; lastly, I’ll examine the current status of Balinese cultural and music tourism in a “recovered” economy.

### **Historical Background to Cultural and Music Tourism on Bali**

My relationship with Balinese tourism began in 1997, when I first traveled to the small village of Bangah di Baturiti in central Bali, home of my teacher, Pak I Made Lasmawan, to study music. Living in the village, my classmates and I spent our early days in Bali immersed in gamelan, dance, and culture for a course on the arts and culture of Bali taught through Colorado College. We woke with the roosters, ate with our hands, went to the temple to pray, and grew accustomed to the squat toilets and cold baths (via washbasins and ladles). When we ventured out of the village in our chauffeured vans to visit tourist sights, we collectively scoffed at the “real” tourists – we didn’t belong to the same mold, our experiences were somehow more valid, more “authentic”. We attended *kecak* and *legong* performances in Ubud, visited the Sukawati art market, and prayed at Pura Besakih, the mother temple.

On our final evening we held a concert for the village – for all of the people who had called out to us in passing, observed our rehearsals, and impressed their own music and dance skills upon us. That night our performance of what the villagers termed *kecak turis* (tourist *kecak*) sealed my fate (see Plate 1). The sheer bizarreness of the situation was not lost on me as we gave ourselves over to a Balinese musical tradition that was intricately tied into the island’s embedded history of tourism. *Kecak* – the dramatic performance marked by a chorus of bare-chested males who provide the music using vocal effects – is performed primarily for tourists. A layered performance that incorporates Western influence and traditional Balinese culture, our rendition in 1997 entertained our teacher’s village with our mixed-gender take on this hybrid art form: American students, performing a Balinese tradition, created through Western influence, and performed primarily for tourists.



Plate 1. Colorado College faculty and students rehearsing *kecak turis*, at Ubud, Bali, July 1997  
(Photo: E. McLean Macy)

My *kecak turis* analogy reflects the sort of layered analysis called for when addressing Balinese tourism. The re-appropriation of cultural ideas and forms and reshaping of them that takes place in order to better market a locale is no stranger to tourism studies (see Kaeppeler & Lewin, 1988; Desmond, 2002). Bali's history of tourism can be traced back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the Dutch government – the ruling colonial power – began to promote it as a tourist destination. The island of Bali symbolized a realized paradise for the European colonizers – “The Island of the Gods,” “The Garden of Eden,” “The Island of Love,” and so on, with its culture (the famed *gamelan* music, *legong* dancers, artisans, and religious practices) as the focal point. Peaceful, exotic, Hindu Bali is an island of dualisms: *suka* and *duka* (the good and the bad), black and white, up and down – all contributing to a greater cosmic balance. An island whose image is constructed around a Western myth (and maintained by Indonesian officials), Bali conjures up images of paradise, particularly for the tourists it covets.

Early tourism featured cultural excursions and dance performances. Canadian composer and Baliphile Colin McPhee described a typical hotel itinerary as being crammed from dawn until dusk:

Thurs. a.m.: sacred pool; tombs of the kings; palace at Karangasem; lunch at resthouse.  
Afternoon: bats' cave; sacred forest; giant banyan; hot springs. Dance performance at hotel, 9 p.m. (McPhee, 2000/1944, p. 17).

New policies were implemented during the 1920s to educate the Balinese about Balinese culture. The “Balinization of Bali,” or *Baliseering*, effectively forced Bali to adapt to the Western imagery of the island, conforming to the expectations of tourists, and even reconstructing traditional performances for tourist consumption in a kind of localized orientalism (Picard, 1996, p. 21).

On August 17, 1945, when Indonesia gained its independence from the Netherlands, the task of unifying the nation was paramount. Under President Sukarno's leadership, Bali became a retreat for Indonesians, a center for domestic tourism. As a renowned patron of the arts, Sukarno adopted Bali as his favorite haven, a place where he would host dignitaries and distinguished guests, entertaining them with Balinese music and dance (Hitchcock & Putra, 2007, p. 19; Picard, 1996, p. 40). In March 1966 General Suharto became head of state, and the New Order government came into effect throughout Indonesia, reopening Bali to foreign interest (Indonesia was closed to foreigners during the 1965-1966 anti-communist purge). Under this new regime, the first Master Plan for Indonesian Development was created in 1969 with the aid of the World Bank. Bali was selected as the national cultural site due to its apparent wealth of natural and cultural resources that could be promoted and capitalized upon, and the government engaged the Société Centrale pour l'Équipement Touristique Outre-Mer (SCETO) to draw up a tourism plan for Bali (Picard, 1996, p. 45). In 1971, the Master Plan for the Development of Tourism in Bali was completed, outlining the national tourism policy. Dance and music were standardized for tourist consumption while the foundation for Balinese cultural tourism was laid. Thus began a rapid increase in the Balinese tourism industry, whereby tourism in Bali was set to become the backbone of the Balinese economy and a driving force in Indonesia, all with religious ceremonies and cultural tourism at its center. Tourism in Bali stimulated cultural creativity in music and dance by

providing an audience that was willing to pay to view performances, yet performances had to be made accessible to the public. To that end, a Seminar on Sacred and Profane Dance was conducted in Bali in 1971, outlining how tourism would impact artistic production on the island and dictating performance standards for tourism purposes. The seminar objectives were to separate sacred art (*seni sacral*) from profane art (*seni profan*) in regard to dance and music (Picard, 1996, p. 152). This separation of sacred and profane proved no easy task for the Balinese, who do not distinguish between the two.

### **Impact of and Recovery from the Bali Bombings**

My own trips to Bali in 2002 and 2004 preceded each attack. In January 2002, at the height of the tourist season, I flew from New Zealand along with my mother and brother – staying in Kuta with the throngs of tourists, and in sleepy Ubud before traveling to Baturiti and down through Bangah, and spending a night in East Bali at the former bustling resort town of Candi Desa. In 2004, my first time returning to the island post-bombings, I spent a month conducting research and traveling with my best friend, Rachel. The shadow cast by the bombings was evident in heightened security, decreased tourists, and a makeshift memorial at the bombing site. Signs of a changing tourism economy were most noticeable in the simple absence of people. The beach town of Sanur was deserted and Ubud was as empty as I've ever seen (save the weekend of a royal cremation festival).

Four years later, my return in 2008 was marked by an increase in tourism numbers – but also an increase in security. The impression was that safety was paramount. Though the struggling years were behind, remnants of disaster remained intact.

Following on the tails of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States as well as the SARS crisis in Asia, tourism was already suffering when the first terrorist bomb in Bali shocked the world on October 12, 2002. Impacting the economy, public opinion, and the world at large, the bombs threatened international relations and the oft-replicated image of Bali as paradise. The 2002 Bali bombings are recognized as the largest terrorist attack in Indonesian history. As one of the largest attacks on a tourism center they paved the way for the second bombing three years later in 2005. Moreover, the refashioning of Balinese tourism (cultural tourism included) that built to the tourism surge we see presently was in reaction to the rebuilding of Bali's economic base, a result of the terrorist attacks.

The fallout from the Bali bombings was monumental, in that its effects upon the tourism industry were far-reaching and long-lasting. Beyond the obvious impact on the direct victims and their families, the bombs affected the Balinese community and global ideas about the safety of the island, shattering former images of Bali, now a paradise lost. Bali's "Twin Towers" affected not only Balinese people, but also international tourists. Travel fell off and flights were cancelled, and by mid-2006 it was clear that the impact of the second round of bombings would be as bad, if not worse, than that of 2002. Where tourists were perceived as targets, the image of safety was shattered.

With the decline in tourism following the terrorist bombings, the Balinese economy was hit from all directions. According to an October 12, 2006 article in the *Jakarta Post*, the core of the economic problem ran deeper than the tourism impact as a result of which hotel occupancy rates dropped to 20 to 40 percent (Widiadana, 2006). The environmental concerns and high rate of development brought about by outside sources contributed to the generally depressed state of the Balinese economy following the 2002 and 2005 terrorist attacks. Overwhelming dependency on cultural and mass tourism in Bali – and increasingly inappropriate development of it – left the island's economy in great distress. The stigma associated with terrorism attacks produced a need to restructure public opinion around the positive images of cultural continuity. Recreating safety in a disaster-affected locale became critical. Drawing significantly on the importance of projecting and protecting culture, positive imagery of the island was utilized in marketing that emphasized the staying power and importance of cultural uniqueness.

Musician and dancer Anak Agung Gede Anom Putra points to the bombings as instrumental in Balinese understanding of the importance of tourism for the island:

What really changed was the way of life for the Balinese. With the existence of the Bali bombs, Balinese people became more social and more understanding of life. . . . Balinese people were not angry at the bomb, but we were more in the spirit of life and helping Bali to

become the goal of tours and safer for tourists (Anak Agung Gede Anom Putra, personal communication, October 18, 2009).

The cultural tourism experience for Bali is largely dependent upon the tourist's exposure to music and the arts. Media representations and mass tourism imagery depend and focus on portrayals of these niche kinds of experiences. The cultural and artistic symbolism (reliant on sonic representations and musical imagery) enacted through mass tourism marketing in Bali as part of the rebuilding process aimed to shed light on the importance of niche experiences by providing insight into tourism safe from the over-arching ideas associated with disaster. In a sense, recovery takes on many meanings in relation to ideas of safety, resilience, and change. The touristification of Bali, a process linked to the history and development of the island as a tourism destination, is defined by the changes imparted by the terrorist bombings. For Bali, tourism relies upon viable culture – upon the process of nurturing and projecting images associated with cultural identity.<sup>1</sup>

According to Australian restaurateur and longtime Bali resident Janet De Neefe, post-bombings Bali “has so much more to offer now than it did before in the way of a complete holiday” (J. De Neefe, personal communication, May 14, 2008). In 2012, the island offers green and environmentally friendly tourism, yoga retreats and organic and raw foods, adventure travel and wireless internet – everything the modern mass traveler (or niche tourist) could desire:

There still will always be those enamored by the culture, but it's not like the early days where everybody was just desperate to see a ceremony or temple festival or possession. They're maybe a little bit complacent perhaps. There's still that element that love it, but it's not quite the same fervor for that as the early days (J. De Neefe, personal communication, May 14, 2008).

Cultural tourism, as defined and developed by the Master Plan for the Development of Tourism in Bali, is no longer the primary purpose of Balinese tourism as popular culture and globalized ideas take hold of the island.

### **Current Status of Cultural and Music Tourism on Bali**

In June 2011, fourteen years after my first visit, my role was reversed. I began preparations to team-teach the same course that had brought me to Bali for the first time alongside my teacher, Pak Made. This was our third attempt to resurrect the course. In both 2009 and 2010 it was cancelled because of low enrollment – despite a recovering tourism economy and the lifting of the US travel warning on May 25, 2008, my correspondence with interested students (and their parents) was seemingly tarnished by the perceived threat of terrorism. In 2011, however, there seemed to be an attitude shift. I sometimes call it the Eat, Pray, Love effect in light of the popularity of Elizabeth Gilbert's 2006 New York Times best seller and the 2010 film by the same name (starring Julia Roberts), and only partly in jest. Ida Bagus Subhiksu, head of the Bali Tourism Office, attributes some of the increase in arrivals to the success and popularity of the memoir (The Bali Times, 2011). In fact, the book raised Bali's international profile and inspired thousands of (mainly) female fans to lead their own journey to self-discovery in Bali.

With my eleven undergrads in tow, the Bali I returned to as a professor varied greatly from the Bali I had first encountered fourteen years prior. For one, my students were more aware – for them, Bali wasn't just an idealized image as it had been for us in 1997. Rather, they had tangible images and ideas about the island prior to arriving. Additionally, the Bali they encountered was infinitely more crowded. Our overnight excursions to Ubud, Lovina, and Kuta were all met with traffic and filled hotels (Lovina less so). But still, we woke with the roosters, ate with our hands, prayed in the temple, attended a *kecak* performance in Ubud (of which our choices were plentiful), shopped in the market, and wandered the Bali Arts Festival (Plate 2).



**Plate 2. Colorado College faculty and students praying at Pura Ulun Danu Bratan, Baturiti, Bali, June 2011  
(Photo: E. McLean Macy)**

Bali's rising profile is mirrored in the increase in tourism arrivals. The dangers it now faces as an overexposed tourism destination come in the wake of increased attention for recovery purposes. Threats of cultural deterioration are constant. I Made Lasmawan claims that:

Globalization is just always gonna be. If you do the right thing is okay. . . . tourists also good for Bali, if Balinese people protect their culture very well (I Made Lasmawan, personal communication, February 3, 2010).

The changing face of Balinese tourism towards mass consumption and away from its original focus on cultural tourism represents a growing trend. While tourism relies heavily on the idea of cultural difference – as realized visually, environmentally, culturally, and artistically – the continuation of mass-market tourism and the introduction of over-exploitation of the tourism industry has its faults.

The struggle Bali faces is not new, but rather evolving in nature. From developing a tourism industry in colonial Bali, to recovering from the 1965-66 anti-communist purge, to the Asian Financial Crisis, 9/11, the SARS outbreak, and the terrorist bombings, the current struggle to adapt to increased visitor numbers, traffic issues, and a changing tourist persona are all part of a longer lineage. Increases in conventions and conferences, the bread and butter of tourism around the world, and varied forms of niche tourism such as yoga, environmental and eco-tourism, adventure tourism, and the sort-of universal spirituality seeking tourists inspired by Gilbert's memoir, are shifting the focus of Balinese tourism. With tourist interest changing in nature, the type of tourist being targeted is shifting away from the niche cultural and music tourism market.

In early June 2012, while standing in my kitchen in Los Angeles, California, I had a discussion with a friend who had just returned from three weeks of trekking through Thailand and Cambodia. He adamantly insisted that there were only two real places in Asia that remained unexplored by tourists – Burma (or Myanmar) and North Korea – and that everything else was overdone, overexposed, and, perhaps, not worth the visit. Where Balinese tourism has “struggled” through numerous tragedies and disasters since its beginnings, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century it faces perhaps the greatest “struggle” of all – how to deal with the over-abundance of tourists today. If, as my friend claims, Burma and North Korea are the final frontier for tourists in Asia – locales with a certain sense of “authenticity” or “purity” that true adventure seekers want – what does this mean for tourism throughout Asia? The shift in emphasis from cultural tourism to a centralized focus on mass-tourism and emergent forms of niche tourism constitutes a shift in the tourist gaze. Herein lies the struggle. Cultural tourism, as defined and developed by the Master Plan for the Development of Tourism in Bali, is no longer the primary

purpose of Balinese tourism as popular culture, globalized ideas, and mass media take hold of the island today.

### Endnote

<sup>1</sup> One example of this is the “Bali is My Life” campaign produced by the Bali Tourism Board, Bali Government Tourism Office, and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia (launched in 2005). It highlights Balinese people: Ayu the dancer, Anom the mask sculptor, Made the artist, Putu the chef, Budi the surfer, Lilik the masseuse, Made the farmer, and Putu the schoolgirl. In the campaign, idealized descriptions of Balinese performances and religious ceremonies accompany images of smiling Balinese people, inviting tourists to enjoy their culture and home (Bali Hotel Association, 2010).

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## **SEARCHING THROUGH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS FOR TRACES OF TAIWANESE ABORIGINALS AND THE AUSTRONESIAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES**

### **Prelude**

From the viewpoint of musicology or ethnomusicology, an understanding of the relationship between the musical cultures of the Taiwanese Aborigines and the Austronesian-speaking peoples remain very limited. Because of their large population mostly situated in Southeast Asia, their geographical dispersion, and their different historical backgrounds, there exist considerable cultural differences among the Austronesian-speaking peoples. Much field research is necessary to achieve an understanding as different ethnic groups have complex politics, religions and cultures. Furthermore, these cultures rely heavily on oral tradition.

There is great diversity in the musical instruments used by Austronesian-speaking peoples, and the change from using plant-based materials for instruments to metal gong instruments is notable. Starting from the recent view point of the “out-of-Taiwan model”, which maintains Taiwan as the origin of Austronesian-speaking peoples, this paper will seek to compare and contrast related musical instruments that exist in the cultures of these two main groups of peoples. Because metal gong instruments have seldom been used by the Taiwanese aborigines, this paper will focus mainly on bamboo and wooden instruments.

### **Geographical Ecology and Distribution of the Austronesian-speaking Peoples**

Areas occupied by Austronesian-speaking peoples extend from Madagascar eastward to Easter Island, and from Taiwan southward to New Zealand. Researchers have estimated that around 6000 years ago one common language was shared by these peoples, however, the shared language was later separated into 1000 different languages.<sup>1</sup> These peoples have built up multiple levels of complex cultural ecology through experiences of migration, trade, cultural exchanges and colonial politics. Not including Australia, some researchers have made the distinction of separating the area into East “Oceania” and West “Non-Oceania”. Occupants of the latter have been called the Western Austronesian-speaking peoples.<sup>2</sup>

As for the geographical environment and climate, the Austronesian-speaking peoples reside in areas of the Southeast Asian tropical monsoon region. Their main agricultural crops include rice, palm, coconut and other tropical plants, and food consumption and local produce include palm, sago, coconuts, bananas, rice, chestnut rice, sweet potatoes, potato and other crops. Their main livelihoods include subsistence economy, horticulture, hunting, gathering, fishing and bartering. There are little or no written historical records from ancient times, and most of their culture has been preserved through oral tradition.

### **Acculturation of Austronesia Society, Religion, Music Culture and their Diversity and Complexity**

The music culture of Austronesian peoples is largely related to the economic, migration, political and religious activities of Southeast Asia. By the beginning of the first millennium AD, Austronesian peoples living in Southeast Asia were influenced by Indian culture, with traders from India settling in Indonesia and elsewhere. Besides trading, these Indian businessmen also brought with them their Buddhist religion, which resulted in even greater numbers of Buddhist believers in Southeast Asia than in India. The island of Sumatra had already become a vital Buddhist religious center by the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Around 1000 AD, areas including the islands south of Indonesia and the Mekong Delta region began to incorporate concepts of social class, and established its dynasty under the influence of Indian culture. This kind of feudal dynasty and monarchical rule, which was influenced by Indian theocracy, gave countries such as South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma and

Indonesia their distinct political culture. From the 7<sup>th</sup> century, islands of Indonesia began to enter into the sphere of Arab-Islamic forces. Later, missionaries from Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom also brought their Christian beliefs and cultures. During the decline of colonial policy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, independence was gained by different countries, resulting in the multicultural and complex lingual system that we see today (Collaer et al., 1979, pp. 6-7).

At the same time that areas in Southeast Asia developed a complex mixture of racial, language and cultural systems, differences in economic and social systems also emerged. A refined culture developed in Indo-China Peninsula, Bali and Java, while different ethnic aboriginal groups of different backgrounds living in mountain regions developed apart from the rest of the world. In addition to the many ethnic groups, immigrants from Europe, America, India and China also contributed to the acculturation and complexity in their lingual, cultural and religious systems (from the natural religion of pantheism, ancestor worship, shamanism to Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism and Islam, Christianity) (Collaer et al., 1979, p. 7).

Being the origin group of Austronesian peoples, Taiwanese aboriginals were also under the influence of Taiwanese society. Alongside swift social and historical changes and impact from the majority Han culture, the musical culture of the Taiwanese Aboriginals quickly disappeared. This essay strives to ascertain if similarities can be found between the musical cultures of Taiwanese aboriginals and other Austronesian peoples. This essay will be focused on the musical cultures of the Western Austronesian peoples (Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Indochina, Borneo) and their traditional musical instruments.

### **Investigation relating to the Music Instruments of the Taiwanese Aborigines and Austronesian-speaking Peoples**

#### ***Austronesian music instruments and performances primarily using bamboo or wooden materials***

Besides the occasional use of palm or banana leaves as the materials for music instruments, the predominant materials are bamboo and wood. Local monsoon and a hot, humid climate prompted the use of bamboo and rainforest plants for the manufacturing and invention of their musical instruments. Besides bamboo materials, locally prospering plants (such as reeds and palm) or trees (such as the jackfruit often found in Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines) are often used as part of the materials of making the instruments. The trees often grow thick and large; sometimes wood pieces from the trees are used as a sound box or resonator by hollowing out the middle or by digging, sewing or cutting, such as the rectangular or circular rice-stamping wood container, the log drum or slit drum. Muslim groups in the Southern Philippines often use long-shaped wooden tree trunks for percussion, as do the Bontocs in the Northern Philippines and other ethnic groups in Indonesia, Tahiti (Sadie, 1995, p. 60), Samoa (Sadie, 1995, p. 67), Taiwanese aboriginals, Oceania, and other minority groups such as the Wa ethnic group in Yunnan, China. These types of large-scale wooden drums are also popular in Africa and South America. The wood is cut into long, block or stick shapes for instruments, such as the suspended beams used by the Monobo in the Southern Philippines, the Luntang and the Pong Lang from Thailand. Some scholars believe that music instruments were first made with bamboo pipes and bamboo blocks or pieces (slats or “keys”), but because bamboo is more difficult to conserve, wood was used later on to make the instruments.

Two kinds of xylophones are made with either bamboo blocks or bamboo pipes. Xylophones made with bamboo blocks are formed by arranging three to four pieces of bamboo materials with different sizes or widths, resulting in different sound qualities and pitches. The leg xylophone, *patatag* or *patteteg*, used by the Austronesian peoples in the northern Philippines, is made from six separate pieces of bamboo of different sizes. The instrument is played using the *topayya* technique where the left hand strikes the bamboo pieces with a mallet while the right palm accompanies by a hitting and slide-stopping motion to control the sound quality. Xylophones made with tied-up bamboo pipes, such as the *To Rung* used by the Bahnar in Vietnam, are assembled by tying up many bamboo pipes of different lengths according to set and measured intervals. One end of the instrument is then hung onto a tree, the other end is held by one hand while the other hand strikes with a mallet (Thanh, 1997, p. 105).

One of the bamboo instruments from the Philippines includes the stamping tubes. They are played by one hand holding the upper part of the tube and controlling two different sounds by opening and closing the open end of the tube. In a performance, the tube is “stamped” directly on the ground or

a rubber pad. The bamboo buzzer comprises an incomplete split of a bamboo tube; at the handle on the bottom is a sound hole. This instrument is performed by one hand holding the buzzer and striking the tube on the back of the other hand while opening and closing the sound hole, which produces two different timbres or notes. The striking half-tubes are also a type of bamboo tube instrument. The front half is cut at an angle and can be used to hold water. When performing, the right hand holds the bottom of the tube, striking another bamboo tube or rock to make sounds. Two parallel bamboo strands (or “strings”) are picked (or cut) out of the outer layer of a bamboo tube that comprises the parallel zither. The two strings share two frets, and a bamboo bridge is placed midway on the tube on top of the strings. The instrument is played by striking the bamboo bridge with two thin bamboo sticks. Another instrument, the pan pipe, is arranged by different thin bamboo tubes of various lengths.

Maritime climates supply an abundance of bamboo materials. Other areas that have the same climate condition include Thailand, Vietnam and Southern China, especially in the mountainous regions. Besides the bamboo/wood xylophones mentioned above, stamping tubes have also been found in Tay-Thai villages such as the Thai, Laha, Mang and Kemu.<sup>3</sup> They also use six bamboo tubes for tapping on wood boards covering the ground. We have also found that the Kh’Mu, Black Thai<sup>4</sup> from Northwest Vietnam and the Kemu people from Yunnan also use bamboo buzzers called *dao dao*, in which a sound hole can also be found at the bottom of the bamboo tube. The parallel zither is called the *zharong* or *dangnu* are used by the Yao people in Yunnan. Ethnic groups in Northwestern Vietnam call the instrument *dingdong*, a zither that uses 3 to 6 strings. Besides being played by the ethnic groups in Northern Philippines, the nose flute and bowed strings are also performed by Taiwanese aboriginals such as the Paiwan, Bunun, and Amis (Lee, 1999, p. 8, 125).

### ***Music Instruments of the Taiwanese Aboriginals and their Features***

The range of the types of instruments played by the Taiwanese aboriginals is not as broad when compared to the types of instruments used by the other Austronesian peoples, especially the Western Austronesians. From the point of Taiwanese aboriginals’ usage of the instruments, the condition is not close to being acceptable. Currently, music instruments used during cultural activities only include the single-tube flute and the nose flute from the Paiwan, which is played at wedding “performances”. Other instruments such as the musical bow from the Bunun, the rice stamp from the Thao and the Jew’s harp from the Atayal only appear occasionally. One unique feature of the Jew’s harp used by the Atayal, Amis, and Seediq is that multiple reeds are used on a single bamboo piece. This is rarely seen outside of Taiwan and rarely used by other Austronesian peoples (Zhuang, 2000, p. 58). According to ethnomusicologists, the Jew’s harp is widely distributed in regions such as Southwest China, Tibet, Mongolia, Siberia, Hokkaido, the Philippines, Borneo, Indonesia, New Guinea, Pacific Islands, New Zealand, India and Africa. According to Curt Sachs, the Jew’s harp clearly originated from Southeast Asia, and the most traditional form is seen in Taiwan and Engano (Sachs, 1940, p. 58). He believes that the type of Jew’s harp used in Taiwan is the most advanced, and that the usage of multiple reeds is rare and only also used by the Mosuo from China and Tibet (Loh, 1982, p. 147). We can also see that the Yi from Southwestern China use the multiple reed Jew’s harp (mostly made of metals and plucked by hand). However, the multiple reeds are separated from the instrument, unlike the ones seen from the Atayal where multiple reeds are set on a single bamboo piece.

Two special Taiwanese aboriginal instruments, the five-stringed zither of the Bunun and the four-stringed zither of the Seediq, were noted by a Japanese scholar named Kurosawa. Usage of only the five-string zither still exists in Hsin Yi, Nantou County and has not been found in any other communities (Wu, 1985, p. 207). The four-stringed zither has disappeared as of now (Zhuang, 2000, p. 57); Loh, 1982, p. 180). Other instruments that were once used and mentioned in literature seem to have become a part of history. Only when tribe members recognize the existence of these instruments and make use of them can they become a part of community life once again.

***Introduction and Categorization of the Music Instruments of Taiwanese Aborigines and other Austronesian Peoples***

**Chordophones: Plucked Chordophones – bowed string, board zither (two-stringed, four-stringed, five stringed<sup>5</sup>), paired-string, and polychordal tube**

The most common instruments used by the Austronesian peoples and generally recognized as the most ancient is the monochordal zither or bamboo tube zither,<sup>6</sup> and the musical bow. According to some scholars the early tube-shaped Rohrenzither or the later half-circle, tube-shaped Halbröhrenzither are the precursors of ancient Chinese stringed instruments such as the *Qin*, *Zheng*, and the *Zhu* (Lin, 1995, p. 131). The Ibaloi People from the Northern Philippines still use the Halbröhrenzither in their usual musical lives. The zithers can be categorized into polychordal tubes, paired-strings, half-tubes, and the board zither (Maceda, 1998, p. 201). The name board-zither is used here because the additional string is set on a solid wood board, wood piece or hollow board. The Ma people from Southern Vietnam also have similar polychordal tube instruments called the *roding* (Collaer et al., 1979, p. 26). In addition the author has also seen, by chance, the Pingpu tribe of Siraya from Taiwan who use the bamboo zither drum, which belongs to the idiochord category and is made from cutting a six centimeter wide thin piece out of the skin of a bamboo tube and setting the pieces of wooden sticks on two ends of the bamboo piece. This separates the thin piece from the bamboo tube but does not keep them parted, producing a certain amount of tension.



Plate 1. Tube zither drum of the Siraya ethnic group, Taiwan. (Photo: S-C Lee)



Plate 2. Tube zither drum of the Kalinga ethnic group, the Philippines. (Photo: S-C Lee)

On the tube zither, a type of chordophone, there are two ways in which the strings can be positioned: (1) The idiochord type is made by cutting thin strips out of the skin of a bamboo tube and setting two small, rectangular shaped wooden pieces between the strings and bamboo tube in order for tension to be produced on the strings; (2) The heterochord type obtains its strings from outside sources and they are secured to the bamboo tube by rattan or metal strips. Tension is also produced when two

small wooden pieces are placed between the strings and the tube on the two ends of the bamboo tube. From a single string transformed into two or multiple parallel strings, the tube zither is performed by striking with a small wooden mallet a flat wooden board specifically placed in the middle, striking directly on the strings, or plucking with the fingers. If it is performed by plucking with the fingers, it is grouped as a chordophone. If performed by way of drumming, it can also be called as a Trommelzither<sup>7</sup> or bamboo zither drum, which uses the bamboo tube as the resonating body for the drum chord. As a bamboo zither drum, the zither strings are about 1.5 cm wide and can be struck directly using thin wooden sticks; a wooden bridge may be set between the two strings acting as a striking board.

The bamboo zither of the Karo in Batak, North Sumatra is called the *keteng-keteng* and is made by picking (or cutting) three bamboo strings out of the outer layer of the bamboo tube; these strings act as the striking strings. Two of the strings are placed close together while the third is slightly separated. The middle of the bamboo tube contains a hole with diameters ranging from 1 cm to 4cm or 5cm. A moveable bamboo cap is placed on the hole commonly called “the ear” and is used for adjusting the high/low key or controlling the degree of clearness or muddiness of musical notes. This way of striking directly on the bamboo strings is different from the indirect striking through a bamboo bridge, which is used in the Philippines.

Existing instruments similar in construction and appearance to the bamboo zither found in the Philippines, acting as a Trommelzither, are made by setting a small wooden board placed in the middle of the two strings which acts as a striking board. They are sometimes called the double-stringed or paired string zither (similar to Trommelzither or bamboo zither drum). Different names are used by members of the different tribes for these instruments. In the south the bamboo zither drum is placed on the floor and struck with two sticks, and in the north the player holds the bamboo tube with one hand and strikes with a stick using the other hand, while dancing at the same time.

The tube zither *d'inh do'ng* found in the north-western or middle mountain region in Vietnam is similar in the thin and long bamboo tube design, a construction that is also found in Indonesia and the Philippines. Two strings are picked out (or cut out) and a fret is set to separate the strings from the surface of the bamboo tube; the strings are plucked by the fingers. The other type, which is called the *goong* or *goong de* is more complex in that, besides the bamboo tube, 4 to 12 metal strings are added in addition to two round or gourd shaped resonators (Thanh, 1997, pp. 10-15, 29-32).

The bowed strings of the Taiwanese Aborigines have been found in the Bunun, Amis, Puyuma, Paiwan, Rukai, and Tsou tribes but not among the Ataya, Saisait, and Sediq tribes. It is one of the main instruments of the Bunun tribe. The majority of bowed strings seen in Taiwan are of the type categorized by Sachs as “using the mouth as the resonator.” Bowed strings found in the Negrito tribe in middle and east Philippines are of the type where “a bow is set on a gourd resonator.” The body of the bow is formed by long pieces of bent bamboo and the string is formed by tying a metal string onto the two sides of the bow, forming a single string. Fingers on the right hand perform the plucking while the lips hold on to one end of the bow, using the mouth as a resonator and producing sounds. The basic note “do” is formed by pressing and not pressing on the string at the same time. To the Bununs, the bowed string is not only a solo instrument but can be performed with the jews harp or the five-stringed zither in a duet (Wu, 1985, p. 206; Zhang, & Wu, 1999, p. 114).

### **Idiophones: Plucked Idiophones – Jew’s Harp (Jaw’s Harp)**

The Jew’s harp is the most common musical instrument found among the Taiwanese aborigines. All tribes have related names for it except the Tsao and Dawu. Some tribes obtain one to three or more reeds for the instrument (the Amis, Bunun, or Saisiat) (Loh, 1982, p. 145), some have five (the Atayal), and the Seediq even have seven reeds; the Atayal is found to be the most frequent user of the instrument while Bunun follows in second. The body of the Jew’s harp can be made of bamboo or iron while the reed can be made of bamboo, copper, or iron. The reeds are categorized into either an idioglot or heteroglot type, depending on the placement of the reeds; two reeds or more are made of metal and are usually a heteroglot. Performance occurs by pulling on a string that is tied to one end of the reed, and not by plucking with the fingers.

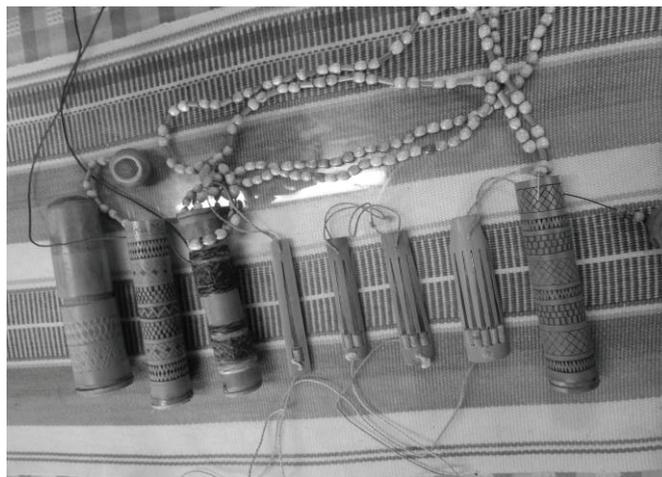


Plate 3. Bamboo Jew's harp of the Atayal people, Taiwan (Photo: S-C Lee)



Plate 4. Bamboo nose flute of the Paiwan people, Taiwan (Photo: S-C Lee)

The Jew's harp is also very common to the Austronesians in the Philippines and can be found among tribes from the north to the south. They are usually single reed types made of bamboo or wood, with the body of the harp made of bamboo materials. The instrument has similar names among local tribes but is found to have almost no similarity to the names used by Taiwanese aboriginals. Almost all found in the Philippines are single reed Jew's harps made of bamboo materials, but in Luzon in the north the single reed *idioglot* harps are played by pulling on a string (Maceda, 1998, p. 217).

#### **Striking idiophones - Xylophones, Trough Drums, Slit Drums, Stamping Pestles, Bamboo Buzzers**

**Wood xylophones:** Among Taiwanese aboriginals only the Amis and Seediq use the wood xylophone. The Amis wood xylophone is called the *kokan* (suspended percussion logs) and is made by hanging three sticks that are made of soft wood, hard wood, or bamboo. The performer plays by striking, using two wooden sticks. The different sound qualities of notes are the result of the different materials used in making the instrument. The xylophone used by the Seediq people is called the *tatuk* and is made of four blocks (slabs or keys) of the same wood. The cut sides are faced down and balanced on two wooden blocks. The instrument is usually placed on a hard floor or flattened rock which enables it to present a high, crisp sound while elevating resonance. The notes formed by the four blocks of wood are *Re*, *Mi*, *Sol* and *La*. A single hand or both hands can be used to strike when playing (Zhuang, 2000, pp. 60-61), as the performer sits on the ground while striking with wooden mallets.

Wooden xylophones with similar construction are also found in Ambon, Indonesia and are called *kolintang* by the locals. The number of wood pieces used for the instrument range from a few to more than ten. In addition, minority tribes such as the Jo Rai, Bahnar, Sedang, Ro Ngao, Je Trieng and

Ro Man in the mountain regions of Vietnam also use hanging-style wood xylophones (Thanh, 1997, p. 102). This type of xylophone has seen further development in Thailand. Using wood as the material, it is placed on a rack at a ninety degree angle. The wood naturally slants into a forty-five degree angle, and the instrument is played by two people striking the wood at the same time. They sit on the ground and strike with two wooden mallets. This wood xylophone is called the *pong lang* in Thailand, and is made by the assembly of different sizes of wooden sticks and has no resonator. The different pitches are achieved by the different depths of striking targets in the wooden sticks where they are hollowed out. They are placed from top to bottom in the order of low note to high note in a pentatonic musical scale. The order of the notes is *ACDEGACDEGAC* or *EGACDEGACDEG* (Chonpairot, 1989, p. 24).

As for the tribes in the Southern Philippines, similar hanging wood xylophones as the ones used by the Amis have been found. Five hanging wooden sticks (*luntang*) are used to assemble the instrument. It is performed by two people each using two wooden mallets, producing a complex rhythm. One person is responsible for the bass while the other is responsible for the melody. The performing style is similar to that in Thailand except the performers are in a sitting position in Thailand, while they are in a standing position in the Philippines. A version with four bamboo pieces that are placed on coconut shells which forms the resonators (SPAFA, 1986, p. 9, 14) has been found in Manyju, Majene and Polewali Mamasa in Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is similar to the *tatuk* used by the Seediq.

**Trough Drums:** Originally a tool trough used for weaving is frequently struck as a musical instrument to accompany dancing by the Amis tribe. The instrument is called the *tatotokan*, while the Atayal call it the *ubung*, and the meaning is “to strike” according to the Seediq language. The Amis also use a hollowed out wood for percussion to accompany dancing (Zhuang, 2000, p. 61), which is a slit drum instrument. The Balinese in Indonesia, the Bontoc in Northern Philippines and some Muslim tribes such as the Monobo people in Southern Philippines also use this kind of instruments. Sometimes a tree trunk is used directly as an instrument and a complex rhythm is formed with multiple people striking on the wood.

**Stamping Pestles** are often found in singing/dancing performances among the Thao tribe. Other tribes use the stamping pestles as a tool in farming, especially for removing the outer shells of rice grains. However, with technological advancement the tool has become a musical instrument as well for the Bunun people. Because there are different lengths and thickness to stamping pestles, a different pitch is produced when struck on a board or rock. In a performance six to ten stamping pestles are used, as tribe members gather in a circle and take turns striking.

The **Bamboo Slit Drum**, or *bikyukuyan*, is one of the Amis’ percussion instruments. It is a bamboo tube that is hung using thin strips taken from a vine and attached on the two sides of the tube. It is struck with two wooden mallets. The bamboo tubes are cut into sections, and a split is cut in the middle of the tubes. In a performance the instrument is placed on the lap, hung in front of the chest, on a tree branch or placed on the ground (Zhuang, 2000, p. 61). Similar instruments have been found by the author among the T’boli tribe from the Southern Philippines and in Ambon, Indonesia. But in Ambon this type of bamboo slit drum is usually comprises of several drums assembled together, while in Bali an additional bamboo piece is placed on the sections of bamboo tubes, secured by nails, and played by striking on the bamboo pieces.

### **Shaken Idiophones: Vessel Rattles and Struck Bells**

A vessel rattle of the Bunun people is made with 10 pieces of swine poudrons, which are connected together with a vine that goes through the holes at the end of the bones. It is called the *lah lah* because that is the sound it makes when bone pieces strike against each other when shaken. Some communities call it the *som som*, which means “to pray”, as this is a personal instrument belonging to Bunun’s priests and used during ceremonies praying for a good harvest (Wu, 1985, p. 210).

## Aerophones

The nose flute is separated into either single or double-barrelled types. From written literature it is known that ethnic groups such as the Amis, Tsou, Atayal and Puyuma have used this instrument or have members who know of the existence of this instrument, and thus have given it a name; however, only the Paiwan remain knowledgeable about how to use this instrument today.

The construction of the nose flute is similar to the Paiwan's double-barrelled vertical flute, but a difference is spotted at the blowhole and in its thickness. The nose flute has no construction for making sound; it has only circular holes and a thicker barrel which contributes to a deeper, lower sound (Zhuang, 2000, p. 56). According to Tai-li Hu and other scholars, the only nose flute performers still existing today are found in Majia Township which belongs to the Vutsul system in northern Paiwan (mainly Paiwan Village, Liang Shan Village) and Taiwu Township (mainly Ping He Village, Tai Wu Village) and in Mu Dan Township (Dong Yuan Village) (Hu, 2001, p. 10).

In addition, according to research, "One of the double barrels in a nose flute contains finger holes (usually 3 to 5 holes are opened, but only 3 or 4 holes are utilized), and the other tube contains no hole and can make a single low pitch" (Hu, 2001, p. 14). The vertical flute is also separated into single or double-barrelled types with the double-barrelled flute containing mainly 5 or 7 finger holes. The bamboo tube is thinner in a double-barrelled vertical flute; one barrel contains 5 holes while the other has none, and the blow hole contains a wooden cork. Performers of the vertical flute are found in northern Paiwan in San-Di-Men Village, which belongs to the Raval system, and San-Di-Men Village, Majia Village, Taiwu Village, Laiyi Village, which belong to the Vitsul system, and in southern Paiwan in Mu Dan Village (Hu, 2001, p. 11, 15).

In northern Philippines, the usage of this type of nose flute has been found among many ethnic groups, but only the single-barreled ones have been seen. In Tonga, Oceania, the nose flute made of bamboo has been found, and contains 5 equally spaced finger holes and a 6<sup>th</sup> is found on the underside of the 3<sup>rd</sup> hole. The bodies of the flutes are sturdier in those found among the Paiwan in Taiwan than the ones found in the Philippines (Moyle, 1989, p. 21). Amongst the Li tribe in Hainan, China a similar nose flute as those in the Philippines have been found and are called the nose *xiao*, and in Li's transliteration they are called *suilao*, *dunka*, or *yuanha*.<sup>8</sup>

## Conclusion

The goal of this essay is to introduce the musical instruments used by Taiwanese Aborigines and to compare them with other similar musical instruments found among other Austronesian peoples. Comparisons can be made and relationships can be found regarding similarities in the names of the musical instruments, but there have not been significant findings in this area. Secondly, some very ancient musical instruments used simultaneously by Austronesians in Southeast Asia and by non-Austronesians still exist. It remains a difficult task distinguishing the leader-follower relationship from the point of view of the evolution of musical instruments, but the author hopes to find more information among musical instruments in order to verify this relationship.

In comparing the musical instruments of the Taiwanese Aborigines to the instruments of other Austronesian peoples, the main materials used are bamboo and wood. There are not a large number or types of instruments found, but the types and forms of the instruments maintain similarities perhaps because of their swift disappearance through the years. Gong instruments that function rhythmically have not been seen, and there has been no discovery regarding the use of gong instruments by Taiwanese Aborigines.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Also see Castro & Sandy (1998, p. 16).

<sup>2</sup> According to some researchers, "Taiwan remains widely different compared to Oceania in the east. While being somewhat similar to Non-Oceania in the west, there remain differences. Taiwan has basically become independent in the North, preserving most of the traits of antiquity. Besides, since the Katagalan ethnic group from Taiwan had arrived in Taiwan later than other groups, their language is different from other languages spoken in Taiwan. However, similarities in pronunciation, vocabulary, and word formation have been found between the language spoken by the Katagalan to the Western Austronesian languages" (Jen-Kuei Li, 2000, p. 67).

<sup>3</sup> Thanh, 1997, p. 4; Shen & Liu, 1988, pp. 4-5: Thai as Tai (Tay-Thai or Tai), Laha as Kadai, Mang as Austro-

Asiatic Mon-Khmer family, Kemu as Austro-Asiatic Mon-Khmer family, whose language is close to the Wa and Deang languages.

<sup>4</sup> Thanh, 1997, p. 42). The Kemu tribe in northwestern Vietnam and west of the Nghe Province, the Black Thai in Son La Province, they call this type of instrument *hun may* (a bamboo flute).

<sup>5</sup> Fr. Lenherr and Joseph SHB (1976, p. 104), has mentioned these musical instruments in *Taiwan's Indigenous Musical Instruments* (L. S. Guang, Trans.). In accordance, the board zither is categorized by the author herself.

<sup>6</sup> The single-stringed zither is called the *musikstab* in German. Here the author translates it as the monochordal zither in English.

<sup>7</sup> Lin, 1995, p. 131 (trans. D-S. Qian). See above for the German name. However, the translation by the writer and translator as the big zither drum does not seem appropriate; the author has therefore translated it into the bamboo zither drum.

<sup>8</sup> Compiled by the Central University for Nationalities, Institute of Art and Literature of Minority Ethnic Groups (1991, pp. 38-40).

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## **ONE SONG - TWO STORIES**

### **Point of Departure**

The latest achievements regarding the preservation of intangible cultural heritage in Vietnam are strongly encouraging. The related UNESCO programme conducted in the past decade plays an important role in this process.

Considering the historical background of some items that are evaluated as being in urgent need of safeguarding, Vietnamese cultural policies took a sharp turn from propagating progressive folk songs celebrating the working class to the re-discovering of ritual roots that were for a long time seen as dangerously superstitious and anti-progressive. The breakthrough started after 1995, when Taoist ceremonies were again officially proclaimed as folk tradition, and performing arts related to feudalistic authorities such as kings and their often successful generals were celebrated as parts of national culture. How well prepared were musicians and singers after a long period of disregard to suddenly fulfil the expectation of modernly representing a glorious past?

### **Documents for Analysis and Field Experiences**

First, there are introduced different recordings made between 1982 and 2010, which represent different stages in the history of the one song I focus on, called *hát ru* (lullaby). The oldest recording was conducted by Nguyễn Xinh in 1982. His recording of an anonymous single female singer in Phú Thọ might be the most reliable interpretation of the pre-independent tradition. He could choose between various singers who were familiar with the way of singing in the *Xoan* tradition that is celebrated during spring of each year in the *Hung* Temple area of *Phú Thọ*. This audio recording originally made on reel tape was then integrated in the application material for the UNESCO inscription of *hát xoan*. The video material used in the application is of 10 minutes length of which more than 3 minutes are illustrated by this song. This may indicate the importance of the recording as well as the significance of the song within the recent repertoire.

I made another video and separate audio recording in 1993 in *Đền Dâu*, a temple in the centre of Hanoi. Here the song was part of the *ca trù* repertoire in a performance organised together with my teacher Lê Phở from the Hanoi conservatory, Nguyễn Xinh, head of the Music and Arts Institute and friends in the community of the inner city. This recording features Kim Duc and her brother Pho Dinh Ky as the *dan day* player. Both musicians were outstanding performers of this genre at that time. While Pho Dinh Ky passed away in 1996, Kim Duc still performs.

Another video recording is taken from a publicly accessible YouTube file. The video recording took place in the *Lầu Thượng* Temple near Việt Trì, where the following evening a group of national and international experts were discussing issues of *Hát Xoan* preservation in preparation of an UNESCO application. All video (parts 1 to 9) are subtitled with the following text:

This is one of the songs belonging to the *Hát Xoan* Repertoire. A rehearsal before the official performance of the next day at *Lầu Thượng* Temple, Việt Trì city (Tran, 2010).

The video was uploaded on 21 January, 2010 by Tran Quang Hai, who was the advisor for the Vietnamese Music Institute in the application process for the UNESCO ICH-Commission.

Finally, I made an audio recording at the official performance a day later, since I was in the group of experts mentioned.

Despite these recordings, I personally observed the song's further transformation into a pub-song during an informal meeting with the same group of experts in Việt Trì's Karaoke-Crystal-Palace, where we were seated above the karaoke hall and were served with Johnny Walker Black Label, while the waitresses performed the song in a popular version dressed in miniskirts and expecting everybody be excited about the functional use of ritual traditions.

The temple festivals in Phú Thọ, dedicated to the Hung Kings, are held annually and have been promoted since 2000 in conjunction with the implementation of a new cultural policy. Before 2000, villagers of the area reduced their efforts in keeping ritual singing and dancing alive to a degree that was still somehow agreeable in terms of maintaining local traditions. Since temple rituals were seen as mainly outdated superstitious activities, traditions were left in the hands of the elder generation, who also did not encourage the young to follow them in order to prevent difficulties. Thus, those parts of the rituals demanding a close familiarity with music and dance practice fell completely into oblivion. All temple festivals in the core territory of Vietnam were facing this fate. Phú Thọ is, however, the homeland of a few important politicians, so infrastructure was soon improved and the tourism business was established. Despite official condemnation of former systems of social exploitation such as feudal and capitalist structures, the Hung Kings re-captured an important place as national heroes in Vietnam's history hence becoming a priority project. The UNESCO programme on the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage opened a new road to promote cultural sights and to attract worldwide attention.

One item that could be inscribed on the list of urgent safeguarding is the *ca trù*, a sophisticated performing art with a history of 800 years that reached its climax at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as urban entertainment of the educated upper class and literary scholars. This performing art was regarded largely as decadent art during the times prior to 1992. Nevertheless, musicians and singers maintained its performance privately and contributed continuously written records to the world of letters.

Songs and musical practices in temple festivals were once important sources when *ca trù* was urbanised in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, various parallel repertoires were performed in different cultural functions for a long time. One song of this parallel repertoire will be examined here, the *Phú Thọ* lullaby, in this context simply called *hát ru*.

Governed by the principles of the socialist state, the sphere of cultural life in Vietnam has been subtly merged into overall social development programmes. Hence, Vietnam's cultural policy objectives are "to raise the level of knowledge in the field of culture, science and aesthetics for the working class and to pay attention to cultural life in the countryside, especially in remote areas" as well as "attain the harmony between economic and cultural development" (IRMO/Culturelink, 1996). More specifically, these objectives are ruled by the following principles: to complete the educational reform and a system of general education for all; to incorporate aesthetic education into general schools; to standardize popular cultural activities in the whole country; to safeguard cultural and historical relics (Ly Khac & Nguyen Hoang Cuc, 1990).

### Analysing Transformation and Reinforcement

In the following section I compare repertoire orders, formal musical structures, musical semantics and interval relationships, and text structures of the named examples in order to identify changes and possible sources of re-information prior to the recent revival.

In the repertoire of *hát xoan* compiled recently by Vietnamese researchers such as Nguyễn Ngọc Ân (2010) and Nguyễn Thụy Loan (2010), the song's name *hát ru* does not appear. Instead, we find the following overview (Table 1) on which the Folklore Association of Phú Thọ agreed:

Section	Songs/Dances
1 Singing to welcome the King	Inviting gods to listen to ritual singing
2 Four opening songs for the ritual	Giáo trống Giáo pháo Thơ nhang Đóng đám
3 Main ritual singing	Fourteen types of <i>quả chách</i>
4 Songs following worship	Bò bộ Hát đúm Xin huê – cài huê Mó cá Closure singing

Repertoire of *hát xoan* according to Nguyễn Ngọc Ân (2010: 154-155).

**Table 1. Repertoire overview of *hát xoan***

In the ritual practice of *hát xoan*, the *hát ru* is performed as “closure singing”. It is at the same time the opening of the unbound entertainment section following the temple ritual that takes place mostly outside the temple area. The *hát ru*, in this case, is part of the “more secular” repertoire. In this context, the first verse of the *hát ru* invites the attending audience verbally to have a glass of strong wine. This verse is followed by further verses that are usually well known from other lullabies of the region.

The repertoire of *ca trù* compiled by Đỗ Bằng Đoàn and Đỗ Trọng Huề (1962), Trần Văn Khê (1982[1969]), Phạm Duy (1972), Nguyễn Xuân Khoát (1987), Ngô Linh Ngọc and Ngô Văn Phú (1987) is far more complex. Here, the song *hát ru* belongs to the entertainment section (III), also called *hát chơi*. However, the *hát ru* is never performed without being embedded into the classical story of *Kinh Tâm* (Nguyễn Du (1995 [1825], Lê Thị Bạch Vân, 2008) applied on the song model *hát giai* from the ritual section (II), also called *hát cửa đình* using the following text:

xưa Kính Tâm lấy chồng Thiện Sĩ tĩa râu chồng mang tiếng bội phu trở về chùa đi cắt đi tu phận là gái oan tình phải trái	Kính Tâm was married to Thiện Sĩ she cut a single long hair while he slept then fled <sup>1</sup> into a temple and shaved her hair though a woman she looked like a man
sách có chữ "tâm bách quả ngại" oan nằng chẳng dám nói làm sao miệng ru con tay gõ mõ đào ngồi tụng niệm ru tình tiếng đọc	In a book is written "tâm bách quả ngại" <sup>2</sup> sadly not daring to say anything calming the child and beating the wooden fish sitting in front of the altar, singing with praying rhythm
trong nhân luân đạo vợ nghĩa chồng dù ai man muội mặc lòng thiên tri	deep in her the wife recalls the husband though no one could doubt her heavenly mind
tay chuông tay mõ ru rì khi thời tụng niệm khi thời ru con	one hand beats the bell – the other the wood praying time is time to sing a lullaby

<sup>1</sup> accused of murdering him

<sup>2</sup> "The soul is bound by its fault"

**Figure 1. Text and translation (by the author) of the Kinh Tâm story**

As shown in Table 2, the *hát ru* is only performed in this part of the repertoire and starts directly with verses illustrating the given situation. In the repertoire of *ca trù*, it is considered to be a borrowed piece from rural folk song traditions. Though the *hát ru* performed during the temple festivals is not classified as being borrowed, its function and position in the repertoire may indicate its supplementary character. Both performance versions were possibly derived from a regionally limited lullaby that is literally informed by the story of *Kinh Tâm* (Figure 1).

All examples follow this regionally limited lullaby type more or less in a strict way, especially its melodic characteristics in a sequence of patterns. Differences are seen in the presentation of musical lines, which can be considered as relatively independent musical thoughts. While the oldest example strings together short phrases in a periodical design (Figure 2), the most recent example seems to summarize some short phrases in one joint musical line (Figure 3).

	Đỗ Bằng Đoàn/ Đỗ Trọng Huề	Trần Văn Khê	Phạm Duy	Nguyễn Xuân Khoát	Ngô Linh Ngọc/ Ngô Văn Phú (still in use)
I	<b>Hát thi:</b> 1 Văn 2 Châu thi (28 bài) 3 Châu cầm (17 bài) 4 Thi lại	<b>hát thi:</b> văn châu thi châu cầm thi lại	<b>trò vui, hát thi</b>		<b>Hát trong cung đình, hát thi</b>
II	<b>Hát Cửa đình</b>  5 6 Giáo trống 7 Giáo hương 8 Dâng hương 9 10 Thét nhạc 11 Hát giai 12 Đọc phú 13 Đọc thơ 14 Gửi thư (15) Đại thạch  15 16 Bô bô 17 Múa bài bông 18 Múa tứ linh 19 20 21 Tấu nhạc	<b>hát thờ:</b>  Giáo trống Giáo hương Dâng hương  Thét nhạc hát giai  đại thạch bô bô Múa bài bông Múa tứ linh	<b>hát tế thần, hát thờ, hát cửa đình, hát giai:</b>  giáo trống giáo hương dâng hương  thét nhạc  <b>điệu múa:</b> múa bô bô múa bài bông múa tứ linh	<b>hát thờ thần:</b>  giáo trống giáo hương dâng hương  thét nhạc hát giai đọc phú đọc thơ gửi thư đại thạch  <b>phần múa:</b> múa bô bô múa bài bông múa tứ linh múa tiên múa chàng	<b>Hát Cửa đình ở nông thôn:</b>  Cửu khúc Giáo trống Giáo hương Dâng hương <u>Đào luôn kẹp voi</u> Thét nhạc Hát giai Đọc phú Đọc thơ Gửi thư  Hát múa Đại thạch Múa Bô bô Múa Bài bông Múa tứ linh  Tấu nhạc
III	<b>hát chơi:</b>  22 23 Bắc phân 24 Mưỡu 25 Hát nói 26 Gửi thư 27 Ngâm vọng 28 Đọc thơ, Thông, 29 Dờn 30 Đọc phú 31 Chữ khi 32 Hát ru 33 Nhịp ba cung bác 34 Tỷ bà  35 36 37 38 39 Hăm III+ Kể chuyện 40 Sám cô đầu 41 À phiến 42 43	<b>hát chơi:</b>  đạo thê bắc phân hát mưỡu hát nói gửi thư ngâm vọng  đọc thư đọc phú chữ khi hát ru cung bác Tỷ bà  hăm kể chuyện sám cô đầu à phiến	<b>Hát khao, hát vọng, cửa quyền, hát chơi, ca nhạc phòng bài hát chính:</b>  thét nhạc mưỡu hát nói gửi thư ngâm vọng  đọc thư  nhịp ba cung bác Tỷ Bà Tương tiến tửu Tiên Hậu Xích Bích Chức Cầm Hối Văn  <b>bài hát phụ:</b> sám à phiến sa mạc bồng mạc	<b>phần thưởng thức thơ ca:</b>  hát mở (bác phân) mưỡu nói  thiên thai  hát ru tỷ bà  <b>hát vật:</b> huê tình 36 giọng	<b>Hát chơi ở ca quán:</b>  Bác phân Mưỡu Hát Nói Gửi thư Ngâm vọng Đọc thơ (Thiên Thai+Thông)  Đọc phú Chữ khi Hát ru Nhịp ba cung bác Tỷ bà hành  Hăm Kể chuyện Sám nhà trò Ba mươi sáu giọng

Table 2. The repertoire of *ca trù* compiled by Đỗ Bằng Đoàn and Đỗ Trọng Huề (1962), Trần Văn Khê (1982[1969]), Phạm Duy (1972), Nguyễn Xuân Khoát (1987) Ngô Linh Ngọc and Ngô Văn Phú (1987)

hời hời tỉnh ru  
ơ mấy ru tỉnh ru

đố ai quét-n sạch-n i... a  
ơ mấy rừng lá rừng  
ơ mấy rằng để ta

để ta khuyên gió i... a  
ơ mấy đừng gió đừng  
gió đừng rung cây

ơ mấy ta ru hời

ru hời ru hời

hời hời ru hời

hời hời tỉnh ru

ơ mấy ru tỉnh ru

Figure 2. Outline of Example A

ru hời ru ơi ru tình ru

đó ai quét sạch i...a đừng là rừng (đé đỏi)

đó tôi khuyên gió i...a đừng gió đừng

gió đừng rung cây ru ta ru hời

ru hời hời hời i...a hời ru hời

ru hời ru ơi ru tình ru

Figure 3. Outline of Example B

As can be seen from the examples above, given the same sequence within the song, the formal musical structure and its transformation becomes apparent.

The reason for the supposed continuity between the phrases is the source of reinformation: *ca trù* recordings.

dàn dây  
(# 22-39 ct higher)

ta ru hời ru hời ru hời

phách

Tempo model

mấy hời hời hời hời là ru mấy ru tình ru

đó ai quét sạch ngã mấy là rừng

Figure 4. Outline of Example C; upper staff: lute; middle staff: vocal part; lower staff: bamboo slab (two hands)

In *ca trù* practice (Figure 4), the vocal lines are interwoven with the part of the lute called *đàn đay* (Jähnichen, 2011, p. 147). Also, the beating of a wooden bamboo slab or *phách* structures the melodic line and recalls the beating of the wooden fish in a temple.

Looking at this transcription in Figure 4, which was to a great part confirmed with later performances in 2007 and 2008, the tendency to summarize short phrases compensating for the absence of the lute as seen in Figure 3 finds an explanation. In the two recordings made in 2010 during the performances in the temple, the first is the rehearsal for the second. In the rehearsal, the drummer tries to indicate a kind of meter and speed to keep the singers together. He wants to structure the musical lines into a regular scheme. However, the praying rhythm of the *ca trù* version in which the beats on the wooden fish separate text lines does not necessarily indicate speed or meter. The special feature of the *hát ru* performance in *ca trù* is to draw the attention of the audience to the mental situation of the performed role by imagination of cradling a baby and praying at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

In the actual performance during the temple festival *hát xoan* at that time, the drummer was advised to avoid marking the main beat. However, he felt committed to support the flow of the singing, until he was stopped by a village elder.

Looking at musical semantics and interval relationships, the examples discussed have been compared in a spectrographic analysis and chronologically listed. In Figure 5, A represents the recording made by Nguyễn Xinh in 1982, B as the *ca trù* model from 1993 onwards, and C is from the actual recordings of *hát xoan* in 2010. From this analysis, it can be seen that there is a tendency to correct intervals according to diatonic scales which have been recently introduced and are now much more common in daily Vietnamese sound environment.<sup>2</sup>

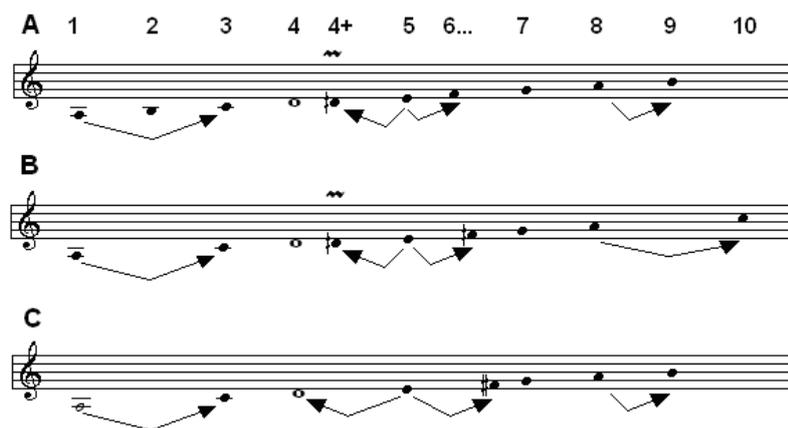


Figure 5. Showing the tendency to correct intervals according to diatonic or aheimitonic pentatonic scales in example B

In the understanding of Vietnamese modal structures, tones represent a frequency space and not a unique single pitch. Also, some tones exist only in fixed combinations with others thus creating additional semantic elements that have a meaning different from their appearance as single independent tone. Numbering each tone according to a quasi-diatonic scale with the main reference tone on “4”, differences in interval relationships can define contextual types.

In example A and B, the use of the tone “4+” hovering in a strong vibrato over the main reference tone in combination with the preceding (see arrow direction) tone “5” marks an important line conclusion of this lullaby type. At the same time, tone “6” is rather a neutral third in relation to the main reference tone than a major third as observed in example C. In example C, the tone “1” seems to work as a parallel reference tone to the main reference tone 4, reminding the singers and the majority of the audience to a “minor key mood oscillating to a major subdominant.” This transformation is partly supported by re-information through listening to *ca trù* recordings in which the lute translates to those unfamiliar with this music practice as playing harmonic foundations. In conjunction with music listening in Vietnam, the actual interpretation of the *hát ru* in the temple festival repertoire *hát xoan* is the result of an externally supported revival.

Similar observations can be made through comparison of text structures. The main lyrics of the lullaby that are referring to the story of *Kinh Tâm* are as follows:

*ta ru hời*  
*mấy tình ru*  
 đó ai quét sạch lá **rừng**  
 để ta khuyen gió, gió **đùng** rung cây  
*ta ru hời*  
*mấy tình ru*  
 tay nâng chén muối đĩa **gừng**,  
 gừng cay, muối mặn xin **đùng** chớ quên  
*ta ru hời*  
*mấy tình ru*  
 đó ai đốt cháy ao **bèo**  
 để ta gánh đá Đông **Triều** về ngâm  
*ta ru hời*  
*mấy tình ru*

Figure 6. Main lyrics of the lullaby that refer to the story of *Kinh Tâm*

Rhymes fall on the end of the six syllable line and the sixth syllable of the eight syllable line, when coming in line pairs. The verses follow the most common verse scheme in Vietnamese folk literature, called *lục bát*. To become a song text, the lyrics have to be transformed. In sung poetry, the six language tones are divided into high, low, and moving pitches regardless of which type. The melodic structure behaves accordingly and allows only certain speech tone combinations to fit into given melodic patterns though not in a very strict way. Similar phenomena are described by Stock (1999) for text in the Beijing discussing concepts of Feld and Fox (1991) and Clayton (1996). To avoid misunderstandings, auxiliary syllables are used to identify speech tones within sung melodies that follow other melodic rules than those of the actually given text. This process of transformation is variously sophisticated in Vietnamese vocal genres (Norton 1996; Jähnichen, 1997, 2008, 2011).

Looking again at the examples A, B, and C, some contextual differences can be observed. The consistence of the tonal verse structure is maintained in all examples. They differ mainly in the use of relativating auxiliary syllables such as *áy*, *ng* or *ơ* *mấy* and *i...a* and in their sequence of text sections.

HÁT XOAN (1982)	CA TRÙ (1993-2008)	HÁT XOAN (2010)	
thái thiên nhan <b>chiêng</b> i..a			moving
ơ mấy đào rượu <b>đào</b>			low
ơ mấy ràng đo <b>đi</b>			high
đó đi tôi <b>tiếc</b> -n i..a			moving
ơ mấy vào uống <b>vào</b>			low
uống vào tôi <b>phai</b>			high
ơ mấy ta ru <b>hời</b>	ta ru <b>hời</b>		low
hời hời, ru <b>hời</b>	ru hời ru <b>hời</b>		moving
mấy hời <b>hời</b>	mấy hời <b>hời</b>		low
hời hời tình <b>ru</b>	hời hời là <b>ru</b>	ru hời <b>ru</b>	high
ơ mấy ru tình <b>ru</b>	mấy ru tình <b>ru</b>	ơ ru tình <b>ru</b>	high
đó ai quét n <b>sạch</b> n i..a	đó ai quét n <b>sạch</b> ng i	đó ai quét <b>sạch</b> i..a	moving
ơ mấy rừng lá <b>rừng</b>	mấy lá <b>rừng</b>	đùng lá <b>rừng</b>	low
ơ mấy ràng để <b>ta</b>	có ràng để <b>ta</b>	(để đôi)	high
để ta khuyển <b>gió</b> i..a	để ta khuyển <b>gió</b> ấy	để tôi khuyển <b>gió</b> i..a	moving
ơ mấy gió <b>đùng</b>	mấy gió <b>đùng</b>	đùng gió <b>đùng</b>	low
gió đùng rung <b>cây</b>	gió đùng rung <b>cây</b>	gió đùng rung <b>cây</b>	high
ơ mấy ta ru <b>hời</b>	ấy ta ru <b>hời</b>	ru ta ru <b>hời</b>	low
hời hời, ru <b>hời</b>	ru hời, ru <b>hời</b> i	ru hời hời <b>hời</b> i..a	moving
mấy hời <b>hời</b>	mấy hời <b>hời</b>	hời ru <b>hời</b>	low
hời hời tình <b>ru</b>	hời hời là <b>ru</b> ,	ru hời <b>ru</b>	high
ơ mấy ru tình <b>ru</b>	ấy ru tình <b>ru</b> ,	ơ ru tình <b>ru</b>	high
tay nâng chén <b>muối</b> i..a	tay nâng chén <b>muối</b> ấy	tay nâng chén <b>muối</b> i..a	moving
ơ mấy gừng đĩa <b>gừng</b>	mấy đĩa <b>gừng</b>	gừng đĩa <b>gừng</b>	low
ơ mấy ràng gừng <b>cay</b> ,	ơ là gừng <b>cay</b> ,	ơ là gừng <b>cay</b> ,	high
gừng cay muối <b>mặn</b> i..a	gừng cay muối <b>mặn</b> ấy,	gừng cay muối <b>mặn</b> i..a	moving
ơ mấy đùng xin <b>đùng</b>	ấy xin <b>đùng</b>	đùng xin <b>đùng</b>	low
xin đùng chớ <b>quên</b>	xin đùng chớ <b>quên</b>	xin đùng quên <b>nhau</b>	high
ơ mấy ta ru <b>hời</b>	ấy ta ru <b>hời</b>	ru ta ru <b>hời</b>	low
hời hời, ru <b>hời</b>	ru hời ru <b>hời</b>	ru hời hời <b>hời</b> i..a	moving
mấy hời <b>hời</b>	mấy hời <b>hời</b>	hời ru <b>hời</b>	low
hời hời tình <b>ru</b>	hời hời là <b>ru</b>	ru hời <b>ru</b>	high
ơ mấy ru tình <b>ru</b>	ấy ru tình <b>ru</b>	ơ ru tình <b>ru</b>	high
	đó ai đốt <b>cháy</b> ng	tay nhin cho <b>chiêng</b> i..a	moving
	ấy ao <b>bèo</b>	đào rượu <b>đào</b>	low
	có ràng để <b>ta</b>	ơ ràng đo <b>đi</b>	high
	để ta gánh <b>đá</b> ấy ng	đó đi tôi <b>tiếc</b> -n i..a	moving
	mấy Đông <b>Triều</b>	vào uống <b>vào</b>	low
	Đông Triều về <b>ngâm</b> .	uống vào tôi <b>phai</b>	high
	ấy ta ru <b>hời</b> ,	ru ta ru <b>hời</b>	low
	ru hời ru <b>hời</b>	ru hời hời <b>hời</b> i..a	moving
	mấy hời <b>hời</b>	hời ru <b>hời</b>	low
	hời hời là <b>ru</b>	ru hời <b>ru</b>	high
	ấy ru tình <b>ru</b> ..	ơ ru tình <b>ru</b> (repeated)	high

Table 3. Text comparisons

While A starts with the invitation to drink, B as part of the *ca trù* repertoire does not. In example C, the invitation to drink follows the lullaby verses in the shape of model B. This last section was repeated in the actual performance until all important guests received a small cup of wine. The postposition of this originally first placed section of the song results from the straightforward replacement of the third verse in the *ca trù* song text. Also, the final drinks may imply that the preceding traditional text section is seen as a kind of compulsory reference, while the verses on drinking may bridge tradition directly with modern and less demanding entertainment. This feature has been recently extended in performances during tourist shows in restaurants and as opening song in karaoke bars.

## Conclusions

The *hát ru* of Phú Thọ has existed for a long time in both the *hát xoan* repertoire, dedicated to the Hung Kings, and in the entertainment section of *ca trù*. Both cultural practices became endangered after the 20<sup>th</sup> century wars<sup>3</sup> and during serious ideological changes between the 1950s and 1980s. While the urban *ca trù* could survive in private exclusivity among scholars and music amateurs

encouraged by the strong interest of Vietnamese intellectuals residing in France and the United States, *hát xoan* became almost obsolete. The reconstruction of *hát xoan*, therefore, had to be done with reference to *ca trù* sources as shown in this case. However, the understanding of the whole development of living and functioning temple festivals and the role of music within this process cannot be traced back without a deeper understanding of the history, literature and life perspectives of the people bearing this culture. A late discovery of national feelings might not be sufficient to explain, why only this temple festival has to be urgently safeguarded, while others are becoming extinct due to being classified as less important.

The case of *hát ru* might point towards the vast amount of work that has to be done in the field of not only gaining deeper knowledge on certain musical aspects but of distributing this knowledge and raising awareness of its importance in cultural decisions.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The lullaby is sung by a mother pretending being a monk who has found an abandoned child (Nguyễn Du (1995 [1825])).

<sup>2</sup> Mass media and passive listening strongly affect traditional vocal music practice while instrumental music – due to tuning systems and playing techniques – is still played in traditional modes (Jähnichen 1997, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Including World War II and both Indochina wars.

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**“GROWING THE TRADITION”: DISCOURSES OF PRESERVATION AMONG  
*KERONCONG* MUSICIANS IN YOGYAKARTA AND SURAKARTA**

For article see published Proceedings

ALEX DEA (USA)  
Independent Scholar

## THE FIVE-MINUTE *BEDOYO* AND THE SACRED *WAYANG KULIT* CABARET: LOCAL CULTURAL CIRCUITS AND EXPRESSIVE CULTURE IN JAVA

### In the Beginning...

It was a dark and stormy night...the rain dripped through the makeshift tarp. I had to sit carefully between the leaks, and I had to cautiously position on the planks of the temporary stage barely supported above the muddy ground beneath. But I was happy.

On the white screen was splendidly arrayed to the left and right, golden reflections of the great heroes of the *Mahabharata* and also the darker red-faced ogres who dared to violate this evening's storytelling. Behind the shaman, a shadow master – the great then-young Anom Soeroto – were the best musicians in the land. To my right was my singer master. Not far was the most mellifluous voice's somber melodies of the magical *pesindhèn*<sup>1</sup>, Ibu Tukinem.

The *gamelan*'s<sup>2</sup> prologue carried its symphony from birth – composition Cucurbawuk – through youth to wise adulthood until the composition Sukmailang beckoned the *moksa*<sup>3</sup> from human to spirit world as the tempo gathered from *Ayak-Ayakan* to *Srepegan*, to the rumbling *Sampak* signifying the heart beating faster and louder, straining to live forever until gratefully succumbing to the Other Side.

That was in 1977 in Solo, Central Java. Around the same time, I was gifted an invitation to enter the forbidding palace to witness the king Pakubuwana 12<sup>th</sup>'s commemoration coronation's sacred ritual-dance *Bedhaya Ketawang*. This important heirloom of the dynasty runs about one and half an hour nonstop. Nine virgin women dance to represent Ratu Kidhul, the feared and respected Queen of the South, in her conjugal meeting with the king progenitor of the dynasty, Sultan Agung, starting from the mists of ancient history to the present. This piece is the foundation of one repertoire of classical royal dances of both main palaces in Surakarta and Jogjakarta. Guests present at the commemoration sit so-seriously.

### The Times are A'changin'

Fast-forward to 1999 Jogjakarta. Rama Sas, one of the best dance masters and teachers, had already passed away three years before. There is (at least within the last generation of his direct students) a crisis whether classical dance could continue and in what shape the future would take. Up to this point, the five important dance studios (which were all royal-linked: Siswa Among Beksan, Krida Beksa Wirama, Pujokusumo, Surya Kencana, and Citra Rasa), each with their masters and experts, had taken the responsibility to bring dance out of the palace sanctum with the mission to teach the secrets of the classical body and soul to the public.

Although there were still some masters such as Ibu Yudanegoro and Bapak Nartomo, the middle generation (Suharti, Suharto, Sutiya and others) as expert as they were, did not have the infrastructure, or perhaps not the family politics, to carry on in the same way. Meanwhile, the younger generation (Bambang, Sunardi, Hartanto, Heni, Inul, Istu) were just beginning to grow families and careers (many as teachers in the government art institutions). And the youngest dancers were wondering how to find a future in the arts; paying jobs were not easy to obtain, and the good jobs were still filled by people with many working years remaining. Lacking other opportunities or while waiting for something to turn up, many dancers made pin-money performing at weddings, tourist shows such as the full-moon *Prambanan*, or the hotel dinner shows. The situation is in flex...

And what about shadow play? By 2012, there have been great changes. Actually as early as the 1970s, at least one *dhalang*<sup>4</sup> already had used colored lights, albeit simple and elementary (in those days electricity and technology was not always readily available) such as red light for anger or blinking strobe lights for battles. Kasman in Jogja had begun his long and inventive creations combining shadow puppets with dancers. There have many other experiments such as *Wayang Padhat* (a highly abbreviated performance), *Wayang Buddha* and performances with three screens, each with their own *dhalang*.

It may have happened earlier, but when I resumed my research in Java in 1992, some surprising developments included jazz drum sets, keyboards, and trumpets.<sup>5</sup> Another development: while in the 70s there was only a single woman singer (*pesindhèn*) who sang the entire night accompanied by the gamelan, now the number of *pesindhèn* grew quickly, starting with the competition between Anom Soeroto and Manteb Soedarsono with four, then five, seven, and finally uncountable.<sup>6</sup> Now, it is possible to have more singers than space on the performance platform.

Even when there had been only one, the traditional *pesindhèn* was considered a sexual icon.<sup>7</sup> Now, the many *pesindhèn* became highlighted as a beauty show.<sup>8</sup> With more singers, this outer physical connection overrules the function of the singer – to sing! As the decade progressed, so did *wayang*. Along with pretty singers, dancers standing on the stage replacing the flat leather shadow puppet characters joined the party. There are also comedians – real human ones. Famous comedians like Kirun could sing and carry on for an hour or more. The apogee of this, for me, was the opening scene led by some Teletubbies – I remember soft blue, maybe a pink one.

This cabaret developed immensely.

### “Ruin”

However, these visual attractions are not the only changes. There are also changes hidden in the structure of the classical *wayang kulit* where the *dhalangs* either don’t want to serve, or remember, the ancestors’ unwritten and written rules of performance. Pak Cokro<sup>9</sup> until his end of days tried to teach the 12 *gendhing*<sup>10</sup> of *wayang*.

For the fifteen years when I lived and studied closely with him until his passing away in 2007, he often bemoaned that the 12 *gendhing* had been forgotten. Which 12? And why 12? This will be for another discussion. But here, in the desire of making the *wayang* “more interesting”, many new compositions were borrowed into the *wayang*. The *pelog*<sup>11</sup> scale was introduced here. The order of compositions became more freethinking.

We can note that the loss of 12 meant that the structure (*pathokan*) for *wayang* was weakened. Each composition has a place in the timeline of the eight hours shadow play, beginning with the opening scene which almost always is in the kingdom of the central story’s setting. Composition *Kabor* would be for one kingdom, *Karawitan* for another, and *Kawit* for heaven with the gods. During this scene, a long and sedate sing-speak by the *dhalang* describes where the story is set, but also sets the mind and mood of the audience. This mind-mood becomes the sphere of counterpoints which work ethereally in parallel with the physical visual and textual elements. Later, there would be less philosophy in the scene of the queen’s private rooms, touching on a bit of light dancing (usually *Asmorodono*) and casual banter between the servant and her boyfriend-less daughter. After that, the narrative returns to the mainline story, with serious talk about the problem at hand followed by martial and loud gamelan music marching the army to face the enemy.

Around midnight, the music’s tonal center transits to *pathet sanga*.<sup>12</sup> Here, the hero converses with his trusted comrades, the audience-loved *punakawan* clowns. This scene is longer than the previous rather carefree one in the queen’s rooms. This scene includes more joking, carrying on, and singing of light comedic songs. It is a break in the mind-mood, an intermezzo.

Of the many changes in *wayang*, it is difficult to say which has had the most effect. But certainly, music’s choice and its time length and position is an important element which frames the scenes physically, and the sub-text psychologically. To rearrange the music, or to select compositions not appropriate to the mood – and therefore modality – rearranges the psychological consequence of the storytelling and therefore the aesthetic.

### Changes in Dance, Too

Time and timing are also important elements of the *bedhaya*<sup>13</sup> repertoire. The change of tempo, at least in Solo, was noticed in the mid-90s when some recordings of the palace rehearsals from the early 60s were rediscovered.<sup>14</sup> In any case, both palaces have, over time, shortened the length of performances to the “abbreviated” one and half hour of the sacred ones. The other “regular” pieces are at least more than 30-45 minutes but some have been shortened to around 20 minutes.

To my shock, in the mid-90s, I heard that for the state visit of President Clinton to Jakarta, a five-minute *bedhaya* was to be presented. How to do that? The prologue to enter the dancers to the main floor could take more than five minutes alone. It turned out that I had been mis-informed, and now in 2012, no one remembers this event exactly. However, several senior dancers know that the lighter but still classical *Ayun-Ayun* dance had been shortened to 7 minutes at the Istana Presiden, Indonesia's president's palace – its “White House”.

The president's palace has its special group who dances for foreign dignitaries. They often present as broad a range of Indonesia's varied ethnic groups in the shortest time possible. Five minutes per dance seems to be the target. Once, Rama Sas had been especially asked to present there – this is an honor to Rama Sas as well as it was the president's palace proudly showing off authenticity. After he had worked out that a regular 10-minute *Ayun-Ayun* could be cut to 7 minutes – and perhaps even to 5 minutes – and still retain its structure and aesthetic integrity, the stage director asked it be reduced further to 3 minutes. Caught in a dilemma between invitation/command from the president and correctness of the aesthetic, Rama Sas said that he could not agree nor accept such a shortened *Ayun-Ayun* as his work. He said “Silahkan... silahkan”, meaning, do as you wish – with his hands up.

### “Loss”

It seems that in every culture, in any era, there is change. It may be that change cannot be stopped, controlled, or even understood.<sup>15</sup> There are too many factors, too many people, too many cross-currents. It is even questionable whether change can be framed in turns of positive-negative, or progress-loss.

Regardless of any qualitative judgments, there are some resonances which are notable. For example, in *wayang*, a jazz drumset is set on the same level of the ground as the *dhalang* and musicians. However, the jazz drummer is sitting on a chair, putting himself physically and socially higher than all of the others. While this drummer may not consider himself above the others – nor would the others think so – the ingrained body politics are unavoidable. This change of body language opens the way for other breakdowns.

Another example is while a keyboard (in the form of electronic synthesizer) could be re-tuned to fit the *gamelan*'s micro-tuning differences, as far as I know, it never is. Same with the trumpets; although the players could “lip” their tuning to match the *gamelan*, I have never heard it in tune. This change of musical modality – which besides being out of tune – is a disagreement of the “outer” with the “native” sound-space. This modality may open ways to other nefarious adventures in the music (*dangdut*, pop song, *pesindhèn* standing up, dancing, and also cabaret).

How about the *bedhaya*? Although not as starkly obvious as in *wayang*, the changes of *bedhaya* albeit invisible to most audience, also have important losses. So far, with a few exceptions,<sup>16</sup> there have been no significant changes in movement vocabulary (for instance no jumping, no sudden changes of movements, or any hint of contemporary-global-western dancing). The music remains the same style (there are no “outside Other” instruments or musical styles inserted or replacing<sup>17</sup>), the floor plans do not exhibit extreme choreographic ideas, and the tempo of the choreography remains slow and steady.

Still, expert dancers note that the shortening of time-length presents several problems. One is not just the cutting of repetitions of dance, but the cutting of the sung text; this may make nonsense of the textual story. Another subtler problem is that the overall build up of the combined music, dance, and text may not adequately set up the important *ketawang* section. The *ketawang*, in the later part of the timeline, is where the “story” manifests. To a normal audience, it all seems fine: beautiful women, flowing, angelic, and spiritually powerful. However, several dancers mentioned that in some of the short versions, although 20 minutes may be long enough for a lay audience, there is not sufficient time for the performer to “*masuk*”, to enter the ethos of mind, body, spirit, and movement – in short, in the Javanese ethos of *batin* and *lahir*.<sup>18</sup> The performer does not enter the *batin* aspect.

Sunardi, the principal of the SMKI high school of arts in Jogja (and a well-respected drummer, dancer, singer, and director), agrees with Rama Sas that what is lost, is “*kalangenan*”. The performers are not able to be “*santai*”. *Kalangenan* is a difficult-to-describe concept deep in the Javanese ethos but is well-known and well-enjoyed by audiences. It is easiest to say it is pleasure. Meanwhile *santai* means to take time, be relaxed, and enjoy. *Kalangenan* and *santai* will entertain the audience giving

enjoyment. The point is that Sunardi thinks something is missing. He said an easier way to understand this is to say there is a loss of “*kajiwaan*”, soul.

## Shift

What has caused a shift of aesthetic concerns and audience priorities so that *kalangenan* and *kajiwaan* are lost? The most understandable is, simply, market forces. For *wayang*, more “*inovatif*”,<sup>19</sup> means new things which catch the audience’s attention. The audiences are bored with the slower, static visual aspects; they have no time to follow the long discussion or disputations which lead to a nugget of wisdom or hidden understanding of philosophy. They can have all of these in what some performers call “media” – meaning television and DVD. In the *sinetron* (“soap” operas) there are lots of arguments and unresolved battles between the families of young couples’ unrequited love; there is plenty of jealousy, intrigue, fighting, and angst. In other television programs, there is plenty of clowning. There are plenty of pretty sexy women ranging from the gyrating-while-singing to relatively sedate *pesindhèn* still in coquettish traditional lace-almost-see-through blouse (*kebaya*) and *sanggul* hair makeup while singing with gamelan combo with keyboards. For *wayang*, which is not inexpensive with the fees of the *dhalang* and the thirty-plus musicians and singers, something must be special for the sponsor to pay up to (or more!) 10 million rupiah (about 3,000 US dollars) for the star performers. Economics “force-compel” *dhalangs* to find ways to attract buyers who either do not understand, or care about, the refinements of *wayang*. Often the rich sponsors do not have time to contact and contract the performers. This is left to the assistant who is usually from a lower education level, whose tastes are more proletarian – even *kampung*<sup>20</sup> – but who wants to ensure that boss is not *malu* (embarrassed); forbid the sponsor would be embarrassed by bored guests.

These market energies result in “the flashier, the better” aesthetics – what some Javanese traditionalists call *entertainmen* (spelled without the final letter “t”). Fortunately, not all *dhalangs* will submit to these new requirements. Once, Ki Hadi Sugito (one of the highly revered *dhalangs*)<sup>21</sup> came to his performance to find there besides his platform, not one, but several stages on which was a band, and some *pelawak* (comedians or clowns). He was asked to “communicate” with them. He told the sponsors that he could not work like that, returned the fee money, and went home. But increasingly, more – even the most famous – *dhalangs* have succumbed to being emcee to the on-goings of the dancing girls and raucous clowns. The *dhalang* takes a long smoke-break while mayhem rules.

What we see now may just be an evolution. In the 1990s and before, some *dhalangs* would weave jokes of the clown puppets (*punakawan*) to give attention to the *pesindhèn*, saying: how one was so pretty; how one could sing very well; another was so sexually active. The puppet and *pesindhèn* would have some non-musical repartee too – laughter, sometimes ribald – with the audience.<sup>22</sup> At that time too, the *dhalang* would weave the dialogue or jokes to give mention to the sponsor. This would certainly produce polite laughter from the guests. Being singled out was a show of respect which developed into a longer dialogue with the sponsor. Even once, the sponsor sang along with the gamelan. This breaking of the theater space’s “fourth wall” blurred the boundary between the performance and the audience. Now the audience wants to be part of the show. While, previously, the audience sat politely while the narrative and philosophies were developed before enjoying the jokes (and even commenting on them), now the audience is restless to start immediately with fast action, lots of jokes, sexy dancing, and lots of coquettish singing.

Some of my Javanese artist friends dismiss all such non-traditional interventions as “*entertainmen*” (spelled in Indonesian without the “t”). Although here *entertainmen* is a pejorative, entertainment (with a “t”) is desirable. Even in the old days when *kalangenan* and *santai* were present, the aspect of entertainment balances the wise advice, and rules of *wayang* structure. In the old *wayang*, entertainment was certainly part of the structure with the scene at the queen’s inner rooms’ and later, with the *Goro-Goro*.<sup>23</sup> Even *bedhaya* dance, according to Bagong Kussudiardjo, the noted late choreographer, is an entertainment. When the nine dancers stately and sedately immerse increasingly to the second or third nonstop hour, the privileged elite sitting with the sultan are provided drink and food. The guests are not expected to sit in meditation for the duration. Although they would not be raucous, they could be conversing with each other. Not all *bedhaya* are sacred rituals just like not all *wayang* stories require *sajèn*<sup>24</sup> and meditation before the beginning.

Sunardi (and others) say that *wayang* should have a balance of “*tontonan, tuntunan, and tatanan*”. There should be a balance of (1) the visual enjoyment, (2) the advice or cultural wisdom

imparting, and (3) the rules of performance. Currently, there is too much emphasis on *tontonan*, the visual aspect. Audiences want more visuality in *wayang*. And, ironically for *bedhaya*, they want less (because the dance is so static).

### Good or Bad?

It is difficult to know if the current changes to *bedhaya* and *wayang* are good or bad. Most of the artists whom I know consider them to be bad: they are a ruin; there are definite loss of quality. But are these changes cause or symptom? One of Jogja's best male dancers<sup>25</sup> and someone who has danced inside and outside the elite and common people's circle says that it is due to "*budaya*".<sup>26</sup> The times and market forces change how people live. In modernizing Java, everyone lacks time. Even the sultan – the boss – might be bored with the longer classical dances. Or he might fear that his guests will be bored. When the *Bedhaya Semang*, the paramount sacred ritual dance in Jogja reconstructed with great diligence and reverence, was first shown to close friends and guests, the dance was nonstop for almost four and a half hours. Certainly, this feat was something unique and something to be proud of. However, the sultan advised that the piece be shortened by more than half. Finally officially, for his anniversary coronation in 2002, it was one and half hours.

In pedestrian terms, the special treats of dances for weddings (which may even include a *bedhaya* or its close form, the *serimpi*) which used to be enjoyed by the guests sitting in rows of chairs as each item of the feast was served – starting with snack and tea, then soup, rice and main course, ending with *es krim*<sup>27</sup> – are now restructured physically. No more chairs, no service. In the modern buffet "*pranasman*" (or also called "standing party", starting in cosmopolitan Jakarta and gradually infecting the provinces) guests dutifully queue to greet the wedding couple, then rush to the food stands before all the goodies are eaten up by others. The few chairs available are grabbed up. The guests must stand as casually as possible while other guests rush to their next food selection.

In midst of this crowd, the dancers' space is not only limited, but transgressed by the criss-cross of guests searching for food. Once, a dancer was so upset that he abruptly ended his dance and exited. His partner, confused, followed out. No audience noticed.

In these fast-food performances, there will be no *kalangenan* and no *santai*. Although the performers know that the venue is not optimal, and they may understand that the venue is not an art performance, these unhappy circumstances resonate. The dancers lose their pride, and just want to get the dance over as soon as possible. This attitude begins to affect dance situations outside the "market" ones. For instance, even for "serious" events, it is very difficult to gather the complete complement of performers; sometimes only at the very last rehearsal, everyone is present. Previously where there might be ten rehearsals, it is fortunate now to have two or three. So, for market dances like weddings, it is easier to "freeze-package" choreographies. The downside is that younger dancers no longer know how to adjust to changes in the music, and also lose skills in the use of flowery language in some dances.

### Anxiety - *Prihatin*

This diminution of time and space, and the crescendo for more direct audience contact and visuality now causes much "*prihatin*" (concern, anxiety) by some artists of the cabaretization of the mystical shadow play and the "fast-fooding" of dance.

As the culture has changed from a feudal-royal-versus-commoner to democracy-everyone-should-be-equal, and as time-pressure has squeezed away *santai*, they wonder if *wayang* and dance could go back to old values if not to old structures.

There is still value for *wayang* and dance as evidenced by sponsors paying for entertainment (with a "t") for important events and rites of passage such as weddings and *supitan* (circumcision). These arts have not been totally forsaken; just changed. The audience tastes have changed.

Who is the audience which crescendos the market forces? What is *entertainmen* (without "t") versus philosophy? What are the criteria of aesthetics? Is there a difference between the entertainment of *kalangenan* versus popular tastes? Is it possible to know the difference? And if one could choose and make a change back to traditional "good" stuff, how would we know if it is done?

According to Saptono (leader of the Solo palace *gamelan*), a connoisseur might know the difference between a 30-minute versus 1-hour, or even a four-hour *bedhaya*, but even a short one of 20

or less minutes could still have the essence of *bedhaya*. One artist sardonically noted that only foreigners are interested in the “original” and “authentic” long versions. This is a reverse of what one might think: that foreigner tourists want flashy easy-to-consume art products and are rushed to get to the next beautiful locale. That is not to say that there are no such presentations in the dinner-hotels and tourist venues. But the artists are conscious of the difference between dancing for tourist products and the “real” stuff. Even though “forced” to create a 7-minute dance, the artists are still interested in – and will create – longer, complete presentations.

If the foreign audiences are “outside” tourists whether casual (travelers for a few days) or researcher-student (ethnographers), then the local audiences are “inside” tourists who can be in two groups: local-casual and local-knowledgeable. Each of these four categories have different targets and have different influences on the classical performing artists.

The inside tourists are still interested in *wayang* and classical dance. *Bedhaya* are continually reconstructed from the palace archives. Audiences still may seek *ilmu* (knowledge, especially mystical knowledge) albeit perhaps not in the same degree of frequency as before. *Ilmu* is important, but so is entertainment. Both are needed. The 3-T of *tontonan*, *tuntunan*, and *tatanan* should not be ruined in favor of only *tontonan* (visuality). Although it may seem that the crisis in *wayang* is more than in dance, the resonances of changing times are the same.

In this dire situation amidst the complex circuits between classical versus popularization and cabaretizing, market forces versus aesthetics, modernity and time pressure, or the 3 Ts and entertainment, Saptono notes that the arts are in transition, saying that things are not as negative as might be thought.

He says that performers do know the limits, and if they wanted, they could head back towards more “traditional” performance and performativity. As an example, he notes one of the most extreme innovative young *dhalangs*, the famous (and popular) “Enthus Édan”. (The meaning of his nickname “*édan*” means “crazy”, “wild”, or “mad”.) Despite his provocative performance with coif topped up with wild long hair, he is quite talented. He speaks several languages, can present Arabic songs, and he can and does perform with the leather puppets but also mixes with the three-dimensional *golek*<sup>28</sup> puppets. His talent, creativity, and intelligence gives Saptono hope that in the future, with him or someone like him, *wayang* will develop into a new form which retains or returns to old values. The 3 Ts will be met. Advice and wisdom will balance again with visuality.

### Ending (for now)

Given the multiplicities of networks, changes, and resonances between outside and inside tourists (audience), it seems a good idea (and probably there’s nothing which can be done) to follow Saptono’s lead that contained in Javanese culture and aesthetics, there is a way to find the balance. It is well to remember that the introduction in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century of European instruments in the repertoire of the sacred Jogjanes *bedhaya*’s entrance and exit music<sup>29</sup> could be seen as a type of entertainment – as something unusual, novel, and something *sensasi* (sensational). This European instrumentation is now long assimilated as one identity of classical dance.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Female vocalist.

<sup>2</sup> *Gamelan* is the traditional orchestra of primarily bronze instruments; found often in Java, Bali, and Malaysia.

<sup>3</sup> Release spiritually.

<sup>4</sup> Shadow puppet master performer.

<sup>5</sup> It is noted that European music had already been introduced into the sacred *bedhaya* repertoire of the Jogja palace in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>6</sup> This was preceded by Nartosabdho in the 70s when he had two or three, but he was the only to do this.

<sup>7</sup> See Walton (1996).

<sup>8</sup> The beginning of emphasis on visuality may have begun back in the 70s (or even earlier) where possibly because of practical reasons (lack of space) that the shadow screen was placed against the wall during regular RRI (national radio station) performances. The audience was presented not the shadows, but the *dhalang* and musicians’ side – the backstage! The audience began to prefer this side. They enjoyed seeing the inner workings of the skill and dexterity of the *dhalang*, of the actions of the players. Originally, the *pesindhèn* faced the screen as did the *dhalang* and all musicians. It was not until a bit later that the *pesindhèn* faced the audience so that the

audience could have better look at her. Another contributing factor may be the replacement of the oil lamp by an electric light (more modern, practical, brighter!). From a distance, the standing audience could better see. The shadow becomes clearly outlined, the details of intricate carving of the puppets is beautiful. But, it is dead. It is difficult to watch a statue for long. Without the quivering, ephemeral, ambiguous, difficult to see, half-unfocused sight, the mind-mood which entrances mystical is gone.

<sup>9</sup> The last remaining of gamelan masters from the Golden Age of the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>10</sup> Generally, *gendhing* means a gamelan musical composition.

<sup>11</sup> One of the two scales of the Central Java gamelan. The other is *slendro*.

<sup>12</sup> *Pathet* is a musical term which means mode of a scale. *Sanga* is one of the three modes of the *slendro* scale.

<sup>13</sup> Sacred ritual dance repertoire of the Surakarta and Yogyakarta palaces. (Please note that *bedhaya* is sometimes spelled *bedoyo* or *bedhoyo*).

<sup>14</sup> Actually not discovered, but returned to the palace circles.

<sup>15</sup> Refer to Clifford (1997) or Boon (1991).

<sup>16</sup> *Bedhaya Prèk*, which was a throw-away in-your-face young male dancers, done partly as a joke, in the Jogja during the late 1990s to early 2000s. The dancers cannot remember exactly which year!

<sup>17</sup> With the exception of the entrance and exit music in the Jogja palace. There, western instruments often accompany the *gamelan*.

<sup>18</sup> *Batin* means the inner self while *lahir* means the outer physical self.

<sup>19</sup> *Inovatif* is the Indonesian language acceptance and modification of the English “innovation”.

<sup>20</sup> *Kampung* means the neighborhood or small village-like neighborhood within a city. *Kampung* is a pejorative for someone who is backwards.

<sup>21</sup> Ki Hadi Sugito was from Kulonprogo in Jogja area, passed away in 2008 at around age 70.

<sup>22</sup> Refer Susan Walton (1996) about a washing girl who has lost her wash at the river.

<sup>23</sup> *Goro-Goro* is one of the scenes in a Javanese shadow play, taking place in around midnight. The hero is entertained with jokes and songs.

<sup>24</sup> A ritual offering.

<sup>25</sup> Lantip Kuswala Daya.

<sup>26</sup> Culture, and here meaning both normative and expressive culture.

<sup>27</sup> Ice cream. In recent times, refrigerators were not common in all homes. Ice cream was a special treat.

<sup>28</sup> *Golek* is a type of three-dimensional puppet, more common in West Javanese.

<sup>29</sup> Known as *Mares* or Mars.

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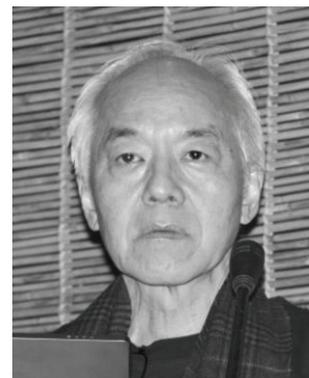
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## Interviews

- Bu Suharti Theresia: senior Yogyakarta Palace dancer and teacher at ISI university of arts; primary motor of reconstruction of the sacred Semang
- Bu Tiyah Sasmintamardawa: senior Yogyakarta Palace dancer; head of the late Rama Sasminta’s school
- Heni Winahyaningrat: head of dance department at ISI Yogyakarta, university of arts Lantip Kuswala Daya: Jogjanese male dancer; student of Rama Sas
- Saptono: gamelan leader of the Surakarta Palace; teacher at karawitan (gamelan music) department ISI Yogyakarta, the university of arts.
- Sunardi: leading Jogjanese dance drummer; head of SMKI, the high school of the arts in Yogyakarta, Indonesia



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**KLANG MUSIC FESTIVAL: MUSICAL EXPRESSION OF MALAYSIAN CHINESE-NESS?**

For article see published Proceedings

**JULIA CHIENG (Malaysia)**  
Universiti Putra Malaysia

### **MUSICAL ADOPTION: GURKHA MUSIC IN THE LEBU' KULIT LONGHOUSES OF SUNGAI ASAP, SARAWAK**

Musical borrowing and appropriation can be widely seen in mass-mediated popular music, incorporating western music harmony in Bollywood film music, and representation of the others in World Music and Hollywood film music. In a village on Borneo Island – the Lebu' Kulit in Sungai Asap, Sarawak – another kind of appropriation is found: since sixty years ago, there is adoption of Gurkha music practices in musical life of this village.

The Lebu' Kulit people in Sarawak, Malaysia refer to themselves as belonging to one of the different subgroups of the Kenyah community. In the past, they migrated from Usun Apau and settled in a few places on Borneo Island (see Figure 1). The community is now separated and dispersed in different locations in Sarawak, Malaysia and East Kalimantan, Indonesia. At present, there is only one Lebu' Kulit village in Sarawak. Since 1999, they have been resettled in Sungai Asap in the Belaga District of the Kapit Division by the government due to the construction of the Bakun hydroelectric dam. In the report *Deklarasi Penduduk Sg. Asap* (Declaration of Sungai Asap Population), there were 209 apartments (*bilik*) and 1274 people that had shifted from their previous village, Long Jawe', to Sungai Asap on 5<sup>th</sup> April 1999 (Wing Miku et. al, 2003). There is still a small Lebu' Kulit community living in Long Jawe' as well as in Long Mitik, Belaga.

The generations of the Lebu' Kulit in Sungai Asap have experienced a variety of social and political situations and events that influenced and impacted them greatly, such as headhunting practice (until the 1920s), migration, pre-1940s Dutch governance, Christian missionaries, the Japanese occupation (1941–1945), the presence of Gurkha military personnel, the formation of Malaysia (1963), the Indonesia-Malaysia Confrontation (1962–1966) and Malaysian national governance (from the year 1963 onwards) (see Figure 2). Their beliefs changed from *adet pu'un*, *adet lali*, and *adet Bungan* to Christianity. Formerly the Lebu' Kulit stayed in the interiors of Borneo, but are now in close proximity to townships. Moreover, they are experiencing a change to cash economy and permanent salaried jobs based on daily routine rather than seasonal variety in *padi* (rice) plantation. In addition, today they are more exposed to consumerism, formal national education, and have more contact with outsiders of very different cultures.

Subsequently, historical, colonial, postcolonial and missionary factors, as well as local knowledge have all affected the musical behaviour and content in the Lebu' Kulit's musical life. The traditional musical instruments used today by the Lebu' Kulit in Sungai Asap include the *udang kadung* (xylophone), *sampé' daru'* (zither), *sampé' bup* (lute), *sampé' ja'au* (lute), *selingut* (transverse flute), *kediré' alo'* (mouth organ), and *wing* or *iceh* (vessel rattle) (Chieng, 2012). These instruments are played mostly in heterogeneous ensembles to accompany dance, songs or as instrumental music entertainment. One of the significant elements in Lebu' Kulit traditional musical instrument playing is the use of music vocabularies related to Western music, which includes: 1) tuning of instruments similar to western diatonic major scale; 2) use of intervallic tones in layering of melodic lines imitating the western harmony; 3) use of cadences as well as chord progressions of tonic, subdominant and dominant; and 4) presence of lead, rhythm and bass musical functions. On the performing style, usually a tune is repetitive with variations, and within a particular form, there are changes in rhythmic structures and tonal registers as well as the addition of different melodic embellishments and dynamic accents.

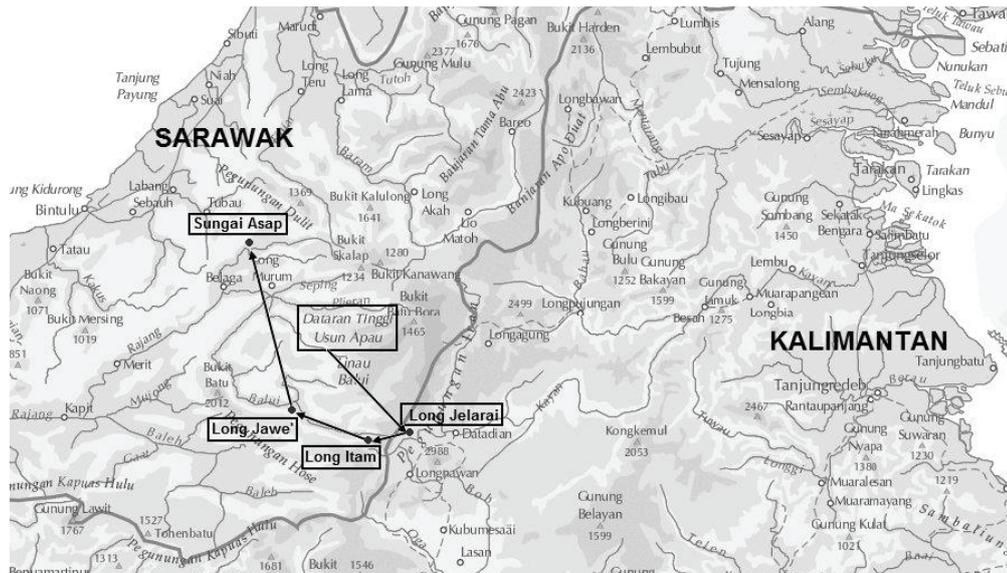


Plate 1. The migration route of the Lebu' Kulit of Sungai Asap: from Usun Apau, Long Jelarai, Long Jawe', Long Itam/Long Itak to Sungai Asap (locations marked on the map are approximate). (Photo adapted from Collins Maps, 2010)

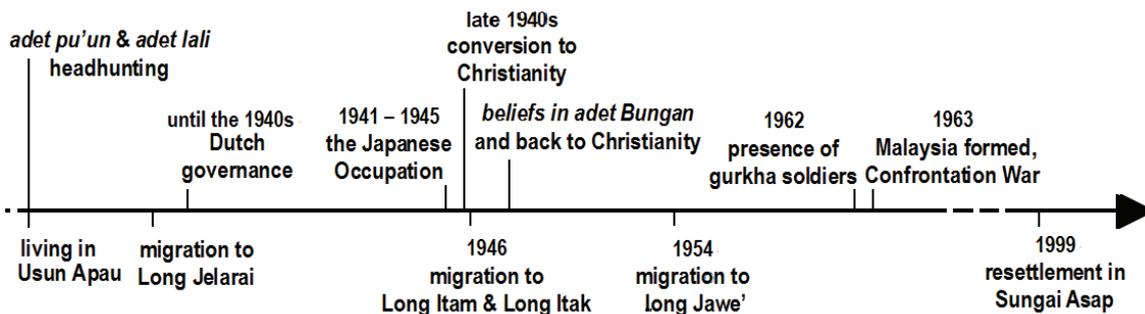


Plate 2. Timeline of some of the events experienced by the Lebu' Kulit in Sungai Asap.

One of the historical influences on the present musical life of the Lebu' Kulit is related to music from a distance: the Gurkha songs. In Long Jawe', the Lebu' Kulit experienced the formation of the country Malaysia on the 16<sup>th</sup> of September 1963. Gurkha soldiers from Nepal were sent to Long Jawe' to guard the safety of the people in the village. Generally, Gurkha soldiers are known as a martial group renowned for their bravery: "The term 'Gurkha' . . . derives from the place name of Gorkha, which was a small principality to the west of Kathmandu, whose king, around 1765, sent an army against the Newar rulers of the Valley of Kathmandu, and, after his victory, made it the capital of his newly constituted kingdom" (Caplan, 1991, p. 571). From around the year 1962, there were a few hundred, and sometimes more than a thousand Gurkha soldiers (*Pasukan Persemakmuran Malaysia*) staying in the village to protect the Sarawak state on the establishment of the Malaysian Federation (*gagasan Persekutuan Malaysia*). Some Lebu' Kulit people also joined the force as Border Scouts (*Anggota Pengakap Sempadan*) to protect their longhouses. On 24<sup>th</sup> September 1963, there was a meeting between the *ketua kampung* (village chief), the villagers, the Gurkha soldiers and the Border Scouts in which they decided to have a *gotong-royong* (mutual community work) on 28<sup>th</sup> September to build a house for the Gurkha soldiers. Unexpectedly, on the day before the *gotong-royong*, the Communist Party of Indonesia (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* [PKI]) who was against the formation of Malaysia attacked Long Jawe'. This was known as the Confrontation War (*Perang Konfrontasi*). Some villagers and many soldiers were killed. After the Confrontation War, the Gurkha soldiers continued to guard the village until the year 1967 (Alan Uda, 1980s).

During the approximate 6-year stay of the Gurkhas in Long Jawe', some of the nights in the Lebu' Kulit longhouses were filled with the singing and dancing of the soldiers. The Lebu' Kulit villagers also participated in their music making with much enjoyment. Those few short years of exposure to Gurkha music have remained in the memory of some of the older generation of the Lebu'

Kulit. Lie Garing, a grandmother currently staying in Sungai Asap, still remembers these songs. They remind her of her youth, and her mother also used to ask her to sing the songs to recall those good times of the past. Sometimes, a few of the Gurkha tunes are played leisurely on solo musical instruments or in small ensembles by the Lebu' Kulit musicians. In addition, two of the tunes have also been adapted into devotional Christian songs by substituting lyrics with religious texts in the Lebu' Kulit language.

After investigating some of the songs, which are generally known as “Gurkha songs” among the Lebu' Kulit, they were found to be Hindi film songs from the 1950s, Nepali folk tunes, or *Bhajan* (Indian devotional music). Most of the songs are pentatonic-based or of *Raga Pahadi*. Interestingly, one of the songs is found to be *Aadha Hai Chandrama* (*aadha*: half; *chandrama*: moon [Krämer, 2007, p. 2, 34]) from the Hindi film *Navrang* of the year 1959. In line with that, Moislala (2000, p. 696) stated that North Indian light classical music and Hindi film songs have entered the Nepalese song repertoire from the 1950s, and that “during the *pancāyat* ‘local council’ era from the early 1950s to 1990, music-related institutions such as Radio Nepal [established in 1951], stage programs, and the recording and film industries promoted ‘modern music’, which was to be shared by all ethnic groups as part of national unification.”

Another example of a Gurkha song adapted by the Lebu' Kulit community is called *Hei Kancha* (Hi, Young Boy). This song is usually sung in metrical form. However, in a performance by a Lebu' Kulit musician, the tune is expressed in free metric style with addition of various melodic embellishments. As the flute that is being used approximates a western diatonic major tuning, the flute melody is played with additional insertion of pitches that the instrument is capable of producing (see Figure 1). *Hei Kancha* is also being adapted into a Christian devotional song entitled *Teleu Se-Kedema* (We Unite to Bring Light) with lyrics in the Lebu' Kulit language.



Figure 1. Music transcription of *Hei Kancha* performed by Nuh Alung on the *selingut* (transverse flute). (Chieng, 2012, p. 193)

## Observations

Years of interaction with the Gurkhas in the 1960s have added new repertoires and different musical outcomes to the Lebu' Kulit in Sungai Asap. The Gurkha music can be considered as “the other” music to the Lebu' Kulit. Music making with the Gurkha soldiers was a “passing through” experience rather than a tradition to the Lebu' Kulit, as it was only performed in those few years during the presence of the soldiers in the Lebu' Kulit village. However, as there was relatively limited entertainment than compared to what is found today in Sungai Asap – television programs, cell phones and easy access of materials from town – the songs brought by the Gurkha soldiers seem to have been accepted as a form of entertainment that was easily and enthusiastically absorbed by the Lebu' Kulit villagers. This musical resource has brought a musical choice to the Lebu' Kulit as well as an opportunity to adopt different cultural languages and tastes.

Possibly, the Gurkha soldiers performed their songs from memory to construct a place-making of “home” in the Lebu' Kulit village. When these imagined sounds from the Gurkhas are consumed by the Lebu' Kulit, the reproductions of the music by the Lebu' Kulit also go through imaginative figurations of what the longhouse community had experienced from the musical performances of the Gurkha soldiers. The intentions of the Lebu' Kulit musicians to re-duplicate Gurkha tunes are actually

an imitation in practice. In the re-presentation, the music is constructed and articulated through simultaneous combination as well as assimilation. This can be seen in the use of the Lebu' Kulit present music vocabularies in performing the Gurkha tunes such as western major diatonic pitches, rich embellishments, and different instrumentations. At the same time, the performing context and the accuracy of the lyrics in Gurkha/Nepalese/Hindi language are not followed. In short, the Gurkha tunes are played in a way very similar to the present performing style of the Lebu' Kulit traditional music. Combination and assimilation in this intercultural adaptation process is deemed necessary to generate familiar meanings that are understandable and to which the Lebu' Kulit community can relate. The acceptance in the musical borrowings and the substitution of Lebu' Kulit musical properties brought changes to the music to make it compatible with their musical knowledge and to suit their current interest and needs.

The physical presence of the Gurkha soldiers in the Lebu' Kulit village, the direct musical contact with the soldiers as well as the integration of Gurkha music into the Lebu' Kulit musical practices have made the Gurkha tunes not distinctively differentiated as foreign music. Through the agency of this embrace, appropriation and re-presentation, these tunes from a distant culture are performed in the ways of Lebu' Kulit and are tacitly integrated into part of their common repertoire.

The only Lebu' Kulit village in Sarawak and more than thirty-five larger Lebu' Kulit villages in East Kalimantan, Indonesia may have shared some common historical, social, cultural and religious backgrounds. However, as each group has lived in different places since the 1940s, some of the ethnic features that determine their identity have been shaped by different governments, political agendas, environments and cultural experiences. Living in Sarawak within the presence of Gurkha soldiers has contributed, in part, to the musical identity of the Lebu' Kulit in Sungai Asap. This has created a change in the music culture of the Lebu' Kulit people when comparing the Sarawak group to the Lebu' Kulit groups in Indonesia today.

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**RE-INTERPRETING TEDURAY AGONG MUSIC AND DANCE TRADITION**

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**DISSOLVING BARRIERS: THE CASE OF CONTRASTING MODES OF SINGING AT  
FUNERAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE BONTOC PEOPLE OF NORTHERN  
PHILIPPINES**

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**ARWIN QUIÑONES TAN (Philippines)**  
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For article see published Proceedings

DAVID HARNISH (USA)  
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**BETWEEN TRADITIONALISM AND POSTMODERNISM: MULTIPLE IDENTITIES OF  
THE BALINESE PERFORMING ARTS INSTITUTION, ÇUDAMANI**

Çudamani is partially a *sekaa*, a communal performing arts troupe, and partially a *sanggar* (arts organization) in the village of Pengosekan in south-central Bali committed to studying and teaching Balinese music and dance; it is also a transnational arts phenomenon. The troupe was initiated in 1997; today, it includes at least four different clubs, primarily featuring the “adult” group. Çudamani is a traditional *sekaa*, in the sense that it is community based and one of the main missions of the troupe is to *ngayah*, or perform voluntary performance service at temple festivals. However, this same troupe has a very unique governance structure, has global and particularly United States affiliations, and is heavily engaged in new music and themed performances.

I refer to this group as traditionalist in their village mission and volunteer service at temples; I call Çudamani postmodern because of the transnational basis, the neo-traditionalism, the mixing of new and traditional musics and the play of genre, the fluidity of local and global identities, and the fact that the troupe seems to fall outside preconceived notions of both *sekaa* and *sanggar*. There are no neat categories to define this troupe. Çudamani could not have existed any time before the 1990s. The sociocultural, sociopolitical scene was not yet set for them to emerge. Bali’s implantation in the global consciousness, the decades-long multidirectionality of global-local influences, and the rise of neotraditionalism in reaction to modernization and terrorism all helped establish the framework for the formation of this troupe’s ideation and paved the way to a niche in the marketplace of performance identities. The spiritual basis of Balinese arts clearly played a role as well.

Like many ethnomusicologists specializing in Indonesia, I have known several members of this troupe for a long time. I conducted fieldwork in 2008 and 2009 in Bali and interviewed the major players in the troupe and have watched performance over many years. This paper explores the indigenous (post)modernism of Çudamani and positions the organization in contemporary Bali.

### **Opportunities**

According to director, Dewa Putu Berata, Çudamani began in October, 1997. He and a team prayed in a temple to provide the blessing to make a *sanggar*, or arts organization. Berata then made it a point to visit the elders and the artists in the village to ask their approval. They selected the name Çudamani, which refers to Shiva’s third eye, as suggested by dancer Ketut Kodi, who has worked with the group off and on since its inception. Berata states that the power of the third eye of Shiva is to be honest, that honesty is the most powerful force and that the members should be honest in their hearts and correct in their behavior, their performing, and their service.

Berata was the eldest of five siblings of a gamelan director in the agricultural and arts village of Pengosekan. When he was of age, Berata attended the high school conservatory (SMKI) in Denpasar, became an outstanding member of his noted village group, Tunas Mekar, until it disbanded in 1987, then enrolled in the college conservatory (STSI) in Denpasar, and later joined the dynamic Ubud-based *sekaa*, Semara Ratih, and started developing a name for himself (see Tenzer, 2000, pp. 108-113 for an account). He first met the woman who would be his wife, Emiko Susilo, in 1991 on a tour from Bali to Hawai‘i; then, he met her again in 1995 when he worked with the San Francisco-based troupe, Sekar Jaya, and puppeteer Larry Reed in California. Emiko is the daughter of retired Javanese gamelan and dance professor, Hardja Susilo of Hawai‘i, and dancer and arts leader, Judy Mitoma, at UCLA. Emiko married Berata in 1998, one year after Çudamani was consecrated. She was involved with the founding and has acted as teacher, performer and informal assistant director ever since. Berata says that Emiko was instrumental in opening his mind to new ideas. Emiko herself is careful to say that, not being Balinese, she did not want to influence the direction of the group or to directly teach troupe members or perform and replace prospective Çudamani members on stage.

Despite her disclaimer, she has performed many times, has developed performance themes, dances, and education, and directs the Çudamani Summer Workshop.

The original Çudamani mission was to teach to children in the community and to perform or *ngayah* at temple festivals. Berata states that there are two kinds of *ngayah*: “in the temple a group performs ceremonial repertoire (*lelambatan*) and dances; and outside the temple your service is to teach and work for children.” *Ngayah*, he says, means to “give our spirit, our energy, our time and effort that we believe in.” The mission required that they always offer lessons to children for free. Interestingly, they have frequently combined boys and girls into the same study groups and taught girls on gamelan equally with boys, which is a more progressive scenario than found generally in Bali (see Dibia & Ballinger, 2004, pp. 36-37). They do charge money – and sometimes more than other troupes – when holding workshops for foreigners; due to past experience, they also charge money when working for the government. These monies go to help support the mission of *ngayah* both inside and outside of the temple.

Another part of the mission has been to *menggali* or dig up and help preserve the arts that have almost disappeared and to reactivate those arts. To accomplish this goal, they visited select elder musicians and dancers, some who had been somewhat forgotten and no longer had connections to active troupes, and invited them to Pengosekan to teach Çudamani and the children in the community. Berata states that they had an obligation to study, protect, and honor the classics; then to teach those classics and honor the elder artists. He adds that he invites the elders to speak to the community, to tell their stories, discuss *ngayah* during their time, and how they learned music and dance. “Technique” he says, is not very important for the troupe: “We can learn technique quickly. But spirit, we look to our teachers for spirit.” In his experience, these teachers are proud to teach troupes that have a passion to learn, and they are very happy to hear that the troupe then teaches others for free.

Berata requires that all performers work for performances; otherwise, they may be removed from the troupe. *Sekaa* members are expected to work on decorations and preparations necessary to stage shows. He states that over time, the members that used to be so dedicated now have families and that time – for *ngayah* at temples and in teaching – is more “narrow” than before. He is bothered by the attitude of some members who may not *ngayah* at the temple if they live outside the area or are too busy. In the early years of the group, everyone prioritized the Çudamani mission, but he feels that some members no longer feel such commitment.

Like many learned Balinese, he frequently philosophizes and uses the concept *Desa/Kala/Patra* (place/time/circumstance) as a paradigm for flexibility and adapting to situations. Çudamani is frequently asked to *ngayah* at temples, then the program might suddenly change. The troupe needs to be flexible. With its constant schedule of volunteer service and its occasional tours, Çudamani has been one of the most active clubs since its inception. Traditional pieces form the repertoire for *ngayah* at temples; new music is used for their own programs and for students at conservatories. Berata wants to strike a balance between tradition and contemporary; it’s like “*ngumbang/isep*” (“hummer/sucker”, lower-pitched/higher-pitched tones in gamelan instruments) and *rwe Bhinnedá*” (dualism and resolution). The goals of the troupe are to unify and strike a balance between the dyad of tradition and contemporary and, through extension, between Bali and the global.

Çudamani does not do tourist performances on a weekly basis like so many of the other clubs in the Peliatan-Ubud area. That activity, which would generate stable revenue, was never part of their original mission. They also have had little interest in perpetuating typical performance programs. Similarly, they don’t perform in the many competitions where they would have to play certain repertoire or style. Emiko states “The group is not good at conforming to somebody else’s aesthetic.”

The mission and outside contacts of Çudamani allowed the club to secure a five-year Ford Foundation grant and a tie-off grant. The money was particularly important to invite the many guest choreographers and elder artists to teach and train the members.

## Sensitivities

Çudamani has mounted four major tours to the US and performed abroad many times; two of the tours to the US, in 2005 and 2007, had the same theme: Balinese temple festival, called *Odalan Bali*. The original idea came not from Berata or Emiko but from Emiko’s mother, Judy Mitoma, who had been researching festivals worldwide. She felt that presenting an *odalan* on stage would be an

original idea and conferred at length with Berata and Emiko. Berata and the leaders of Çudamani visited priests and elders to discuss the idea of dramatizing an *odalan* on stage, addressing issues such as how to portray a priest and offerings, what was appropriate, what was not, and so forth. Over long discussions, he found out that, as long as the performance was done tastefully and not artificially, and that certain sacred ritual acts were not staged, that the theme of *odalan* might be a very good way to represent Bali to the world. Some in the troupe felt that “Why should we do other stories, like established dances and those from the Mahabharata and Ramayana, when *odalan* is our story?” Emiko elaborated: “You could tell a story that someone’s already told 100 times, or tell a story that’s something that we’re engaged with all of the time.” After consultation, the troupe was committed to mounting this production and they brought on board guest teachers and musicians, including Berata’s younger brother and composer, Dewa Ketut Alit. Judy Mitoma’s office sponsored the project. Through her fundraising and staff volunteerism, Mitoma was essentially the producer. Emiko clarified that neither she nor her office ever made money on the projects.

Çudamani staged a few pre-tour concerts in Bali that were politely received. The show was so new in concept that many people were uncertain how to respond. But, many local and foreign scholars were uncomfortable with the project, particularly with presenting a temple festival on a stage and with the portrayals of priests, showing the behaviors that Balinese feel are sacred. “It’s too close,” said one. Another concurred and added that several of the dances are dramatizations of real behaviors found in festivals. A Balinese friend said, “This is not the type of performance that we want to see on stage.”

Berata heard all of the criticisms over the many years involved with the *Odalan Bali* projects. He responds that commoners portray priests all the time in theater, that the actor studied how to appear like a priest but that there was no pretence that he was actually a priest. One local dance scholar was familiar with Berata’s response and responded in turn that the priests portrayed in traditional theater are historic figures that lived centuries ago, rather than priests portrayed in *Odalan Bali* who live in today’s world. Many assert that Çudamani is naïve. Emiko, on the other hand, claims that Çudamani likes to take respectful risks. They were careful not to use offerings and to change part of the ritual during the production. One priest told her that such changes were necessary; otherwise someone in the performance could fall into trance.

The *Odalan Bali* tours were very successful in the US and in other parts of the world. I saw both productions, which differed only slightly. The approach was to make it seem as if it was not really a performance but rather people going through the motions and actions of creating a temple festival; it was meant to seem organic as it developed. Many troupe members were told, using choreography from Nyoman Cerita, to walk around performing tasks like sweeping or pretending to make offerings or chop meat and to interact; frequently these actions would temporarily coalesce into rhythmic and musical passages and then dissipate. There was an element of improvisation and the troupe really would banter before mounting a music or dance piece. The problems of reception among some in Bali are easy to understand: not only did the production closely stage a ritual that Balinese enact on a regular basis, but there were no pre-established characters – those that audiences would know or could understand through dance vocabulary or vocal style. Further, the narrative was outside of any performance ever held in Bali – it didn’t fit into any established narrative framework with nobles, clowns, refined and coarse characters, and did not include battles or themes on ethics of actions, dharma or morality, or even humor (a core element). In addition, there was no particular dialogue and the performance was not dialogic or interactive unlike most theater forms where actors (particularly clowns) extemporize and comment on the immediate surroundings and sociopolitical climate. Thus, many Balinese would have trouble relating to this production as art. *Odalan Bali*, however, was not meant for a Balinese audience; it was meant to present and represent Balinese culture to audiences globally.

Even though the *Odalan Bali* theme didn’t emerge from within the troupe, the production epitomizes Çudamani. It was starkly new and different without the indices for easy definition. It was neo-traditional in the sense of mounting and dramatizing tradition and using a series of traditional music, dance and elements; this neo-traditionalism is reminiscent of the obsession with *ngayah* voluntary service within the group. The production was postmodern in defying easy categorization and comingling very contemporary music, dance, and staging elements with traditional elements in creating new forms. Some critics I’ve spoken with recognize and respect the effort but feel that the production failed to develop new, compelling forms. A few highly critical foreigners were shocked at the romanticism and “orientalism” of *Odalan Bali*. “Bali is pictured as idyllic as a postcard,” said one.

Çudamani has emphasized spiritual practice and harmony; members frequently pray together at temples. One scholar posted a colorful critique of Çudamani online: “All harmony all of the time!”

The other major international tour to the US was themed *From Bamboo to Bronze*, and was supposed to work through Balinese music history, with musicians first playing bamboo instruments then switching to bronze gamelan as the performance proceeds. The first half featured standard bamboo instruments and some the troupe commissioned as new instruments, then gradually moving to bronze gamelan. The second half of the show largely discarded the theme and featured new pieces and arrangements of previous dances.

Like the *Odalan Bali* tours, troupe members interacted in several new ways, particularly in the first half. In the second half, the troupe more brazenly featured its musicianship on their gamelan *semarandana*, a contemporary ensemble that combines the five-tone gamelan *gong* tuning in the lower register and the full seven-tone *pelog* scale from the gamelan *semar pagulingan* in the higher register (see McGraw, 2000; Harnish, 2000). Like some other leading contemporary clubs, several pieces mixed modes from the 7-tone *pelog* scale, often juxtaposing two modes at once, and several sections were polymetric. Çudamani is one of the troupes at the forefront of new composition for gamelan. Dewa Berata’s new pieces are highly innovative and his brother, Dewa Ketut Alit, has written some of the most groundbreaking and avant-garde pieces in Bali. At one time, these brothers and one or two other siblings worked closely in Çudamani’s productions, but they now rarely work together. Alit, in particular, is not currently working with the troupe.

## Conclusion

There is no way to make a definitive summation of Çudamani. The troupe has gone many different directions since its founding in 1997. In its first few years, the troupe emphasized *ngayah*, teaching children for free, respecting elders, storytelling, and digging into the classical past, spirituality, harmony, and balance. While Çudamani remains serious about its mission, they have grown up, gotten married and are not so united as a club. The members, however, follow Hindu Dharma probably better than any other performing arts club. Many members pray before and after every performance, giving thanks to the divine and forming a solidarity among club members that I’ve never seen elsewhere in Bali.

Part of this mission is quintessentially Balinese – the most ideal notions of *sanggar* and *ngayah* and contributing to village life; this mission marks Çudamani as neotraditional, embracing the values of the idyllic past while also the modern notion of good Balinese spirituality and citizenry. But part of this idea is also based on outside perceptions of what Bali is or what it can be, and the troupe has attempted to realize the harmony and spiritual balance found within both tourist and scholarly literature. Çudamani is perhaps the most international club in Bali, with global contacts, family relationships, and collaborations throughout the world. Their Ford Foundation grant is testament to both their globalism and devotion to tradition. The club also positions itself as contemporary, and has featured the works of two of the most innovative composers in Bali.

Çudamani decided long ago not to perform for tourists; this did not fit their spiritual mission. They also decided to undermine the gender differentiation in gamelan practice, and to subvert the standard performance program of a series of separate dances for a themed performance linking the dances and pieces together. Çudamani is firmly a 21<sup>st</sup> century institution embracing, unifying, and representing both traditionalism and globalism. The troupe avoids totalizing forms, embraces contradictions and pluralism, and challenges high/low, local/global, and traditional/contemporary dichotomies.

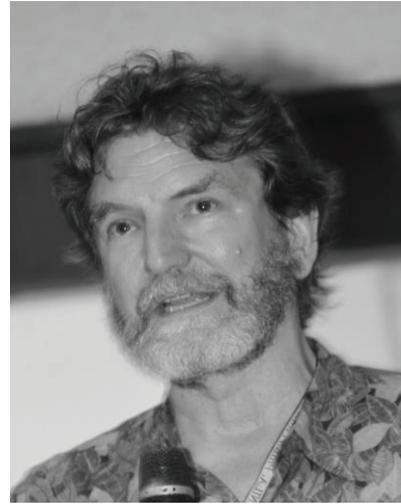
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## **SOURCES OF ORDER: THAI MUSICAL ENSEMBLES IN THE ROYAL THAI ARMED FORCES**

### **Introduction**

The Royal Thai Armed Forces serve to support and respect the power of the Thai Nation, Religion, and King. The soldier-musicians of the Armed Forces Music Divisions perform for the King and royal family, for other soldiers, and for non-government people when ordered specifically. In this paper I will provide two examples of soldier-musicians who perform Thai music; one performs a special chant for the King, and the others perform Thai music for ordinary people near the Royal Palace to maintain Thai music cultural traditions.

In his study of Balinese political culture in the nineteenth-century, Clifford Geertz proposes a model of the “theater state” in which power is centered in myth, in kings, and in kinship organizations, and permeates outward to the villages (Geertz, 1980). The king acts very little to exercise power directly, but his powerful status stands as a symbol for the state. Those beneath him work for him to assure his power and to elevate their own power and status as well. The king’s power is also legitimated through the power of religion and myth. In Bali, as in many other Southeast Asian kingdoms, the king was believed to be a Brahmin who gave up his highest status in Hindu society to enter the second Satria caste and become a warrior/king, with Brahmin priests as his consultants. The king, the royal family, and the Brahmins performed rituals and ceremonies that protected and maintained the kingdom. The rituals were a form of public theater to produce and reaffirm popular belief in the power of the myth, the king and the state. These rituals were public displays in which most of the participants demonstrated fixed roles within the state. Geertz takes a semiotic perspective on the theater state, interpreting people’s social positions as fixed roles in a state of ongoing performance.

The performance of music and dance demonstrated the relationship between the court and the people. Geertz writes, “this is the theory that court-and-capital is at once a microcosm of the supernatural order—an image of...the universe on a small scale—and the material embodiment of political order” (Geertz, 1980, p. 13). Music acts as a medium in the rituals and ceremonies to proclaim the greatness of the king to the three worlds of sky, earth, and beneath the earth. Geertz’s model of the theater state illuminates the role of traditional music in the Royal Thai Armed Forces because it concerns the power of myth, religion, kingship, tradition, nation, and its institutions.

The modern military in Thailand, led by the King, is a clear example of what Geertz calls “the doctrine of the exemplary center” (Geertz, 1980, p. 13). The Royal Thai Armed Forces are institutions that not everyone may enter. Being a part of this institution that is affiliated with the King and Thai nation makes ordinary people regard them very highly. Their position comes with great responsibility and honor for the nation and the King. At both the large and small scales, power is located centrally and is disseminated outwards, from the monarchy to the institutions of the government and the Buddhist Sangha, from these institutions to their constituents, and from teachers to students.

### **The Role of Musicians in the Thai Military**

The military serves as the protectors of the King and Nation, and thereby takes on a sacred significance that is evident among the individuals and in their rituals. All of the musicians whom I interviewed say that they have spirits as their teachers as well as the human beings who taught them how to play music. They occasionally perform music to honor their teachers even if they have already passed away for many years, including Prince Boriphath who established the music division of the Navy and Air Force under King Rama V. Several repertoires are specifically performed for the spirits, for example *naaphaat waikhruu* (the repertoires for honoring spirit teachers). The king is believed to be a symbol of the Thai nation, the savior, the giver, and the protector. He is a reincarnation of the spirit, Rama (Avatar of Vishnu) in the form of a human being, from the Ramayana royal literature, who holds

the nation together. So, performing music for the king and the royal family is akin to performing for the spirits.

The musicians of the military perform to honor and pay respect to the power of the supernatural, the king, the royal family, and their ranking officers. The musicians of the Thai military are intensively trained as both musicians and soldiers. They study all of the rules for being in the military and they serve in the field as soldiers. Furthermore, they must obey any order from the military to attend any military or royal business no matter where or under what circumstances.

I trained as a student in the Thai Royal Air Force and Navy during my undergraduate studies. While I was at the Navy I performed with the professional soldier-musicians for both royal activities and in performances for the public. For example, I performed Thai music at the Hua Hin palace for the Prince's arrival, at receptions for high-level military meetings, at religious events, for broadcasts over a radio station, and at a restaurant with a group conducted by one of the musicians from the Navy. I have attended their ceremonies often and have maintained a close relationship with my mentors. I returned to interview many of the Thai soldier-musicians at the Navy and several from Air Force during my recent fieldwork in 2012.

By being able to perform for the King and for the military, the professional musicians of the Thai military hold a very honorable position in Thai society, which brings prosperity and trustworthiness to them and to their families. Many have devoted their lives to the military. One said to me, "we were born here, we live here, and we will die here as the king's soldiers." Being a part of the military gives them livelihood, stability and social status. The power of the king, the values of the Thai musical tradition, and social expectations dictate the way they think about their career and their sense that they owe a debt to their country.

The Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters includes:

1. The Ministry of Defense
2. The Royal Thai Army
3. The Royal Thai Navy
4. The Royal Thai Air Force
5. The Royal Thai Police
6. The Association of armed forces' wives

There are at least three ethical obligations that directly relate to the King's power from a list of fourteen in the military manual handbook (Kaung banchakaan kongthap Thai, *n.d.*, translated by the author).

- 5.1 Honor and support the power of the king
- 5.2 Protect and fight for the institution of the monarchy
- 5.3 Support democracy, with the king as its leader

The core mission of the Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters is stated as:

The Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters serves to protect the country, protect the king, and command all The Royal Thai Armed Forces with effectiveness, modernity and trustworthiness for ordinary citizens and allied countries (Kaung banchakaan kongthap Thai, *n.d.*, p. 3).

The musicians have the responsibility to maintain the costumes and perform music in rituals and ceremonies, and to provide entertainment for the King and royal family, and so the musicians are socially close to the King's power.

### **The Function of Music within the Military**

I now move further into the function of music within the military. Each branch of the military has music bands or clubs, but only the Army, Navy, and Air Force have schools for music. In each school there are separate Music Divisions for performing Thai and Western music that together comprises the Entertainment Section. In this paper I focus on the Thai music Divisions where professional musicians' work.

The Music Divisions were officially created on March 25, 1991. Before that, these musicians worked under the section of service for entertainment. The three branches each host a Music School at the pre-collegiate level that trains students to fill positions within the Music Divisions. The music schools accept applications every year, but only admit about 10 to 20 students per year, and usually not all of them graduate. These students, when they are accepted into a school, receive a free place to stay, they have a chance to study with royalty in some subjects mainly related to military rules, politics and institutions, and so it is the royalty who also become their teachers. They receive free uniforms, have food provided, and also receive a small amount of money while they are students of the school. During their three to eight years at school, they have to obey the military rules very strictly. After graduating, most of them will receive positions as musicians in the Music Divisions and are ready to do their duty for their respective branches of service. A few of them receive scholarships to continue studying a music major at a university in Thailand or abroad, and then come back to teach at the same school in return. Directors of the Navy and Air Force music schools both told me in interviews that they prefer to hire their own students first because they believe that their students are properly trained and are well-disciplined.

However, not all of the employees of the Music Divisions have been trained in the military Music Schools. Several of the professional musicians trained as musicians at their Thai music teachers' houses for many years where they lived with the teacher and helped to do chores, in the traditional custom of traditional Thai music study, before becoming soldier-musicians. When they became part of the Thai music ensemble in their branch of the military, they had to learn new repertoire or a new way to perform the same repertoire that they already knew, and perform according to the one teacher who leads the ensemble, respectfully and without argument.

Upon joining the military, Thai musicians believe that their father is the King who they call *Phau Luang*, the Great Father, who provides them a place to stay, a salary, and their social status which they display publicly by wearing their military uniform. Former Kings and the royal family established most of the military branches and buildings. So, the soldier-musicians are literally living in their "father's house". Most military students have a chance to study using books written by the royal family, so that makes the royalty not only the symbol of their nation but also their teachers.

The soldier-musicians perform for the King and royal family, for other soldiers, and for non-government people, if ordered specifically. Usually, however, they perform for the people of their own branch. When the King requires music, orders will come directly from the royal palace to the branch that must perform, specifying which musical ensemble they want, what kind of music they want, and what repertoire. One particularly spectacular example is the royal barge procession.



**Plate 1. Royal Barge Procession rehearsal at the Navy Division, Bangkok.**  
(Photo: S. I. Adler, 2012)



Plate 2. General Nattawat Aramkler. (Photo: S. I. Adler, 2012)

Plate 1 is a photograph of the Royal Barge Procession rehearsal at the Navy Division, Bangkok, Thailand in 2012. The vocal music that they are performing is an example of a very special chant performed only by selected musicians from the Navy Music Division exclusively for this event. This style of chanting is also used by Buddhist monks for chanting and therefore has a sacred significance. I documented a rehearsal for The Royal Barge ceremony to be performed on November 9, 2012, to celebrate King Rama IX's birthday. This event was postponed from 2011 due to major flooding in Bangkok.

Plate 2 is a photograph of the leading vocalist General Nattawat Aramkler who had the honour of chanting about King Rama IX, wishing him a long life and prosperity. This chant is a promise to the King that the Navy Music Division will always be loyal and love the King. During the performance, other voices come from the rowers on the barges. They practice rowing and performing in the barge for almost a year, in any weather, before the day of the ceremony. These musicians are given a special dispensation, salary and uniforms in order to conduct this ceremony. The real performance will take place on the Chaophraya River and for about three to four hours. Ordinary citizens will be able to watch and listen to the chanting about the king from the riverbanks, and the ceremony will be also broadcast on television.

The musicians in the military perform their respect for their teachers just as other Thai musicians do. I witnessed the funeral of a well-respected Thai music teacher, Khruu Kalong Pungthongkham. He had worked for the Thai Music Division of the Royal Thai Police, and also taught at his house and at many universities. This funeral procession took place two years after he had passed away. Crown Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn came for his funeral and six musical ensembles performed, including three from the military, to honor their peers and their music teachers. The orders for their participation came directly from the royal family.

The soldier-musicians also perform publicly for ordinary people to see them on special occasions. For example, also in 2012, I observed Thai music ensembles from the Army and the Navy Music Divisions performing a public concert at the Wangna (Front Palace) near the Thai National Theatre and the Royal Palace, in Bangkok. They performed a set of songs called *Tab Prommas*, used for the *khon* masked-dance drama, depicting an episode from the Thai version of the *Ramayana*. The lyrics were composed by Prince Narissara Nuwattiwong and Prince Boriphat, Khruu Pattayakosol, and the Fine Arts Department arranged the music.

### Conclusions

In conclusion, in Thailand the theater state represents the sources of order through music education and performance, with soldier-musicians performing their fixed social roles in society and supporting and promoting the King's power and sacred authority. The status that soldier-musicians hold reflects the complex system of honorific hierarchy of Thai society. The specific position of soldier-musicians linked to royalty sends the message to everyone in the "theatre" that they have their roles as Thai citizens to protect the King's power and to fight for their King in their power whenever needed in Thai society. The Thai classical musicians in the Royal Thai Armed Forces publicly perform their support for the power of the King and at the same time keep and protect their music heritage, negotiating their duties as musicians, soldiers, royal servants and Thai citizens. In return, these soldiers gain a high personal status by their association with the King and by representing the sources of order through music education and performance.

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**THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINE KULINTANG TRADITION: A  
PROPOSAL FOR AN ALTERNATIVE TEACHING METHODOLOGY CONSISTENT WITH  
ITS STYLISTIC ESSENCE**

**Introduction**

This paper is a continuing effort in research on the improvisational principles of the Philippine *kulintang*. The authors have been working on this specific topic for five years and have presented papers in academic conferences in the hope of raising (and answering) questions about the way the *kulintang* has been understood as a tradition and disseminated outside of its original context among the Maguindanaons and the Maranaos. The main objective of this paper is to propose an alternative teaching and learning method of the Philippine *kulintang* that retains its “improvisatory” aspect. We also aim to provide an opening point for discussion about the ways the tradition is taught, and to rethink the common concerns in ethnomusicology about preservation of tradition versus dynamism and creativity.

It is precisely the belief in the responsible representation of the Philippine *kulintang* by outsiders that the authors are pursuing this research. This paper seeks to challenge two important “givens” in *kulintang* pedagogy: (1) that *kulintang* should be played exactly as they are by Maguindanaons and Maranaos for accuracy in representation; and (2) that the stylistic appropriateness of *kulintang* can be learned only in a strict master teacher-student lineage. The paper also attempts to open up questions on whether the two main ways of learning the *kulintang* by outsiders (rote learning and learning from the transcription) are consistent with the ways “natives” learn the tradition. The more important question is: should *kulintang* playing be restricted to the imitation of masters? Is this what the *kulintang* is all about as music?

This proposal also aims not only to challenge specific pedagogies followed for years in *kulintang*, both in the Philippines and the United States, but also to provide ways of rethinking how traditional musics should be learned in the institutional context. Much of it depends on the purpose of the program: Is it for introductory education about the culture? Is it for experience/exposure? Is it for showing how the music sounds as played exactly by the masters? Is it for learning as source for creativity and artistry? Or is it for learning to become performers in the style of the masters? The last question is where this proposal problematizes the current understanding of what *kulintang* music is. For it is much easier to replicate and imitate rather than become a true performer of the *kulintang* demonstrating the understanding of it as musical art.

This paper is based on the personal experiences and observations of the authors, who are performers and instructors in the *kulintang*, and on interviews by native *kulintang* scholars and masters such as Usopay Cadar, Aga Mayo Butocan, Kanapia Kalanduyan and Danongan Kalanduyan. It is in the authors’ hope that non-native *kulintang* practitioners and instructors take this proposal as a stepping stone in order for them to craft, study and rethink about more effective ways of teaching the *kulintang* that is consistent with its stylistic essence without being reduced to being copies of the native musicians’ artistry.

**Contextualizing Kulintang Improvisation**

In this paper improvisation is contextualized within the performance of *kulintang* music. Below are the working definitions by which we formed this proposal:

*The performative interpretation of a set of rules (Costes-Onishi & Onishi, 2010)*

Through our analysis of three recorded *Tagunggo* performances of Danongan Kalanduyan that span ten years, we deduced that there are unspoken rules that govern the variations of the patterns and are applied consistently in the different performance contexts and development in a performer's style.

*Existence of "framework" (Nettl, 1974)*

The notion of "framework" is quite similar to the set of rules above.

*Not based on the presence or absence of a notation system (Campbell, 1990; Nettle, 1974)*

Improvisation can take place even with the presence of a notation system. This forms the basis of our argument that even in rote learning in the *kulintang*, if the transmission is simply to repeat patterns, improvisation can be absent. Improvisation depends on whether the "framework" and performative set of rules are taught or not.

*Personalization of melodies and form (Cadar, 2012 interview; Butocan, 2009 interview)*

*Kulintang* melodies are already present/composed but their interpretation is highly personal. There is an overall direction that a melody should take but it should not be entirely fixed, either. The mood, length and complexity of variations will have to depend on the individual performer and performance.

*Creative imitation of patterns heard (K. Kalanduyan, 2009 & 2012 interview)*

*Kulintang* performance starts with imitation of what other players do but it should not be repeated literally. Creative imitation means drawing inspiration from other sources and performing a unique version that would only be associated with the individual player. The rendition should be different enough that it would no longer be regarded as a copy or a slight variation of an existing version. This is the mark of a true *kulintang* musician.

*Thought-out patterns (D. Kalanduyan early 2000s interview)*

*Kulintang* improvisation is not always spontaneous but often tried and practiced before the actual performance. The performer should have a good idea of how s/he executes the patterns and shapes the music's direction. Consistent practice is important to perform well on the instrument.

### **Traditional Learning Processes**

We identify two learning processes of the *kulintang* music but they are NOT mutually exclusive:

- Informal learning through constant exposure and observation
- Imitation of various playing styles that accumulate as vocabulary for personalization

Although this proposal is mainly confined to the melodic instrument *kulintang*, the principles of improvisation are applicable to other instruments such as the *agung*, *babandil*, *dabakan* and *gandingan*. The existence of basic patterns with unspoken rules of extensions and variations is in place, and similar to learning a language system, there are acceptable ways of changing the patterns. Most of the patterns are not written down or explicitly articulated, and will depend upon the player. If the improvisation is good, they are added to the repository of idioms passed down from performer to performer. The source could or could not be easily traced back or attributed to a particular musician.

The important thing to note is that the source is not always a teacher but could be anyone from the community or a musician from another village. Sources for individual styles are absorbed by observing various musicians and styles during competitions or special occasions where the *kulintang* is performed. The *kulintang* is thus a music learned through observation, listening, imitation and personalization. It is not the type of music where a teacher or lineage is valued in order to legitimize one's performance. If the articulation is good and all the unspoken rules of the *kulintang* language internalized then the performance will be acceptable and appreciated. The *kulintang* is simply learned informally by ear.

## Institutional Context

The Philippine *kulintang* was first introduced as a performance course at the University of the Philippines (UP) in the late 1960s. José Maceda, a prominent ethnomusicologist from the Philippines, invited *kulintang* musician and educator Aga Mayo Butocan to UP in the hope of reviving Philippine music traditions and giving it prominence in the musical and cultural studies in the Philippines. Around the same time, Robert Garfias, through Maceda's assistance, brought the eminent Maranao scholar Usopay Cadar to the University of Washington (UW) in Seattle as part of the artist-in-residence program in ethnomusicology that he established. Ten years later, the Maguindanaon musician Danongan Kalanduyan was brought to the UW and the Maguindanaon style of *kulintang* was introduced alongside the Maranao taught by Cadar. In the late 1980s, UP Music Research Department under Felicidad Prudente began to offer Diploma in Asian Music and the *kulintang* became a major instrument of the diploma program. In the late 1990s, Pamela Costes, a graduate of Musicology from UP undertook graduate studies in ethnomusicology at the UW and was asked to teach *kulintang* as part of the student artist-in-residence program. This coincided with the teaching of *kulintang* by her colleagues at UP. Below is a summary of the history of the *kulintang* in Philippine and American institutions:

At the University of the Philippines

- Aga Mayo Butocan – 1960s (native musician brought by Jose Maceda)
- DCPMA (Diploma in Creative Performance of Musical Arts) Asian music – 1980s-present (taught by Aga Butocan, Kanapia Kalanduyan, and non-native lecturers, most are graduates from the program)

At the University of Washington

- Usopay Cadar – 1960s (Maranao brought by Robert Garfias)
- Danongan Kalanduyan – 1970s (Magindanaon)
- Pamela Costes – 1998-2001 (non-native graduate student from U.P.)

## Current Problems in *Kulintang* Pedagogy

The following are problems that we identify in *kulintang* pedagogy in institutions both in the rote and notation systems. These problems are recently verified and confirmed by master musician Kanapia Kalanduyan and *kulintang* scholar Usopay Cadar.

- The introduction of the *kulintang* to Philippine institutions has reduced its improvisation to fixed patterns and figurations.
- *Kulintang* music is perceived as a piece akin to a fixed composition to be memorized, either through transcription or rote.
- As a result of the above two, performers play complete versions by someone else without realizing that fact.

## Implications to *Kulintang* as Tradition

In both rote and transcription learning systems, a lot of the important factors in the traditional learning process are lost or understated; namely:

- Personalization of style diminishes
- Accompanying instruments become fixed in patterns
- Spontaneous interactions and creativity in the ensemble not emphasized
- Concept of adhering to a cycle and its relevance to the melodic phrases are not completely understood

Most of these problems come from the imposition of the so-called “old” ethnomusicology, which sees traditional music as static (Nettl, 1985). There is still a prevalence of thinking of preserving the status quo, both in scholarship and performance. Status quo is defined here as the style encountered

in the field by researchers or as taught by the native musicians outside their community, the latter particularly in *kulintang* performance.

### **Institutional Concerns**

In the interviews conducted in 2009 and 2012, Butocan and Cadar expressed the concern that even native musicians should consider and accommodate the new non-village context resulting to new pedagogical devices not done traditionally in *kulintang* learning. The top practical concerns are:

1. Having to have students learn a certain number of repertoire within a short time in order to meet curriculum requirements set out by the department/school; and
2. Performance needs (including invitations to perform by museums, in festivals, etc.)

While the learning through the transcription or by rote helps students accumulate a repertoire that would take a significant amount of time if done through exposure in the original (village) setting, they would not be able to play anything but what was taught them nor improvise on it. This would result in the stagnancy of melodic executions, not an outcome expected of a *kulintang* performer.

### **Personal experiences**

In crafting this proposal, the authors based their approach on their own experimentations in their own learning and teaching. These personal experiences are accounts of non-native learners who are dedicated to learning *kulintang* not only as it is rooted culturally but also musically. Would it be necessary to stay within the culture or study with a single teacher in order to be able to play *kulintang* in an “authentic” manner?

Observations and analyses of various renditions of different musicians met personally or actual field footages of native musicians’ performances that are available or shared by musicians formed the basis of the authors’ personalizations. These attempts were approved by native musicians. The authors believe that there is still a lot to be learned in order to arrive at the point of personalization “as creation” as opposed to “as variation”. It is, therefore, important to start a system that would allow learners like them to take a proper direction as early as in the introduction to the *kulintang*.

#### ***Personal Account #1: Pamela Costes-Onishi, 1998-2005***

In 1998, a year after I started graduate studies at the UW, I was asked by the ethnomusicology department to teach *kulintang*. I had a chance to converse with Danongan Kalanduyan, who advised me to teach not through the transcription but by rote. In our conversations, the importance of improvisation came up regularly. Likewise, Usopay Cadar expressed through email that improvisation is tantamount to a constitution in the *kulintang*.

I was aware of the importance of improvisation in the *kulintang* even during my UP days, but it was not really made clear to me what it actually meant in the way that it has been transmitted. This remained unclear even in my observations of recitals of those majoring in the instrument. Even after conversations and correspondences with Kalanduyan and Cadar, its real meaning was still unclear to me without any practical application. Determined to explore the possibilities, I tried to apply the principle after my own experimentations when I taught UW students and the youth ensemble at the Filipino American Youth Center for Culture and the Arts. The latter developed its distinctive style that they called *Tunog Pil-Am* (Sound of the Filipino-Americans), a topic I explored in my dissertation in 2005 and a journal article in 2010.

#### ***Personal Account #2: Hideaki Onishi, 2001-present***

I began learning *kulintang* with Pamela Costes in the fall of 2001 at the UW with no previous experience whatsoever. No transcription whatsoever was used. I had assumed that it was enough to play patterns as taught and thus did not really try to variegate or add to the given melodies. One of the few exceptions was a Maranao tune called *Kanditagaanon*. She taught me two long and two short patterns and told me that when I go back to the long patterns I can extend one of them as I wished. That

was the only freedom I had, but it was probably the beginning of my improvisation. Another exception is *Tagunggo*, a Maguindanaon tune. I did not learn it in the lesson, but heard Pam and Hector Montances (a FAYCCA member) play it and began playing it myself. This self-learning process would give me certain freedom later. To summarize, I did not improvise much nor think I was aware of it.

This began to change slowly, as I started research on *kulintang* and the first major topic was *kulintang* improvisation. Aga Mayo Butocan (lesson, 2009) referred to the three ways of improvisation: 1) doubling, 2) simultaneous stroke, and 3) melodic variation. The melodic variation is most fundamental (it is actually composing a new melody) and thus the most difficult.

However, improvisation is something you do. It is not something you think or talk about. I began to improvise only when we founded Sari-Sari Philippine Kulintang Ensemble in September 2009 and practicing regularly. In order to be able to get away from the pattern, you have to know it in its stylistic features (contour and rhythm) and the general feelings of the genre. You have to know what can be changed and what should stay. Improvisation on *kulintang* (as well as on other instruments) can be developed only slowly, but my *Kanditagaonon* has freed itself. Some of my vocabulary of melodic variations include: 1) three against four on 7-6-5; and 2) making steps into skips (for example, 3-5-4-6 instead of 3-4-3-4-5-6-5-6). I have also come to integrate Butocan's techniques into my new vocabulary, and applied it to some *Binalig* melodies and *Tagunggo*. True freedom in *kulintang* improvisation is hard to come by; it can be achieved only through continuous practice and trial and error.

## Proposed Methodology

This newly proposed methodology is meant to address the practical concerns in the institutional setting and in private lessons that we discussed above. It is something that the authors are trying out in their own teaching and learning practices, which will be discussed in detail later.

### 1. Non-formal teaching

The first two approaches draw partly from the Musical Futures project popular in schools in the UK pioneered out of the study by Lucy Green on the learning processes of popular musicians (2008). As a matter of fact, these approaches are not any different from most traditional musical settings. Here the teacher serves only as a guide or facilitator and mainly teaches by modelling but also allows students to explore the ideas on their own, correcting them only when necessary.

### 2. Informal learning

Here students learn from their fellow students by interacting and sharing the ideas they have crafted in their lessons; they learn through an active exchange of ideas that becomes a repository of the *kulintang* language. Successful student versions can become additional listening sources.

### 3. Quota of created versions or varied melodies

Students can be given certain quota per semester on creating their own versions or variations of the melodies as guided by the instructor who is a native musician or someone who has acquired adequate knowledge of the *kulintang* vocabulary, or:

### 4. Flexibility on how many versions per semester/term/year (quality instead of quantity)

In this alternative approach to point 3, students are given free rein on how many versions or creations based on their ability to progress. If they must be evaluated, the criteria should be based on the quality of what was produced as opposed to the quantity. Students should be able to demonstrate understanding of the *kulintang* idiom in what they are able to produce.

### 5. Composition exercises: explore idioms, new compositions

This can be an added exercise for the students. In this approach, the students are asked to explore their understanding of the idioms by actually composing new melodies. This can be a good way to explore the *kulintang* beyond its boundaries. The new composition should still retain stylistic features of *kulintang* (until the student develops skills and creativity to compose something completely new).

### Consistencies with the Tradition

The proposed methodology is consistent with the tradition as discussed earlier:

- Existing transcriptions and field recordings, and newly created versions and compositions should all remain as sources for building a larger *kulintang* vocabulary. This is similar to the way native musicians build up their vocabulary by exposure and absorption. Transcriptions should not be copied and played verbatim, because they are all contextual and there *are* mistakes either in the transcription or the performance on which the transcription is based.
- Informal and non-formal learning/teaching simulates the village situation
- Personalization of melodies through exploration and creation
- Dynamism within the ensemble will be better achieved

### Practical Applications: Sari-Sari Philippine Kulintang Ensemble (Singapore)

This is a short account on how the above processes affected the authors' ensemble in Singapore, which consisted of members who are trained almost exclusively in Western music.

- The first group (September 2009) learned with transcription for the accompanying instruments due to lack of time; this was pushed by the necessity for immediate performance, which is similar to what happened to Kalanduyan and Cadar at the UW.
- Gradually, we tried the non-formal teaching (point 1 above) in a basic *Binalig* melody, demonstrating Butocan's three different ways of variation to the members. We also encouraged them to listen to the others' versions critically. This successfully resulted in each member creating a different rendition of the same melody
- "Accidental (unintentional)" Improvisation: When a different melody came out because a member has forgotten or made a mistake but the note "felt right" (i.e. played a variation of the original within the rhythmic cycle), we left it at that (cf. Usopay 2012, "mistakes can be interesting variations in themselves").
- Improvisations on the accompanying instruments are intensive and continually explored by more experienced members.

### Conclusions and Actions

- Institutions should set out clear objectives in their incorporation of the *kulintang* into their programs; is it for replicating, performance and preservation of existing field research versions? Or, is it for deeper understanding and further explorations of the *kulintang* idiom? Our goal is (clearly) the latter.
- Our research in *kulintang* for the past five years is towards the direction of creating a vocabulary of idioms for reference of a *kulintang* instruments learner/player.
- Our proposed methodology through practical applications has not only been tested by us but also assessed and approved by native musicians. Our style of playing is not fully matured yet, but evidence shows it is in the right direction of "preservation" or creative regeneration (Onishi & Costes-Onishi, 2010) of the *kulintang* tradition.

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## **TRANSFORMATION IN THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF *BORIA* IN INSTITUTIONS AND SCHOOLS IN PENANG**

### **Introduction**

The premise of sustaining and perpetuating the continuity of *Boria* practices has been realized through the inclusion of the genre into the formal school and institution music curricula. *Boria* is one of the selected genres taught in the Traditional Aesthetic Appreciation classes in the lower secondary level (ages 13-15) in the Malaysian Integrated Secondary school music curriculum (where Music is an elective subject) and in the teachers' Music Education Program. *Boria* is also conducted outside of school hours as an extra-curricular activity at both primary (ages 10-12), and secondary (ages 13-17) levels to enable the children to recreate this art form. Hence, to revitalize traditions among the young, local music educators devised various pedagogical transmissions to engage the children in learning this performing art.

This paper focuses on the transformative strategies and approaches used in the teaching and learning of *Boria* (from multiple entry points) via the Theory of Multiple Intelligences to enable more students to experience, understand and appreciate the musical and performance styles of *Boria*. According to this theory, each individual is capable of learning and solving problems through eight different potential pathways such as 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 also investigates the pedagogical methodology applied by teachers in schools to develop and enhance the children's skills in this musical expression.

The discussion of the multi-faceted strategies and approaches used in the teaching and learning of *Boria* is based on a module developed by the researcher according to the music syllabus used in the Teachers Education Institution. This research involved a case study comprising 50 students from the Teachers Education Institution in Penang and interviews conducted with five music teachers from two secondary schools and a primary school in Penang. Qualitative methods used include direct observation, participant-observation, individual and focus group interviews, video documentation of students' performances, and students' reflection. An emphasis on the triangulation of data to ensure validity includes 5-point *Likert* scale questionnaires.

### **The Evolution of *Boria* in Penang and its Pedagogical Transmission**

*Boria* performances regimented along the lines of contemporary interest, are constantly adapting to the times. Beginning as a Muslim ritualistic activity in the middle of the 19th century, *Boria* was performed religiously for 10 days during the month of Muharram. Earlier *Boria* activities included costume parades wearing sackcloth (to indicate mourning), visiting the houses of the wealthy, praising the wealthy patrons, and singing songs concerning the martyrs of Kerbala during the daytime, and the presentation of plays in the evening (Hamilton, 1920; Ghulam Sarwar, 2002). During the 1920s and 1930s, *Boria* was reported to have adapted *Ronggeng* dance repertoires (*joget*, *inang*, *asli*) and dances created for the *Bangsawan* theatre, which was part of the popular urban culture in Penang (Abdullah Darus, 1983).

Other transformations included the development of *Boria* into two segments comprising (1) a comedy sketch and (2) a song and dance routine in the 1950s. In the first segment, three or four actors spontaneously improvised dialogues and acted the slapstick comedy reflecting current and urban social issues. The second segment featured a lead singer (*tukang karang*) and chorus (sailors) of from twelve to twenty participants happily frolicking and moving to music. This two-segment device has remained as the dominant feature of *Boria* practices until today.

Instrumentation in *Boria* included both traditional and western ensembles. Western ensembles normally used instruments performed in the local popular music industry, which included a trap set,

electric guitars and keyboard synthesizers in the 1970s and 1980s. With the advancement of musical technology, the music orchestration of *Boria* in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has adapted the use of digital program music such as *Cakewalk SONAR* for recording and manipulating the unlimited multi-track digital audio.

Amidst these transformations, the newly arranged songs retained their local folk essence by using a set rhyming scheme outline (a,a,a,a) in the song text, and sailors performed ordered unison dance steps and routines. Performers wore brightly coloured uniformed eclectic costumes (with layered sleeves) and carried hand-decorated paraphernalia such as flags, umbrellas and palm blossom *bunga manggar* (Plate 1).

For plates see published Proceedings

**Plate 1. Boria costumes and paraphernalia. (Photo: L. C. Toh, 1997)**

Traditionally, local artists taught *Boria* to the community through direct participation via the informal system of learning as in the oral tradition. The lyrics, sketches and music were performed through the aural memory with a sense of extemporization and aptitude for variation without the use of written methodologies (Toh, 1998). The traditional pedagogical transmission of *Boria* has evolved since its introduction into the formal music education system. The transformative pedagogical applications in the teaching and learning of *Boria* are in congruence with the development of new learning cognitive theories and artistic trends in the performance of *Boria* in Penang.

**Teaching and Learning *Boria* through the Theory of Multiple Intelligences at the Teachers Education Institution**

Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences recognizes the diverse competencies of human intelligences, and suggests different potential pathways to knowing and learning. Learning approaches used in this research 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 (Gardner, 2006). This approach was used to understand and appreciate *Boria* performances through hands-on practice. The collaborative approach encourages joint intellectual efforts, sharing of authority and acceptance of responsibility among group members (Panitz, 1996). Jigsaw activities that nurtured positive independence among group members and distinctive contributions from each student were cultivated in the process of reenacting *Boria* performances. Multi-dimensional instructional strategies encompassed analyzing and creating new musical compositions, processing new song texts, designing *Boria* props and costumes using recycled materials, and executing dramatic role-play and movements to the songs.

### Creating Musical Compositions of *Boria* (Logical and Musical Intelligence)

To discern the sensitivity of the musical characteristics of *Boria*, students observed and analyzed the artistic manifestations of the localized *Boria* repertoires from popular *Boria* troupes in Penang namely the *Boria Anak Tanjung*, *Boria Wawasan* and *Boria SMK Permatang Tok Jaya*. Through the logical entry point, students examined the subtle connections of the *Lagu Boria*, deducing the evocative repetitive melodic motifs and sequences recurring in each phrase of the stanza, the organization of common chord progressions (Chords I, IV and V), and the typical binary form (AB). The systematic and analytical description of the *Lagu Boria* fostered students' understanding of the *lagu*, and instilled awareness of the organization of the piece and its eclectic instrumentation.

To internalize the musical characteristics of the genre, the students collaboratively generated new *Boria* pieces to show their understanding of the underlying musical constructs of the *Boria* musical composition. Through the musical and logical entry points, students translated the *Boria* themes suggested into a rhythmic series of recurring melodic motifs and harmonies capturing the artistic stance of the *lagu Boria* using the current musical software for composition and notation such as *Finale* and *Cake walk SONAR* (Figure 1).

**Score**

**Boria RRR**

Allegro (M.M. ♩ = c. 120)

The figure shows a musical score for 'Boria RRR' in 4/4 time, marked 'Allegro (M.M. ♩ = c. 120)'. The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes a Piano part with a treble and bass clef, a Tambourine part with a single line and a 4/4 time signature, and a Kompang part with a single line and a 4/4 time signature. The second system includes a Pno. part with a treble and bass clef, a Tambourine part, and a Kompang part. The score ends with 'etc'.

Figure 1. *Lagu Boria* composed by the students

The findings demonstrated that more students with various intelligence dispositions agreed and somewhat agreed that they are able to apply the musical characteristics of *Boria* in their musical composition collectively to show their performance of understanding (Table 1).

	N	Do not Agree	Do not Quite Agree	Not Sure	Agree Somewhat	Agree
Pre-	50	40%	20%	22%	16%	2%
Post	50			10%	24%	66%

Table 1. Ability to create *lagu Boria* collectively

A student with high musical intelligence and keen interest in playing musical instruments commented, “I remembered the musical characteristics of *Boria* and its musical form through creating the songs collectively and playing it on the piano.”

**Creating *Boria* Texts through Poetic Expression (Verbal Linguistic Intelligence)**

In recollecting and understanding the *Boria* musical texts, students compiled the *Boria* songs from its extensive repertoire and examined the meanings and connotations of words, its rhyming verse and rules governing the poetic text. To develop keen mastery of creating the *Boria* texts, students collectively marshalled quatrains of artistic verses and juxtaposed words with a set rhyming scheme (a,a,a,a) into their musical composition to demonstrate a fresh realization of this musical element. Students carefully selected words incorporating features of Penang dialects and idioms, rhythms and inflections to convey their set ideas and themes reflecting current environmental and social issues. The suggested theme of “cleanliness” (Figure 2), reflected the recently launched campaign “The Cleaner Greener Penang Initiative” by the local authority.

<i>Jaga kebersihan tujuan utama</i>	Maintaining cleanliness is our main aim
<i>Amalan murni sekalian lama</i>	The practice of good old virtues
<i>Rakyat membantu sama-sama</i>	Citizens helping one another
<i>Agar ketenangan kekal bersama</i>	So that serenity lasts forever

**Figure 2. Creating *Boria* texts with a set rhyming scheme**

Collective compositions enable students with different intelligence capacities to develop their sensitivity to the meaning of words, appreciate subtle shades of difference and become aware of the syntactic and pragmatic capacity of words. As declared by one of the students, “it was a new experience for me and it enhanced my vocabulary. It posed a challenge for us to select the correct choice of words and to deliver it within a relatively compact set of lines.”

The findings also demonstrated that more students agreed and somewhat agreed that they are able to create *Boria* verses collectively using the specified set rhyming scheme (refer Table 2).

	N	Do not Agree	Do not Quite Agree	Not Sure	Agree Somewhat	Agree
Pre-	50	36%	26%	20%	16%	2%
Post	50				40%	60%

**Table 2. Ability to Create *Boria* texts using a set rhyming scheme**

**Designing *Boria* Costumes and Props using Recycled Materials (Visual Spatial and Natural Intelligence)**

Creating representations using recycled materials enabled students to conjure up mental images of *Boria* costumes and paraphernalia, and to discover unusual possibilities for the artistic use of materials. Students assembled colourful plastics into multi-coloured layers and glued them to used plastic mineral water bottles to create the resemblance of the fashionable personalized layered sleeves worn by the sailors.

Students with visual cognitive strengths entwined shimmery sweet and biscuit wrappers around thin sticks of coconut fronds to model palm blossom (*bunga manggar*) which is one of the significant hand paraphernalia used in *Boria* performances. Hair bun accessories were fashioned by configuring moon cake containers into various geometric forms. Students mobilized their origami skills by creating super-hip hats and top hats from newspapers of various sizes (Plate 2).

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**Plate 2. Uniformed *Boria* costumes and hand-props designed by the students  
(Photo: L. C. Toh, 2011)**

Students' reflections revealed that this learning strategy engendered deep involvement among their peers, and they acknowledged that it was a valuable learning experience in sharing responsibilities, ideas, artistic knowledge and creative skills. As one said, "We learned to cooperate, got to know our friends better and learned from each other." The findings also demonstrated that more students with various intelligence prepositions agreed and somewhat agreed that they were able to share ideas to create *Boria* costumes and hand-props collectively using recycled materials (Table 3).

	N	Do not Agree	Do not Quite agree	Not Sure	Agree Somewhat	Agree
Pre-	50	28%	20%	28%	18%	6%
Post	50			10%	26%	64%

**Table 3. Ability to collectively share ideas in creating costumes and props using recycled materials**

Creative experience also substituted intrinsic for explicit motivation, as highlighted by one of the students with visual cognitive capacity who said, "This activity has motivated me to learn more about *Boria* and its performance styles." Experiential learning also initiated a process of self-awareness and discovery. As declared by one of the students, "The casualness of configuring representations has made us aware about the usefulness of recycled materials."

**Physical Engagements in *Boria* Performances (Kinesthetic Intelligence)**

The cohesiveness of movements and music is evident in the performance of *Boria*. Incorporating physical movements into the *Boria* composition enabled students with kinesthetic strengths to engage in creative expression, and yielded opportunities for other students to develop keen mastery of the *Boria* routine. The *Boria* steps of the earlier periods incorporated regimented formations of linear floor plans with the dancers' torso carriages being upright and their feet sidestepping inwards and outwards from the processional line (Mohd. Anis, 2002). Collectively, students created variations to the ordered repetitive dance steps. Performing *Boria* has also given the opportunity for the students to learn, synthesize and demonstrate their knowledge of *Boria* routines.

Through "interpretive embodiment," students transformed daily actions and elements from ethnic cultures into rhythmic movements to showcase the innovative opening to their performances and in the humorous comic skit. The advent of new communicative media and secularization of the expressive forms prompted new styles in the introductory movement of *Boria*. For example, one of the groups created movements reflecting the action of rowing into the stage depicting scenes from the movie *Pirates of the Caribbean*.

### Teaching and Learning *Boria* through Team Teaching in Schools

Interdisciplinary team dynamics is one of the popular pedagogical approaches adopted in the teaching and learning of *Boria* in schools, since it requires a wide range of artistic forms, representing the very spectrum of poetry, music, acting, dance and visual arts elements. Teachers with different cognitive strengths (verbal linguistics, musical, kinesthetic and visual-spatial capacities) distinctively combined their respective artistic skills to engage students in attaining the desirable competencies in performing the *Boria*. The performance of *Boria* in schools exemplified the current trend of *Boria* practices, which are organized along the lines of mainstream expression.

Music teachers in schools utilized virtual instruments such as software synthesizers and drum machines from the digital audio workstation *Cakewalk SONAR* to orchestrate their *Boria* compositions. To captivate the children's interest in performing *Boria*, one of the teachers with musical cognitive strengths redefined the typical musical form of *Boria* (AB) into two sets of songs and an engaging bridge (AB C A'B'). This complemented the expressive plane of *Boria* repertoires. The second set of songs portraying a livelier tempo modulates to a different key but retains the original chord progressions. New harmonies with inflected flattened 5<sup>th</sup> and minor 7<sup>th</sup> were inserted into the existing common chord progressions.

Teachers with linguistic strengths helped the children to incorporate their linguistic command of phonology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics into their creative expression of the schematic rhyming verse and comic skit to portray sentiments regarding current social issues and national ideologies. Language teachers demonstrated their linguistics prowess by skilfully creating images of the 1Malaysia concept in the schematic rhymed *Boria* texts to highlight the nation's principle of unity in diversity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Figure 3).

<i>Tolong menolong bekerjasama</i>	Helping one another to cooperate
<i>Bagaikan lagu bersama irama</i>	As in song and rhythm
<i>Tak kira bangsa, kaum dan agama</i>	Without differentiating race, ethnicity and religion
<i>Kita satu Malaysia, itu yang utama</i>	We are 1Malaysia, which is of utmost importance

**Figure 3. Creating rhymed *Boria* texts to highlight 1Malaysia concept**

The children were taught to execute the *Boria* dance routine precisely in shape and time by teachers in school with kinesthetic interest. One of the teachers initiated fun in learning *Boria* by allowing older students (Form 4) with physical dexterity to discover and create short rhythmic dance motifs to the existing ordered dance routine. Most schools also cultivated the apprenticeship system in learning *Boria* by enabling the older children to teach and demonstrate the dance routine to the younger children thus sustaining the continuity of *Boria* in schools. As said by one of the dance teachers in a school, "*Boria* is the niche area in my schools. The older children who have learnt the *Boria* routine since Year 4 enjoyed executing, creating and sharing the *Boria* movements with their younger peers."

In addition, one of the major forces that contributed to the vibrant performances of *Boria* in schools is the graphic artistry of paraphernalia and costumes designed by the teachers with visual capacities. One of the visual arts' teachers in school transformed and modified plain paper umbrellas into colourful geometric designed hand-props using bright shimmering materials to complement the brightly coloured *Boria* costumes. Teachers with visual spatial interest also shared their visual experience in facilitating the designs of the heavily sequined vest (worn by the lead singer) and the brightly coloured eclectic *Boria* costumes (worn by the sailors) to enliven the surrounding ambiance of the *Boria* performances.

Working and performing as an ensemble sparked active participation between both students and teachers in schools, and encouraged active interaction and understanding among peers. Teaching and learning *Boria* across several dimensions through team teaching has also enabled more students to experience the fun of learning the genre and rekindled the appreciation of this syncretic art form.

## Conclusions

The findings show that transformative pedagogical applications in Teachers Education Institution and schools via creative experiences enabled more students to comprehend the musical elements and artistic performance of *Boria*. Multiple representations enabled students to capitalize their cognitive potential, and served as a springboard to reinforce the students' understanding of the musical characteristics of *Boria*. The students gained self-confidence from appreciating his/her own best learning abilities in a positive learning environment. Rich experiences through multiple entry points also served as venues to stimulate other intelligence strengths of students, and develop self-regulation. Interdisciplinary team teaching enabled teachers of various capacities to share their expertise and creativeness in the teaching and learning of *Boria* and thus provided an avenue for the continuity of *Boria* practices in Penang.

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## THEME TWO

### SOUTHEAST ASIAN BODIES, MUSIC, DANCE AND OTHER MOVEMENT ARTS

Theme II “Southeast Asian Bodies, Music, Dance and other Movement Arts”, sub-topic: Movement Arts & the Southeast Asian Body, was begun by Uwe U. Paetzold (Robert Schumann Univ. of Music, Germany) on “*Benjang* – An Indigenous Fighting Art and Its Music Coping with the Challenges to Maintain its Identity in the Eastern Suburbs of Bandung City, West Java (Indonesia)”. Discussion on movement arts continued with Paul H. Mason (Macquarie Univ., Australia) speaking on “Sound Movement: Self-Accompanied and Musician-Accompanied Movement in West Sumatran Plate Dancing”, and Lilymae F. Montano (Univ. of the Philippines/Philippine Women’s Univ.) “Claiming Social Justice in a Cordillera Community in the Philippines: The Ifugao *Himong Revenge Dance*”.

The sub-topic movement and the Southeast Asian Body continued with Maria Christine Muyco (Univ. of the Philippines) presenting “Space Constitutions in Panay Bukidnon’s Music and Dance”, a lightning session by Hanafi Hussin (Univ. of Malaya, Malaysia) and MCM Santamaria (Univ. of the Philippines) on “*Igal Campur*: Interrogating Hybridity in Sama Traditional Dance”, and Cynthia Afable (Philippine Women’s Univ./Univ. of Sto. Tomas) presenting a lightning paper on “The Tagalog *Paawitan* Today in the Province of Quezon, Philippines”.

With a focus on movement and the Southeast Asian body in the performing arts of Malaysia, we heard Mohd Anis Md Nor (Univ. of Malaya, Malaysia) speaking on “Zapin-Melayu in Johor: Constructing Malay-ness from the Body, Music and Dance of Hadhramaut”, Patricia Matusky (Independent Scholar, USA) presenting a paper on “Puppets, Movement and Music: Knowing and Meaning in a Malay *wayang kulit* tradition,” and Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Universiti Malaysia Sabah, Malaysia) on “Music, Movement, Sport and Identity: The *Mouliian Tagunggak* of the Gana Murut of Sabah, Malaysia”.

A final group of papers on movement and the Southeast Asian body was presented as a panel with discussant Ricardo Trimillos. All panel presenters approached this topic in specific contexts and from the point of view of Filipino Americans. The papers were Wayland Quintero (Univ. of Malaya, Malaysia) speaking on “Not Muslim Music and Dance! Filipino American Responses to ‘Muslim’ and Islamophobia”, Bernard Ellorin (Univ. of Hawai’i at Manoa, USA) on “*Samahan* versus *Pasacat*: Hybridity and Mimesis of Philippine Folk Dance and Music in San Diego, California”, and Desiree A. Quintero (Univ. of Hawai’i at Manoa, USA) presenting “Costuming as Moro: Filipino Americans as Shifters in the Re-Siting of Filipino-ness”. Discussion and commentary on these and related issues was led by Ricardo Trimillos with the three presenters as well as questions from the audience.

Theme II “Southeast Asian Bodies, Music, Dance and other Movement Arts” was also approached from the sub-topic Movement, Music, Ritual and Theatre. Three sessions were devoted to this sub-topic. We heard first from Felicidad Prudente (Univ. of the Philippines/Philippine Women’s Univ.) on “Calling the Spirit: A Ritual of the Buaya Kalinga People of Northern Philippines”, Tsai Tsung Te (Tainan National Univ. of the Arts, Taiwan) speaking on “Religion, Chant, and Healing: *Ruqyah* Medical System and Islamic Chant in Java”, and Sumarsam (Wesleyan Univ., USA) presenting the paper entitled “Islamic Perspectives on Traditional Javanese Music and Theater”.

Other sessions on the sub-topic Movement, Music, Ritual and Theatre included Tan Sooi Beng (Univ. Sains Malaysia) speaking on “Mediating Pluralism and Modernity through Comic Songs in Colonial Malaya”, Patricia Hardwick (Independent Scholar, USA) speaking on “A King, A Palace, A Country: Exploring the Conceptualization of the Body in *Mak Yong* Healing Performances in Rural Kelantan, Malaysia”, Christine Yun – May Yong’s (Univ. of Malaya, Malaysia) paper entitled “*Monkey Business*: Interweaving Stories into Contemporary Gamelan Performance”, Sarah Anaïs Andrieu (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, France) presenting “Creative Processes, Perception and their Redefinition in Contemporary Traditional Performance: The Example of Sundanese *wayang golek* (West Java, Indonesia)”, and Ako Mashino (Tokyo Univ. of the Arts, Japan) presenting “The Body Producing the Music: Voice, Body, and Music in the Balinese Musical Theater, *Arja*”.

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***BENJANG* – AN INDIGENOUS FIGHTING ART AND ITS MUSIC COPING WITH THE CHALLENGES TO MAINTAIN ITS IDENTITY IN THE EASTERN SUBURBS OF BANDUNG CITY, WEST JAVA**

To some extent, the *Benjang* can be said to be another kind of “deep play” – to say it with Clifford Geertz (1972/1983) – at least in evoking an emotionally tight and dense atmosphere during rural and suburban, traditionally ritual festive gatherings in West Java. But it is somewhat less of this type of event in regard to negotiating aspects of symbolic status of the performers, and certainly less in regard to a psychological identification of spectators with the performers, as Geertz claims for the Balinese cockfight. The performance profile of *Benjang* rather is that of a sportive fighting art at its core, its interactions come close to what we may label as “wrestling”. It appears to be a quite “rustic”, clearly male oriented movement and fighting art, which is practiced alongside a set of rules differentiating it from Javanese *Gulat*. As with the *Gulat*, the *Benjang* has in common some aspects of fighting techniques, with the traditional *Penca(k Silat)*, it has in common the use of music during performances.

The *Benjang* is locally regarded as one of the arts contributing to parades and processions, which in BI is labeled with the terms “*helaran*”, “*arak-arakan*”, or “*pawai*”.<sup>1</sup> I first learned about this sportive fighting art during a field research in West Java in 1990, and had an opportunity to learn more about it during a field trip in 2006, which made me curious: I was quite astonished to still find this art alive then, because I did not find any notice on it during a longer, 10 month research in 1994-1995. As I learned then, in fact, the late 1980s till the mid-1990s was a time when this sportive performance art was close to run into oblivion, and hardly was to be found performed anymore. Obviously, this had changed in the decade in between.

**Historical Narration of the Genealogy of (*Seni*) *Benjang* until about 1996**

The *Benjang* and its music up to this day can be found within a quite narrow local area of dissemination only. This area encompasses the vicinities in and around Ujungberung, between Sumedang and Ujungberung, between Ujungberung and Jatinangor, and the district Buah Batu, one of the eastern suburbs of Bandung city.

Today, the *Benjang* has drawn recognition and interest from local dance and movement art specialists. Though they are available at the STSI in Bandung (West Java) only, the research reports by Surwa (1984), Hidayat (1991), and Widaningsih (2000) helped me to learn more about this art and its performance contexts, and widened the information provided by the short early article by Soepandi & Atmadibrata (1976). A certainly somewhat wider dissemination found the short informative and well readable column on “*bénjang*” within the “*Ensiklopedi Sunda*” (2000, p. 117), compiled and edited by an extensive team led by Ajip Rosidi, first published in August 2000. Further on, *Benjang* today receives quite some reception from local daily newspapers and local website reports.

According to local information, the roots of *Benjang* performance practice can be seen in a local variant of *Terbangan* frame drumming that grew in the vicinity of Ujungberung since the late 19th century. From this art of *Terbangan* grew a music art known as *Dogong*, which featured a *kendang* drum, a *kecrek* idiophone, and a *tarompét* reed instrument, in addition to several frame drums.

Into this *Dogong*, a competitive art using simple fighting techniques, like pushing and shoving the opponent (*dorong mendorong*) with a flail (BS: *halu*), which was then used for pounding rice, became integrated. Here, for the first time, aspects of a competitive, sportive movement art came in. Together with the music art *Dogong*, these movement and action elements became known as *Serendan* (from BS: *sered* = to push). Further action techniques employed here were “lifting an opponent off his feet and laying him down”, which is called *genyenyeng*, and “to pull each other”, which is called *pakenyang-kenyang* in Sundanese. Etymologically, from these two terms the acronym “*Genyang/Genjang*” was designed, which finally became pronounced as “*Benjang*”.

Finally, into this set of performance characteristics, dance movements rooted in traditional *Penca(k Silat)*, became integrated. This is especially the case for the *tari Badud* part of a *Benjang* performance, which shows some similarities with the (*tepak*) *Golempang* form section of a traditional West Javanese *Penca* performance. This (*tepak*) *Golempang*, which is rarely seen during *Pencak Silat* performances today, serves as a burlesque part of traditional *Penca*. Here, the performer challenges possible competitors by circling around the arena, behaving as if his back is aching from age, and pretending he will be an easy prey to any competitor. Another “strategy” applied by a challenger will be trying to “drag” a certain competitor into the fighting arena – with the help of an invisible and imagined rope.

In the introductory *tari Badud* of the *Benjang*, as described earlier, we see a similar action being applied. This whole set of performance elements became known as (*seni*) *Benjang* (Hidayat, 1991, p. 7), a development said to have taken place during the early years of the 20th century.

### **Administrative Developments during the 1980s to 1990s**

Since 1990, the vicinity of Ujungberung became integrated into the administration of the city (*kotamadya*) of Bandung, whereas up to then it had belonged to the administration of the district (*kabupaten*) of Bandung (Hidayat, 1991, p. 9). With this development, considerable changes occurred when agricultural territories were turned into territories for industrial and settlement facilities. The area around Ujungberung changed from an agriculturally dominated location to an outskirts of the province capital of Bandung. With this, the necessities for agricultural year cycle ceremonies became gradually obsolete. The practice of performances started getting lost, and key persons died of age.

Retaining its performance settings in a static way, the *Benjang* lost its attraction for its locally grown audiences by that time and new audiences were not any longer interested in this art. On top of this, local rural bound arts like *Benjang* had to cope with the developments of the urban entertainment industry of Bandung. The supply of TV, cinema, and popular music did their part to diminish the older relationships of this performance art and the cultural backgrounds it had grown from. A further factor important for the diminishing interest in *Benjang* was the advent of international competitive fighting sports like *Karate* or *Taekwondo*, disseminated by Television and Cinema especially.

What seemed to be lacking within the old established performance settings of *Benjang* then was a stronger pronunciation of a sportive organization on the one hand, and greater dynamics of its performance modes on the other hand. Some kind of revitalization seemed to be inevitable to further provide the existence of *Benjang*.

### **Description of action**

The movement action of a *Benjang* performance starts with the *tari Badud* as the first regular part of the *Benjang* performance. The performer opens the fight by entering the arena with dance-like, more or less burlesque movements. His movements are executed according to the rhythm of the accompanying music ensemble, though he is otherwise quite free to choose how he wants to move around. The whole gesture of the *tari Badud* is that of a presentation of one’s self-virile prowess, and an invitation to the possible opponents gathered to join the fighter in the arena for a match. The *tari Badud* ends as soon as an opponent decides to join the inviter in the arena.

Next then, both opponents are called to the center of the arena by one of the elderly organizers (BI: *ketua*) of the *Benjang* performance, who will serve as referee as well, to show their hands and make sure they wear no rings, nor wrist watches, that could injure the opponent. When the *ketua* is certain the match will be fair, he gives a sign to both fighters to salute each other.



Plate 1. Video still of an unknown *Benjang* performer from a Ujungberung group led by Pak Nunung Aspali and Pak Wikarta searches to challenge a possible competitor while executing a *tari Badud* at the beginning of a *Benjang* performance. (Video taken in Bandung, Lapangan Gasibu, 8 October 1990)

### *Benjang*

Then the fighting part of a *Benjang* performance starts. Only certain kinds of attack and defence movements, using certain parts of the body, are allowed. Except keeping direct contact by taking the opponent by his wrist, few hand actions are still used. Instead, the opponents move close to each other, trying to push each other with their shoulders.

As soon as one of the fighters is thrown to the ground, the match is finished, and the winner is announced by the *ketua*. All this usually occurs in quite a short time frame from only some seconds up to some minutes. The two fighters rise from the ground again, and are advised to once again give a salute to each other, and the arena is prepared for the next match.



Plate 2. Video still of two *Benjang* performers from Ujungberung in action. The music instruments to be seen in the back of the stage were not employed in this performance. (Video taken in Bandung, Lapangan Gasibu, 8 October 1990)

### On the Music in (*Seni*) *Benjang*

While all this happens, a music ensemble is playing without hesitation, to enhance and fire up the fighters' spirits, and those of the audience. The (*Seni*) *Benjang*, as it can be observed nowadays, uses a set of music instruments (BI: *tetabuhan Benjang*) that consists of a big double conical, double skin drum *kendang indung*, four frame drums *ter(e)bang* with different sizes and tuning (from high to low: *kempring*, *tojo*, *bungbrung*, and *indung*), a middle sized drum *bedug*, an idiophone *kecrek*, and a double reed instrument *tarompet* (with seven holes). The ensemble does not use a gong.

To the rhythm patterns performed by this instrumental ensemble, singing of local folk songs (*lagu rakyat daerah*), rhythmic vocal interjections (*alok*), and fiery shouts (*senggak*) can be executed by the musicians. Some of the songs used within *Benjang* performances are *Kembang Beureum*, *Sorong Dayung*, and *Renggong Gancang*.

To once again relate things to the Geertz essay: This embedding of the whole competitive performance into a musical soundscape, displaying metrical and repetitive rhythmic patterns and circulating melodies, certainly is the feature that discerns a *Benjang* performance most clearly from traditional Balinese cockfights. While in the Balinese setting the possibly deadly competitive presentation of the cocks seems spellbinding and fascinating enough to keep the spectators attention at a maximum peak, this is different in the case of the *Benjang* setting of the Ujungberung region. Here, a music sound "tapestry" is employed to take out of and "release" both competitors and spectators from an everyday sensual perception, and allow them to flow into an alternate state of perception of being embedded and harmonized into a temporal community.

Though this may sound somewhat strange, I do not think that the fact that in the Balinese setting two animals are the main protagonists of the event, and in the case of *Benjang* these are two male human beings, does make a fundamental difference. Hence, what makes a difference is the addition of music to the scenery in the case of *Benjang*. Whilst in the Balinese setting an embedding and harmonization is mainly achieved through the many rules of a cockfight that Geertz describes, within the *Benjang* setting it is the music that provides this feature. Patterns of performance characteristics similar to that of *Benjang* can be observed in other West Javanese competitive performance arts, like the all-West Javanese traditional *Penca(k Silat)*, or the traditional *Adu Domba*<sup>2</sup> ram fighting of the Garut region. Therefore, I suggest to rather count the musical feature as one discerning the Balinese and Sundanese cultural settings addressed.



Plate 3. Video still of *tarompet* and *kendang* musicians accompanying the *Benjang* performers from Ujungberung in Bandung, Lapangan Gasibu. During the author's presentation in the Symposium, a video sample showing the *tari Badud*, and the *Benjang* fighting together with the accompanying music was shown to the audience. (Video taken in Bandung, Lapangan Gasibu, 8 October 1990)

### Processional performance arts enhancing a Benjang match

While the *tari Badud* is seen as a mandatory part of the competitive fighting art *Benjang*, there are further parts of the performance that are optional, and may change according to the particular performance context. One can say the *Benjang* has “gathered” some elements of additional performance arts of the Sundanese *kesenian rakyat* (folk arts) repertoire. These additional arts are the *tari Bangbarongan*<sup>3</sup>, *tari Topeng Benjang*<sup>4</sup>, *Kuda lumping*<sup>5</sup>, and sometimes (*tari*) *Memeniran*, or *Badawang (Panawakan)*<sup>6</sup> in particular. All these processional arts precede the actual *Benjang* matches; they are employed to 'fire up' the arena, to enliven up the audience, and to make the audience “*ramai*”.

Interesting enough is the fact that the *tari Bangbarongan* is one of the oldest folk dance-theatre like performance genres we find in West Java until today. An early source where a *Ba(ng)barongan* is cited, we find in the *Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesian* (1987, 83, hal. XVI), a *lontar* manuscript from the early 16th century, dealing with the customs, habits, life organization, courtly and folk arts in the kingdom of Pajajaran during the times of king Sri Baduga Maharaja in an encyclopedical style.

It is especially these additional parts of a *Benjang* performance which have changed most during the last three decades, and which contributed to the change of the *Benjang* from a ritual, merely sportive agricultural event, to a staged performance art. If all these mandatory and optional arts are present within a performance, this is called (*Seni*) *Benjang helaran*<sup>7</sup>, or “*Benjang* procession for attracting the public”.

### Occasions for *Benjang* Performance

As I argued at the beginning of this text, the *Benjang* can be said to be another kind of “deep play”, at least in evoking an emotionally tight and dense atmosphere during rural and suburban, traditionally ritual festive gatherings in West Java. The biggest difference to a Balinese cockfight, hence, can be seen in the circumstance that, though the *Benjang* performance is a competitive activity within – at least sometimes still – a ritual setting, this competitive sensual habitus is not taken over by the audience. Though certainly becoming inspired and animated by the ongoing event, the audience will keep in a non-competitive mood, and just enjoy what is happening.

The use of this competitive fighting art changed over the times, from enhancing and enriching local agricultural and religious year and life cycle ceremonies, to a merely sportive performance art. During this development, its place of performance changed from the harvested field, to the house yard, or public yard, and to the performance stage, or arena, nowadays.

Traditional agricultural contexts, where this performance art once was used, were the plowing of the rice fields (Basa Sunda: *nyambut*, Bahasa Indonesia: *pengolahan sawah*), and ceremonies held at the end of the rice and tapioca harvests (*upacara panen*).

Traditional life cycle contexts were – and still are – the forty days ceremony after a baby's birth (*syukuran 40 hari lahirnya bayi*), circumcision parties (*hajatan Sunat*), and marriages (*pesta perkawinan*). Within this religious context, the *Benjang helaran* procession forming part of this performance art is closely linked to Muslim culture and Islamic mysticism in the Ujungberung region. Within the context of circumcision parties, the processional *Benjang helaran* serves as a medium to transport several quite opposite moods and feelings which are somehow analogous to the event they serve. These moods and feelings are visualized by this part of the performance: it can be shocking, scary, and funny at the same time. The processional *Benjang helaran* part of the performance serves to attract and entertain a public audience. A similar phenomenon can be found in the *Sisingaan* performance of the Subang area North of Bandung, which was reported by Hellman (2006). Further, in its area of dissemination the *seni Benjang* will be found within modern festive contexts, like the Indonesian National Day (*Hari Raya Republik Indonesia*) today.

### On the Development of (*Seni*) *Benjang* since 1996

Facing extinction because of a seizing interest from its cultural environment during the late 1980s till the early 1990s, *Benjang* underwent considerable modifications, adjustments, and some promotion by the media since about 1996 (i.e. from TVRI Bandung around 1996 (Widaningsih, 2000, p. 2).

One of the early strategies to maintain its future role then was to adapt the modality a greater part of sportive institutions in West Java had chosen by that time that was to search its fortunes under the umbrella of the New Order regime's cultural policy. This was the state of things when I made my first encounter with this performance art during the “First Big Call of the Indonesian *Pencak Silat* Federation of West Java”<sup>8</sup>, where a *Benjang* group from Ujungberung, led by Pak Nunung Aspali<sup>9</sup> and Pak Wikarta gave a performance. Though this strategy introduced a new perspective towards a “tighter” sportive organization into *Benjang*, this perspective alone wasn't enough to enhance the *Benjang*'s appeal towards an audience yet. This vitalization was then step by step achieved through the pronunciation and integration of the further performance arts elements already mentioned, like *Kuda lumping*, *tari Bangbarongan* and *tari Topeng Benjang*.

### **Benjang Fighting Competition Regulations since 2003**

During a meeting that took place on 12-13 September 2003, the leaders of the “Community of Traditional *Benjang Gulat*”<sup>10</sup> of Bandung city decided to integrate the *Benjang* into the “All Indonesian *Gulat*-Union”<sup>11</sup> and enter it under the directives of the head organization of the “Indonesian National Sport Committee”.<sup>12</sup> Since then, the *Benjang* as a sportive fighting art is directed, and organized under some of the rules and audiences of this head organization. Today, a *Benjang* festival named *Gebyar Benjang* (*Benjang* Explosion, formerly: Festival Ujungberung) is executed annually in Ujungberung.

### **Conclusions**

What does the performance of *Benjang* within the contexts described tell us about this particular West Javanese culture, what can we “say on something”, to formulate it with another Geertzian phrase. First, the people of the Ujungberung region like to have inspiring action arts within their traditional and modern festivities. Second, they like to have a competitive aspect in such activities. Third, they like to shape such competitive activities within their traditional and modern ritual settings in an artistic fashion, employing a particular kind of music, as well as many facets of older and more recent performance arts. And fourth, we can say they like to have their local grown, unique competitive performance art.

Today, *seni Benjang* appears revitalized, and experiences new interests. Four major aspects that helped to achieve this revitalization can be named:

- 1) An adaption to the changed demands of its social settings,
- 2) An approximation to modern sportive settings,
- 3) An involvement of further optional processional and stage performance arts, and
- 4) A promotion by television media in the late 1990's, and internet media since 2000.

Against all odds, this “local” fighting and music art tradition in fact still copes with the challenges to maintain its place on the West Javanese map of performing arts, facing the social and entertainment demands of the ever growing province capital of Bandung city.

### **Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this text the acronym BI stands for *Bahasa Indonesia*, and BS stands for *Basa Sunda*.

<sup>2</sup> Though its action profile might even better suit into a comparison to the Balinese cockfights of the Geertz essay, the *Adu Domba* ram fighting competitions will not be further discussed in this text.

<sup>3</sup> While in the *Bangbarongan* a full dress and mask – imagining a mixed creature of a snake with a tiger's head – is used (Soepandi & Atmadibrata, 1976, p. 31), in the *Topeng Benjang* only a mask is used.

<sup>4</sup> A quotation of *Topeng Benjang* (lit.: *Benjang* masked dance) can be found in Hidayat (1991, pp. 14, 17, 20). It especially grew from two older processional performance arts, namely *Seni Ubrug*, and *Seni Doger*.

<sup>5</sup> A traditional kind of processional hobby horse trance dancing.

<sup>6</sup> In this processional mask dance huge, over-human sized giant masks, fixed to human shaped bamboo racks dressed with clothes, are employed. In the *tari Badawang Panawakan*, these giant mask figures represent the four characters *Semar*, *Cepot*, *Dawala* and *Gareng* from the traditional *Wayang* stories. This processional performance art in the Jakarta area is known as *Ondel-ondel*. For the *tari Badawang*, see: Ensiklopedi Sunda (2000, p. 80).

<sup>7</sup> BI: *helaran*, or *pawai*: Parade, Procession.

- <sup>8</sup> This festival took place on 8 October 1990 at Gasibu square, near the famous “Gedung Sate” in Bandung city.
- <sup>9</sup> Pak Nunung Aspali had been elected as the leader of all *Benjang* specialists of West Java in January 1989, and today (2012) is the leader of the *Perkumpulan Seni Benjang Putra Pajajaran* (lit.: “Sons of Pajajaran” Congregation of *Benjang* Art) in Ujungberung.
- <sup>10</sup> BS: *Pangyuban Seni Benjang Gulat Tradisional*.
- <sup>11</sup> BI: *Persatuan Gulat Seluruh Indonesia* (= PGSI).
- <sup>12</sup> BI: *Komite Olahraga Nasional Indonesia* (= KONI).

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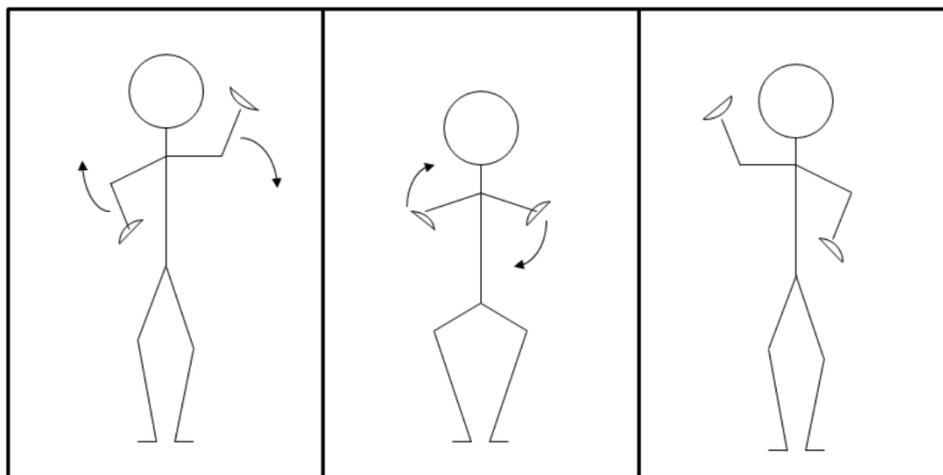


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**THE CHOREOMUSICOLOGY OF SELF-ACCOMPANIED AND MUSICIAN-ACCOMPANIED PLATE-DANCING IN WEST SUMATRA**

Blacking’s definition of music as “humanly organized sound” (1973, p. 10) was subversive to his own agenda to promote an attention to the bodily movements associated with making music. Blacking believed that “music begins as a stirring of the body” (1973, p. 111), but in many academic circles emphasis has been placed on the sonic elements of music and de-emphasis on the associated bodily movements. Sweeping up Blacking’s definition of music has elided consideration of the close relationships between music and dance. A phrase such as “humanly organized movement” has not yet been popularized to describe dance, nor phrases such as “humanly organized space” for a performance location or “humanly organized material” to refer to costumes and theatrical props. This elision is completely against Blacking’s aims because he clearly advised that dance and music should be considered “as modes of human communication on a continuum from the nonverbal to the verbal” (1985, p. 64). By resituating and repositioning music and dance as part of wider spheres of humanly organized expression, we can begin to incorporate a lucid discussion of sound, gesture, costumes, implicative bodily movement, cultural resources, social relationships, architectural spaces, as well as religious and spiritual correspondences. Using methods developed in the field of choreomusicology (Mason, 2012), this article investigates sound-movement relationships in two separate performances of West Sumatran plate-dancing called *Tari Piring*.

*Tari Piring* is a dance performed with hand-held plates that the performers swing in unison. Dancers hold the underside of the plates in their palms and, using inertia, swing them widely without letting them drop. With their feet, they trace rhythmic spatial patterns. A group of *Tari Piring* dancers do not need to train with music, but in performance dancers can be accompanied by a group of *Gendang Tambuah* drummers or *Talempong Paciek* kettle-drum musicians. Music and movement share metric similarities, but structural or phrasal relationships rarely connect the interlocking sounds of the music ensemble to the energetic movement of the dancers.



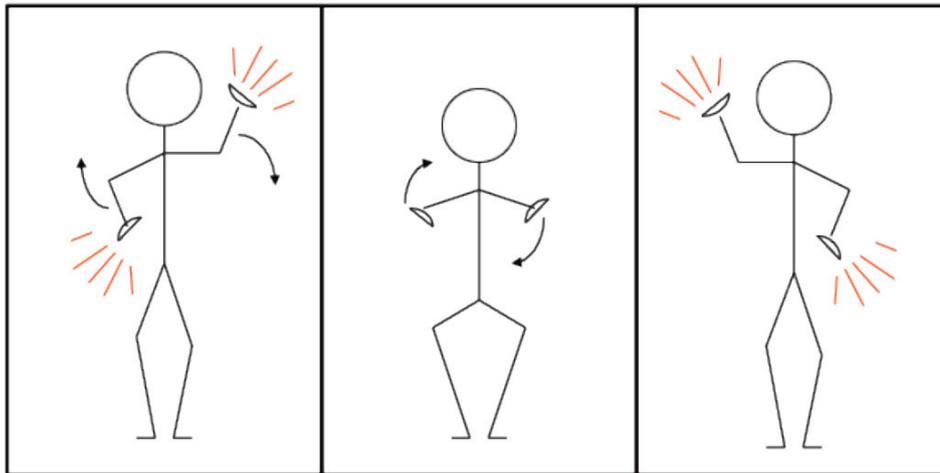
**Plate 1. The basic swing of *Tari Piring*. The stick figure is holding china plates and swinging them up and down. Image adapted from Hernawan et al. (2004, p. 70)**

In some reports, *Tari Piring* can be a dance led by a singer with movements to depict a story about work in rice fields (Sawanismar, interviewed by van Zanten & Barendregt, 2000). According to this account, dancers perform movements requested by a singer. For example, the singer tells the dancer to move as if hoeing, cutting grass, preparing rice plants, or planting. In 2007 and 2008, this style of *Tari Piring* was not taught at the *Institut Seni Indonesia* in West Sumatra. Performances of *Tari Piring* that I observed during fieldwork trips in Padang, Padang Panjang, Bukittinggi, Molek,

Batusangkar, Sijunjung, Pariaman, and Jakarta were not accompanied by a singer. However, *Tari Piring* has no doubt undergone many changes since Indonesian Independence. Prior to the Second World War, Minangkabau women were reportedly not allowed to dance (Mahdi Bahar, interviewed by van Zanten & Barendregt, 2000). Performances of *Tari Piring* by women were rare because Minangkabau performance arts were generally taught to young boys by a maternal uncle or other senior male kin.

Swinging a plate is not an easy task, let alone swinging two plates simultaneously. Tapping the plates with a ring is an added complication. Practitioners must find a moment least likely to knock the plates out of their hands, but also a moment that synchronizes the movement of co-performers. Minangkabau dancers generally choose the zenith and nadir of arm swings as the moment to tap the plates. This general rule revealed itself during fieldwork, and can also be seen in recordings made by Nugraheni & Hernawan (2004). Tapping the plate at the apex of movement, a point of momentary stasis, allows performers to synchronize the beginning and finish of arm swings. However, not all groups use this plate-tapping to synchronize movement. Some groups will be led by one performer shouting the timing, other groups use no auditory cues, relying instead on visual cues alone.

In performances of *Tari Piring* during a Hari Raya festival in Batusangkar (Mason, 2008), the lead dancer produced a tapping noise at the termination of each swing by hitting the underside of the plates with a ring placed around his middle finger. This sound synchronized the movements of the dancers while simultaneously highlighting his skill and coordination. The lead dancer was male and the other dancers were his young students who were all female. They performed *Tari Piring* in the same performance space in front of the village mosque on two separate days of the celebrations. On each occasion, the lead dancer produced the same tapping noise using the identical timing. By making the dance props *sound*, the lead dancer brought attention to the very materiality and physical textures of the dance, deeply imbricating movement with a multisensory perceptual experience.



**Plate 2. The timing of the plate-tapping sound in performances of *Tari Piring* during a Hari Raya festival in Batusangkar. The plate was tapped at the base of the movement in one hand and the peak of the movement in the other hand**

A performance of *Tari Piring* at another festival provides an interesting contrast. *Tari Piring* during the festival of *Hari Idul Adha* in Paninjauan (Mason, 2009a) was performed by a female dance troupe commissioned from a neighbouring village. Two elderly women accompanied the *Tari Piring* performances by tapping glass bottles with spoons. The bottle-tapping sound was produced mid-swing and was mimetic of the plate-tapping sound. The tapping was an ornamental novelty. Though not produced to synchronize the movement of the dancers, the bottle-tapping emphasized the dramatic tension of the movement. The elderly women who produced the bottle-tapping accompaniment were originally part of the audience. They were locals who had kinship ties with the event organizers and a vested interest in the success of the event. Wanting to ensure the success and positive reception of the hired performances, the elderly women spontaneously decided to accompany the *Tari Piring* dancers by hitting bottles with a spoon to mimic plate-tapping sounds.

In Paninjauan, the dance troupe performed *Tari Piring* once during the day of celebrations and once more at night. During the daytime performance, the bottle tappers were sitting at the top of the stairs of the *Rumah Adat* (traditional Minangkabau building) and looking down at the girls who were dancing. In the night performance, the elderly ladies were seated at the same level as the performers. The mid-swing timing of the bottle-tapping was alike in both performances. The timing of the bottle-tapping was different to the self-accompanied performances where the sound was made at the apex of the swings. This inconsistency was unsurprising given that the elderly women were from a generation where Minangkabau women were not formally trained in music and dance.

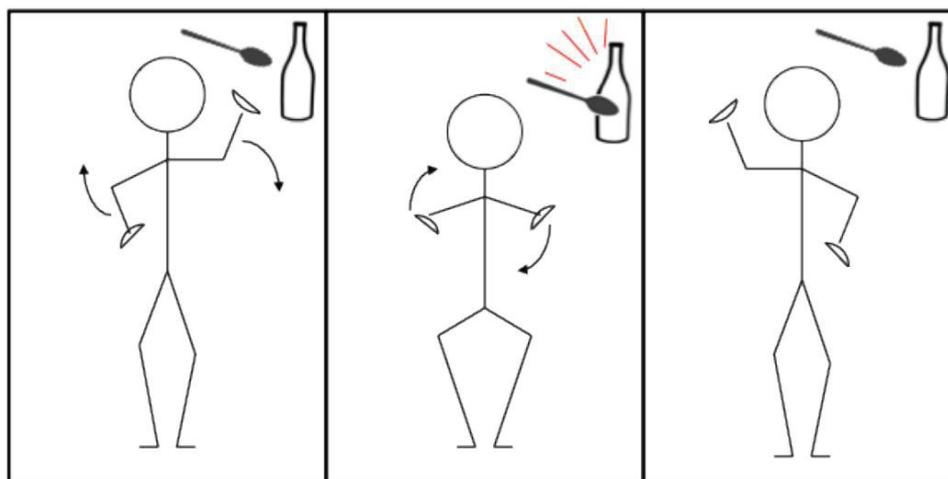


Plate 3. The timing of the bottle-tapping accompaniment to performances of *Tari Piring* during the festival of *Hari Idul Adha* in Paninjauan. The bottle was tapped at the middle of each swing

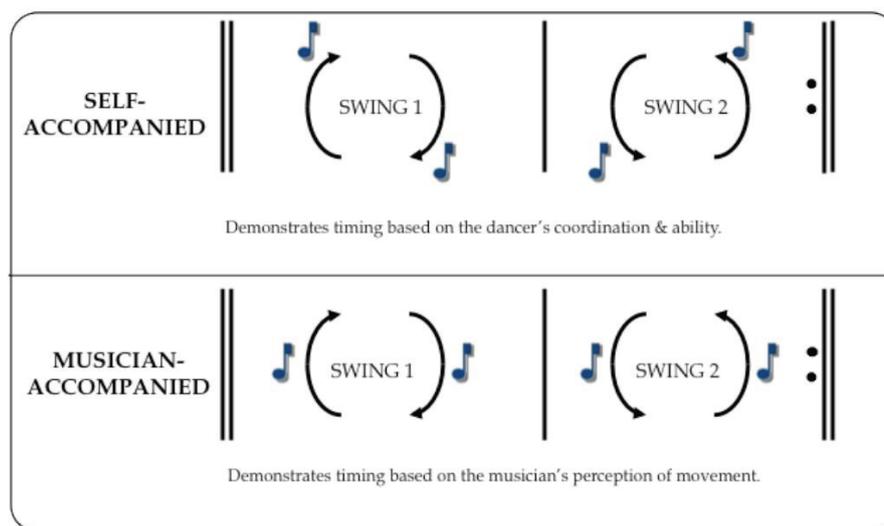
*Tari Piring* during the Hari Raya festival in Batusangkar was self-accompanied and led by a male dancer. In contrast, elderly Minangkabau women tapping bottles accompanied *Tari Piring* during *Hari Idul Adha* in Paninjauan. The temporal alignment of the tapping sound with *Tari Piring* was different at both events. The tapping sound in the self-accompanied performances was produced at the termination of each swing, while the tapping sound in the musician-accompanied performances was produced mid-swing. The differences observed between self-accompanied and musician-accompanied *Tari Piring* are a refraction of cultural changes that have occurred in West Sumatra during the late twentieth century. These differences are also informative about the relationship between cultural entrainment and perceptual skills.

Up until the late twentieth century, *Tari Piring* was predominantly performed by men who learnt music and dance in the traditional male commune called the *surau*. According to matrilineal custom, boys after the age of circumcision were raised apart from their family. In the *surau*, boys learnt traditional law (*Adat*), religion, and other life-skills. Today, however, the people of West Sumatra have adopted the nuclear family structure. Both boys and girls are taught at schools where they learn a standard curriculum, religion and *Pancasila* – the five principles that form the ideological basis for Indonesia's constitution. This cultural shift has decentralised Minangkabau music and dance from traditional male communes to mixed communities in schools, universities, and arts academies. All young people can now learn and perform traditional dances like *Tari Piring*. In the transition from the *surau* to mixed gender spaces, *Tari Piring* has become more performative. Its connection to other Minangkabau performance genres has become loosened. Certain aspects have become simplified. Other aspects have been elaborated. Variants of the dance are now performed all across the Indonesian archipelago.

The adoption of the nuclear family structure has opened the space for women to perform traditional Minangkabau dance in public. During the musician-accompanied performances of *Tari Piring* in Paninjauan, the older generation of Minangkabau women were relatively untrained as musicians. Unlike the young female dancers, the elderly women did not have the same opportunities to learn Minangkabau music and dance in their youth. When providing musical accompaniment to the

movement, their choice of timing was incongruous with male traditions. Their musical accompaniment was guided primarily by direct visual cues during execution, not cultural entrainment.

The variations observed between self-accompanied and musician-accompanied *Tari Piring* not only tell us about cultural shifts in Minangkabau society, these variations also tell us about the perception of bodily movement. Physical experience in a dance genre influences the cognitive, kinaesthetic and affective responses to observing performances of that genre (Calvo-Merino et al., 2005; Foster, 1976, p. 44; Hanna, 1979; Mason, 2009b, p. 32). Despite no formal training, but with exposure to public performances of *Tari Piring* in noisy village settings, the elderly Minangkabau women in Paninjauan were familiar enough with the dance to find a sound that was imitative of tapping a plate with a ring. The sound of a spoon hitting a glass bottle was very similar to the sound of a plate being struck with a ring. However, the timing of the elderly women's bottle-tapping was different to the experienced dancer's plate-tapping. The elderly ladies did not hit the bottle at the apex of each plate swing, because they had not learnt the correct timing through personal training. The timing of their accompaniment indicated the way they perceived the movements of the dance without prior training.



**Plate 4. Choreomusical notation for the plate-swinging and tapping noise for self-accompanied (above) and musician-accompanied (below) performances of *Tari Piring*. The arrows signify the motion path of the handheld plates. The quaver indicates the timing of the tapping sound, either at the end of the movement (self-accompanied) or in the middle of the movement (musician-accompanied)**

Sound to accompany the swinging of plates can be made at any moment because the visual point of reference for the sonic event is abstract. For trained performers of *Tari Piring*, self-accompanied sound is often produced at an opportune moment to synchronize the movements of co-performers. When two elderly Minangkabau ladies tapped bottles mid-swing, they were producing sounds at moments that were perceptually salient to them as untrained dancers. When the musician's sounds follow the dancer's movement, musicians are an audience to the dance. The way musicians produce sound in response to dance offers a glimpse of the way they perceive bodily movement. Musical accompaniment, in this manner, becomes an expression of perception. The shift between self-accompanied movements to musician-accompanied movements can provide insight into the pathways of action and perception. When two Minangkabau ladies, who would otherwise have been audience members, decided to musically accompany performances of *Tari Piring*, they provided the choreomusicologist a unique insight into the idiosyncratic way they perceive plate-dancing.

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**CLAIMING SOCIAL JUSTICE IN A CORDILLERA COMMUNITY IN THE PHILIPPINES:  
THE IFUGAO *HIMONG* REVENGE DANCE**

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**MARIA CHRISTINE MUYCO (Philippines)**  
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**SPACE CONSTITUTIONS IN PANAY BUKIDNON'S MUSIC AND DANCE**

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**IGAL CAMPUR: INTERROGATING HYBRIDITY IN SAMA TRADITIONAL DANCE**  
(Lightning Paper)

**Introduction**

*Igal* is the dance tradition of the Sama or Sinama-speaking peoples of maritime Southeast Asia. It is traditionally accompanied by a *kulintangan* ensemble which is composed of a *kulintangan* set of graduated knobbed gongs arranged in a single row, two (*agung* or *tamuk*, large, wide-rimmed gongs) or three (a *tamuk*, a small and wide-rimmed *bua*, and a narrow-rimmed *pulakan*) hanging gongs, and a Spanish-derived *tambul* drum. The relationship between *igal* dance and *kulintangan* music is extremely close in such a manner that it may be described as exclusive (Santamaria, 2012). Scholars of Sama music and dance have observed that specific *kulintangan* music called *titik* define the dance as well as its label (Hanafi Hussin, 2008; Hanafi Hussin, 2012; Hanafi Hussin & Santamaria, 2008). As such, most specifically in the context of ritual performances, *Titik Limbayan* exclusively accompanies *Igal Limbayan*; *Titik Djin* exclusively accompanies *Igal Djin*, and so on.

In recent times, the exclusivity of the relationship between *titik* and *igal*, among others, appears to be increasingly eroded via contemporary artistic experimentation. Dance styles or movement vocabularies which used to be specific to or associated with certain island communities are combined to create new dances. Music(s) or specific *titik* are either interchanged or combined in various dance performances. Music(s) or songs from other ethnic groups are used to create new *igal* performance pieces. Costumes or property deviate from traditional forms or are appropriated from other groups. These practices, among many others, have contributed to the rise of new hybrid forms which may be categorized under the label of *igal campur* [Sama *igal* + Malay *campur*, meaning “to mix” or “mixed”] (Babylyn Kano-Omar, personal communication, July 15, 2012) or *igal lamud-lamud* [Sama *igal* + Sama *lamud-lamud*, meaning “mix-mix”] (Al-shadat Mohammad, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012), invariably meaning “hybrid *igal*.”

**Sites of Construction**

*Igal campur* or *igal lamud-lamud* may be observed in two types of “sites of performance construction.” The first type refers to geographical sites of cultural nexus. Bongao, Tawi-Tawi Province, Philippines and Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia are two important local sites of cultural nexus of various Sama groups coming from diverse island communities. These two veritable “melting pots” of Sama cultures churn out new forms, both desirable and non-desirable ones, during yearly festive events where *igal* performances figure prominently: the Kamahardikaan Festival of Bongao and the Regata Lepa-Lepa of Semporna. In these two sites, these researchers have observed hybridity in willful abandon. In Semporna, dancers can be seen with their costumes and property decorated with multi-colored Christmas lights. It is also in this site where these researchers heard a candidate for *Ratu Lepa-Lepa* (Lepa Queen) proclaim her love for dancing *Igal Lelang*, a dance associated with male spirit mediums. In Bongao, performers can be seen dancing to *kulintangan titik* combined with marching band music. It is also here where these researchers observed a choreographed *pas de deux* version of *Igal Tarirai*, a solo version usually associated with female dancers.

What accounts for hybridity in these two geographical sites of cultural nexus? Future research may support or refute the following three possible explanations. First, participants to these two festivals largely come from the younger generation. A movement from the island community to the regional melting pot also means a movement from one site where there is a critical mass of old vanguards of tradition to another site where there are few or none. Barriers to innovation, acceptable or

profane to traditional vanguards, therefore are less felt. Second, these sites are where Sama individuals often meet a large number of non-Sama individuals, usually in performance. Ensuing processes of comparison and mimicry are therefore not surprising. Third, the sites of the two festivals are also administrative centers or seats of government. Government, through the secular rite of festivals, engenders innovation via competition among island communities or via tourism programs that seek to increase local income. In terms of geographical distribution therefore, one can observe more instances of innovation and hybridity in administrative and cultural centers like Semporna and Bongao, and much less in the far-flung island communities where traditional forms due to traditional folkways and mores prevail.

The second type of site refers to its performance context (Refer to Table 1). Ritual sites demand conformity and continuity. In these sites, *igal kamattoohan*, old or classical *igal* performance models or pieces prevail. In old-style *igal* a one-to-one correspondence of movement with the music can be observed. Ritual *igal* dancing invite either *djin* (spirit guides) or *omboh* (ancestors) to enter (indwell or *masuk djin*) the body of spirit-mediums to co-celebrate the event with the community. As the dancing is that of the ancestors or the spirits of the olden times, the style is decidedly circumscribed or traditional. The same cannot be said of the performance contexts of social, theatrical or commercial events. In performances of *pakiring*, a new style of dancing where the swaying of the hips is done frequently, Ellorin (2011) observes that synthesizer or organ music has largely displaced the *kulintangan* ensemble. Mixed instrumentation may also be observed (Santamaria, 2009). Indeed, these non-ritual sites show a high degree of innovation and hybridity as the next section of this paper will illustrate.

Type	Site	Music	Descriptive Notes
<b><i>Igal Kamattoohan</i></b>	Ritual Sites	<i>Kulintangan</i> Ensemble  <i>Pulau</i> (Flute) Music [during <i>igal djin</i> initiation rites]	One-to-one correspondence of music (instrument) and movement ornamentation
<b><i>Igal Pakiring (Igal Modern)</i></b>	Social Events	Synthesizer/electronic organ music with vocals ( <i>Sangbay</i> or <i>Pagsangbay</i> )	Pronounced swaying of the hips ( <i>kiring-kiring</i> )
	Theatrical Events		
	Commercial Recordings	<i>Kulintangan</i> music with orchestral music  Others	Appropriated movement fragments from external sources

Table 1. Styles, Sites and Music(s) in the Sama Igal Dance Tradition(s)

### A Variety of Hybrids: Three Contemporary *Igal Campur* Pieces

In this section, three *igal campur* pieces are interrogated through a video-viewing and a focused group discussion with four insider-practitioners/informants of *igal* dance and *kulintangan* music: Basar A. Jalaidi (Male, 20 years old, *kulintangan* instrumentalist), Munir I. Jawadil (Male, 24, *silat* practitioner), Al-Shadat A. Mohammad (Male, 23, *igal* dancer), and Calsum J. Telso (Female, 27, *igal* dancer). The “interrogation” was done at the University of the Philippines Diliman on 15 May, 2012. All of the participants in this focus group discussion are residents of Bongao, Tawi-Tawi Province, Philippines and were at one time or another members of the Tambuli Cultural Troupe of the Mindanao State University-Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography.

*Ocho-Ocho* is a commercial video project of the Sama popular singer, Siti Aidah (2004) produced in Semporna, Sabah. It features the singer performing in the background while her twin daughters, wearing Punjabi dresses apparently adopted from Bollywood films, dance a more or less traditional *igal* routine in the foreground. Traditional dance movement yields to appropriative innovation during the refrain when the twins suddenly break into an amusing if not naughty rendition of the *ocho-ocho* movement, a wavy, snake-like movement of the torso placed forward and parallel to

the ground. This movement produces an aesthetic shock as it is inlaid in an otherwise traditional composition of *igal* dance. Although the song-dance obviously parodies the Filipino novelty song hit of comedian Bayani Agbayani who composed it sometime in 2002, it retains the form of a traditional *pagsangbay*, *sangbaian pangigalan* or *sangbay-igal*, a tribute song-dance where the singer describes the movements and the qualities of the performing dancer (Santamaria, 2010). This rendition of *ocho-ocho* into the form of a *pagsangbay* is more than well-received by the insider-practitioners. Munir mentions that he is impressed by seeing beautiful *igal* performed to a song that “uses four languages: Tagalog, Sama, Tausug, and Malay.” (Munir I. Jawadil, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012) Basar notes the “very natural movement” in the *igal* dance and the impressive performance of a song “without memorization” (Basar Jalaidi, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012). Calsum is equally impressed with the “the dancers creating their own *igal* without (a pre-planned) pattern” while the singer “describes the dancer in a lively manner” (Calsum Telso, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012). The *ocho-ocho* movement is seen to be both “funny and entertaining.” Based on these statements, it appears that the continuity with highly improvised or free-style nature of traditional *igal* dancing as well as the free-style invention of lyrics by the singer is well appreciated by the informants.

*Contemporary Pakiring* is the entry piece of the Semporna delegation to the *Pesta Igal* 2010 Festival that was held at the GT-Toyota Asian Cultural Center, Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman on 14 and 15 July 2010. The piece is performed by two Sama male dancers, Ellwine Joe Donny and Azizan Alimat, and two Sama female dancers, Marlina Jaafar and Rohaya binti Malbel. The piece is a work by Samsul Ismail, a professional choreographer of Tidung ethnic background. He is also the composer of the non-traditional music accompaniment using synthesizer and vocal music. The dance starts with the two male dancers, costumed as fishermen, who cast their nets into the sea. Sporting ornate head-dresses, the female dancers crawl on the floor every now and then arching their backs and extending their hands that are replete with theatrically over-sized *sulakengkeng* ornamental nails, mimicking the movement of big waves. At one point the dancers execute huge western classical ballet-like leaps as if to convey the strength of the waves in a tempest. Eventually the waves calm down and the fishermen row their way back home in safety. This piece is unanimously very well received in terms of choreography. Al-Shadat notes that “there is a connection between our tradition and their tradition as well” (Al-shadat Mohammad, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012). Munir notices that *silat* movement was incorporated into the movement of the male dancers. He is also quite impressed by the extra-long *sulakengkeng* that were well manipulated by the female dancers (Munir Jawadil, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012). Al-shadat however expresses his partiality for more restrained costumes that do not take the attention away from the movements (Al-shadat Mohammad, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012).



Plate 1. *Igal Pakiring* of Semporna. (Photo: H. Hussin)

*Paean to Rizal* is an exhibition piece performed by the Manila-based Bunga Arts Link (BAL) in the *Pesta Igal* 2010 Festival. The piece is constructed around the recitation of *Mi Ultimo Adios*, a poem written by the Philippine national hero, Jose P. Rizal. In this piece, a male lead dancer, MCM Santamaria, recites the poem while articulating its meaning through movement together with two female dancers, Katrina Luna and Hiromi Iwasaki. The male dancer sports a traditional *batik badju lapi* shirt and *sawwal kantiu* loose pants. The female dancers wear *kebaya* blouses over *sawwal kantiu*. The recitation and dance is further accompanied by a recording of Sergei Rachmaninov's *Vocalise* sung by the legendary lyric Soprano Anna Moffo. The choreographer incorporates sliding movements of the feet as well as hand positions found in *Nihon Buyoh* (Japanese traditional dance) and *Ryukyu Buyoh* (Okinawan traditional dance). *Paean to Rizal* is received with self-reflection. Al-Shadat says that "it is amazing because it combines poetry, music and *igal*. It is a new kind of dancing that allows me to think of *igal* in a new way that I hope to explore" (Al-shadat Mohammad, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012). An equally effusive Munir says that "the costumes are beautiful, the dancing is beautiful and so is the music...even the words (of the poem) although I do not understand them...the pure *igal* movements were truly beautiful" (Munir Jawadil, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012).

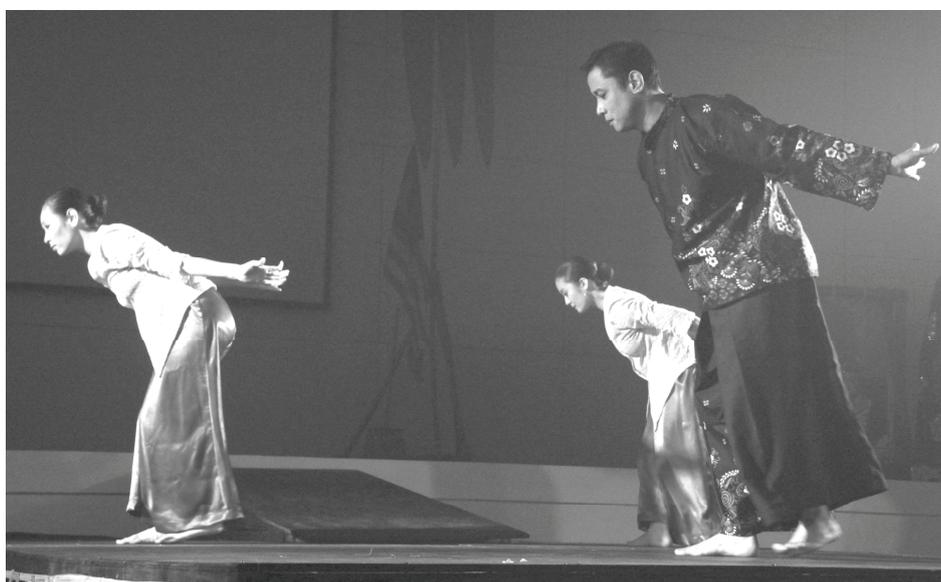


Plate 2. *Paean to Rizal*. (Photo: H. Hussin)

### Conclusion: Hybridity, Appropriation, the Poetics and Politics of Reception

*Igal campur*, in the three cases briefly described above, may be seen as a trans-cultural product that results as a function of cultural appropriation. As can be seen in Figure 2, the process of appropriation comes in several combinations. In the case of *ocho-ocho*, a Sama singer appropriates a Filipino novelty song and uses it as a *sangbay* to draw attention to the dancers and the dancing of *igal*. The young Sama dancers, in turn and most likely with the intervention of a choreographer-coach who is most likely the singer herself, appropriates the most popular gyrating movement phrase in the popular *ocho-ocho* dance as an "inlay" in their otherwise relatively conventional *igal pakiring* performance. In the case of *Contemporary Pakiring*, a non-Sama choreographer (who is also the composer) of Tidung ethnic origin combines *igal* with a few western classical ballet movements in order to create a dance piece for Sama dancers. In the case, of *Paean to Rizal*, a non-Sama choreographer combines *igal* movement with that of other Asian forms and sets this to the musical accompaniment of a western classical vocal piece in order to create a dance performance for non-Sama dancers. Without doubt, what has been discussed here is simply a limited set of elements of appropriation. More may be observed with an expanded sampling.

<b>Igal Piece</b>	<b>Choreographer</b>	<b>Dancers</b>	<b>Movement</b>	<b>Mode</b>	<b>Music</b>	<b>Costumes/ Props</b>
<i>Ocho-Ocho</i>	Sama	Sama	<i>Igal</i> and Filipino Novelty/ Popular	Improvisational	Filipino Novelty Song (as <i>Sangbay</i> )	Non-Sama (Punjabi dress)
<i>Contemporary Pakiring</i>	Non-Sama (Tidung)	Sama	<i>Igal</i> and Western Ballet	Choreographed or pegged	Contemporary Instrumental and Vocal Music	Non-Sama (Theatrical Costumes and Props)
<i>Paean To Rizal</i>	Non-Sama (Davao)	Non-Sama (Tagalog and Japanese)	<i>Igal</i> and Japanese and Ryukyu <i>Buyoh</i>	Choreographed or pegged	Western Classical Music and Poetic Recitation	Sama and Non-Sama (Theatrical Costume and Malay <i>Kebaya</i> )

**Table 2. *Igal Campur* and elements of appropriation**

Although cultural appropriation is no longer rare in human expression, strong reactions that reject it can still be heard. It appears that these voices favor a nostalgic if not impossible process of cultural creation that assumes the feasibility of conceptual purity and other notions of distinction. An example of such comes from Rosalie S. Matilac who refers to the *ocho-ocho* as:

An insult to them [the Sama]. To give a brief background, this otso-otso dance with sexual innuendos (like pumping torso movement) was propagated by Philippine popular media, particularly ABS-CBN network, to promote a screwball comedy film of the same title, *Otso-Otso* [Star Cinema, 2004]. “Otso-Otso” dance is a good example of the incursion of pop culture into the Bajau realm, and a bad influence at that (R. Matilac, letter to B. Abels, November 8, 2010).

Matilac appears to miss the cultural discourse on three points: First, the development of the *pakiring* as part of the *igal* tradition ought to be studied as a transformative if not a hybridizing or appropriating process. It ought not to be evaluated in normative terms. Its relationship to the *sangbay*, an improvised poetic and sung form of expression describing the dancers or the dance, offers scholars the opportunity to see how traditions are transformed by insiders themselves. To say that it is good or bad is not the role of scholars. Second, Matilac’s severe criticism of the *ocho-ocho* in *igal* form reveals aesthetic and seemingly moral issues that appear to bother her person, but not the Sama. As Al-shadat says of Matilac’s reaction, “Actually, it’s not an insult to the Sama people, because they are doing right things and making new dances and new songs. We are having fun. There is nothing wrong with embracing that kind of *pakiring*” (Al-shadat Mohammad, Focused Group Discussion, May 15, 2012). It appears that Matilac only sees the dance fragment (*otso-otso*). She seems to be unaware of the *sangbay* and the appropriative nature of *igal*. Third, the Sama will continue to choreograph in the *pakiring* style and continue to appropriate from various sources, thereby producing hybrids or hybridized forms. Scholars ought to examine these emergent forms ask questions relating to the hows and the whys of the indigenous creative process.

Nearing the final point of discussion, perhaps it is best to end with some words of wisdom from Arjun Appadurai (1991):

As music, the novel, television, and tape cassettes begin to enter the fields of the epic, the folk song, and traditional performances generally, what is emerging is a whole new series of hybrid forms...These newly emergent hybrid forms...do not necessarily constitute a degenerate and kitschy commercial world to be sharply contrasted with a folk world we have forever lost. In fact, it may be the idea of a folk world in need of conservation that must be rejected, so that there can be a vigorous engagement with hybrid forms of the world we live in now. If we embark on this task, our understanding of the textual and intertextual complexities of the past will stand us in a good stead, and we will not likely plunge into a premature requiem for the ‘lore’ of the ‘folk’ (p. 474).

Regardless of opinions of scholars and/or practitioners at the center, the Sama will continue to mix elements, appropriate forms, and innovate according to their own aesthetic terms and conventions. Normative assessments of such processes and results, perhaps, ought to be avoided. Instead, an interrogation of how *kacampuran* or *kalamudan*, conditions or states of mixing or hybridity, happen and an examination of related processes of contemporary creation can help enlighten scholars understand how the *igal* tradition(s) is/are transformed through a variety means across time and space.

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**THE TAYABAS TAGALOG *PÁAWITAN* IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEZON, PHILIPPINES**  
(Lightning Paper)

For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

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**ZAPIN-MELAYU IN JOHOR: CONSTRUCTING MALAY-NESS FROM THE BODY, MUSIC AND DANCE OF HADHRAMAUT**

**Introduction**

*Zapin*, a hybrid and heavily syncretized music and dance tradition in insular Southeast Asia, continues to evolve today. From its beginning in the form of *Zaffiin* dance and music of the people of Wadi Hadhramaut (Arabic: **حَضْرَمَوْت** *Ḥaḍramawt*) of the Hadhramis who speak Hadhrami Arabic, the tradition took roots in the Malay Peninsula, Singapore and throughout the islands of Indonesia from the 15th century onwards in the form of a peculiar tradition that embodies Arabic-Malay-Islamic nuances. The large-scale Hadhramaut migration in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century brought sizeable Hadrami minorities all around the Indian Ocean including Southeast Asia (Ho, 2006). The Hadhramis from the formerly independent Qua'aiti and Kathiri sultanates, encompassing a historical region of the south Arabian Peninsula that extends eastward from Yemen to the borders of the Dhofar region of Oman, brought along their highly tribal society of old *Seyyid* aristocracy who were descendent of the Prophet Muhammad, to Southeast Asia. Indigenous Muslims, who lived on the coastal shores of East Sumatera, west peninsular Malaysia, Singapore, Java, Kalimantan, South and Southeast Sulawesi, Ternate, Halmahera and the islands of Nusa Tenggara, were highly impacted by the presence of the Hadhrami who migrated from historically important cities such as Shibam, Say'un and Tarim, which contains the highest concentration of descendants of the Prophet Muhammad anywhere in the world. From these ancient cities, the Hadhramis brought *Takhmis* and *Qasida* (religious music), which is metric composition of sung poems in Arabic poetry philosophizing life and religious matters; *Dan*, a form of music; and *Zaffiin*, a music and dance form that is exclusively performed and practiced by the Hadhrami Arabs from Wadi Hadhramaut. Apart from being highly revered as Sada (plural for Seyyid or Syed (**سَيِّد**)) who are descendants of Prophet Muhammad), the Hadhramis who comprises of two main groups in Southeast Asia, namely Ba'Alawi and Irsyadin (Shahab, 2012), were considered as highly literate in religious matters and were often employed as *qadhi* or legal specialists and scribes. The Hadhramis even became rulers in the Sultanate of Siak and Palembang in Sumatera, Pontianak in West Kalimantan, and married into royal families in the Malay sultanates of Peninsular Malaysia. The Hadhramis' art of playing music with the *'ud* or *al-'ud* (pear shape lute, which is locally known as the *gambus*), hand held drums (*marwas* or *marawis*) and singing *Takhmis* and *Qasida* by the Ba-Alawi Hadhramis, were easily adopted by indigenous Muslims with adaptations that made indigenous performances markedly different from their Arabic origin, as examples of permissible (*mubah*) performances.

In the case of Hadhramis' *Zaffiin*, their dance and music are commonly associated with the *qabilah* (tribe) or *bani* (origin to a common forefather) of the Ba-Alawi. Hence, the Hadhramis performed *Zaffiin* within close quarters for the Ba-Alawi lineage seldom allowing others to participate including the indigenous population. This practice has continued to the present time in Southeast Asia through endogamous marriage, in spite of moving towards mixed marriages over the last few decades. Hadhrami *Zaffiin* is performed regularly on the eve of Friday, the Muslim holy day of the week, and at wedding ceremonies or on very important Islamic celebrations such as the *Maulid* (Prophet Muhammad's birthday) wearing their white headcap, *qamis* (male robe), *abaya* (black robe for women), and *radi* (long shawl for men).

**Hadhrami *Zaffiin***

*Zaffiin* is an exclusively male performance tradition performed by Hadhrami Ba-Alawi either as secular performing arts or in the form of mute ritualized *dhikr* (Arabic: **ذِكْر**, plural **اذْكَار** *adhakār*, which means remembrance, pronouncement or invocation of the names of God). In Southeast Asia, *dhikr* is considered an important extension to the recitation of *doa* (ordinary supplication to ask for divine blessing in general). *Dhikr* (remembrance of God's name or reciting litanies) takes the form of

methodical repetition of the first *shahadah* (proclamation of one's belief in Allah and in his messenger, Muhammad), or the names of God or of God's "most beautiful names" (*al-asma' al-husna*), or some formula such as "*Allah hayy*" (God is the Eternal one) with prescribed gestures, and has become one of the fundamental rituals in *tariqah* or *tariqat*. A gathering to perform the *dhikr* ritual usually takes place in private homes or in closed public spaces. Such gatherings could be convened with the presence of a culturally structured movement system and musical accompaniment (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2009, p. 35).

*Dhikr* as a performative litany reinforces the quality of the state of being as a mode of temporality through the way of the *sharia't*, which literally means "the road to the watering place." It implies the act of seeking the knowledge of the ultimate truth or "*haqiqah*" by the aspirants or *murīdīn* through *tariqah* guided by the *murshid* or sheikh. Reciting litanies through *dhikr* has been observed in the Arabic *zaffiīn* by practitioners or *murīdīn* of *tariqah* al-Alawiyah, or otherwise known as the Ba-'Alawi in Hadhramaut and in Southeast Asia. Ba'Alawi (با علوي) is a term derived from Bani Alawi (بني علوي) or origin to a common forefather whose *silsilah* or lineage is founded by al-Faqih Muqaddam As-Sayyid Muhammad bin Ali Ba'Alawi al-Husaini (died in 653 AH or 1232 CE) who had studied from the students of Abu Madyan, who was a student of Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiriyyah order. The members of Ba'Alawi *tariqah* are mainly Sayyid or Syed (سيد) whose ancestors hail from the valley of Hadhramaut. Hence, the 'Alawi Sayyids who had spread far and wide to the Malay Archipelago not only spread Sunni Islam from the Shafii school but also to a certain extent, the Ba'Alawi *tariqah* of Sufism.

The Hadhrami Ba'Alawi *Zaffiīn* serves as a common bonding agent for the Hadhramis through recreational just-for-fun play (or *laeb*) among men, which is slightly different with the *jambiya* dagger dance or *bara* to express tribal solidarity. *Laeb*, or play, makes performing *Zaffiīn* as a dance of the *qabilah* (tribe). *Zaffiīn* as *dhikr* or performative litany reinforces *Zaffiīn* as *tariqah* exclusively for the *bani Ba'Alawi*, the lineage of a common forefather. For any of these soirée, the dance is performed in pairs by men who dance together forward and backward retracing steps, skips and jumps over several measures of music before being replaced by a new pair of dancers retracing their own steps and dance motifs, evoking an uninterrupted cycle over the outpouring of poetic narratives on the attributes of Prophet Muhammad.

### **Zapin-Melayu (Malay Zapin)**

The Malays created the Malay *zapin* from the Arab *zaffiīn* as a hybrid form, which signifies respect and admiration to the Hadhrami Arabs or Sayyeds in particular. The Malays in Malaysia had adapted and developed the nuances of Islamic-Arabic *zaffiīn* by creating their own pseudo-Arabic expressions through *Zapin Melayu*, an example of hybridity and syncreticity par excellence (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2011, pp. 42-43).

Malay *Zapin* (which is now known by various other names such as *Jipin*, *Jepin*, *Japin*, *Zafin* and *Dana* in Malaysia, Indonesia, Southern Thailand, Brunei and Singapore) celebrates events associated with weddings, circumcisions, and social events of religious significance such as *Maulidur Rasul* (Prophet's birthday). It had taken roots amongst the Malay-Islamic communities in the Straits of Malacca to become one of the most widely spread Malay-Islamic folk dance and music traditions in insular Southeast Asia.



Plate 1. Kesuma (UM Cultural Troupe) members performing Zapin.  
(Photo: Latimin Keman)

A *zapin* is conventionally structured into three parts. The first part is marked by a *taksim*<sup>1</sup>, an improvised solo played by a single *'ud* or locally known as the *gambus* (lute). The *gambus* is derived from the Middle Eastern *'ud*, a pear-shaped chordophone with rounded wooden back and short fretless neck. It has five to eight strings in double courses and a single string, all of which are plucked with fingers. The second part consist of a melodic section with *kopak*, loud rhythmic *marwas* drumming patterns in interlocking style, while the final section is known as the *wainab* or *tahtim*, which forms the coda for a piece to end that utilizes an extension of the main melodic phrase and the loud *kopak* drumming pattern (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2004, pp. 128-130). The divisional units or sections in the *zapin* music have become generic in areas along the Straits of Malacca.

The musical sections of *zapin* music correspond with the sections of the dance performance. All *zapin* performers are required to enter the dance area in a single file or in double rows and present a salutation to the musical prelude or *Taksim*, played by a single *'ud* or *gambus* (lute) player. This is to be followed by the linear formation of *zapin* performers who dance facing one another while repeating dance motifs while tracing a recurring forward and backward floor plan, interrupted with a series of skips and squatting positions, which is also known as the *kopak*. At the end of each performance the dancers perform jumping and squatting dance motifs to the accompaniment of relatively faster drumbeats in the form of the *wainab* (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2009, p. 37).

The melody of a *Zapin* piece for example is sung by a vocalist or carried by the *'ud* or *gambus* (lute), the violin, the harmonium and/or the accordion. The *gambus* is derived from the Middle Eastern *'ud*, a pear-shaped chordophone with rounded wooden back and short fretless neck. It has five to eight strings in double courses and a single string that are plucked with fingers. The *harmonium* is an aerophone with free beating metal reeds and a keyboard, operated by a pair of bellows by hand. This instrument is borrowed from the musical instruments of India. *Marwas* are double-headed cylindrical shallow body hand drums with skins attached to the body by laces of rope that are tied tightly to tighten the skin as the players play percussive rhythmic patterns. The *dok* is single headed cone-shaped drum struck by fingers to punctuate certain beats of a given *marwas* rhythmic pattern, which provides heighten syncopated rhythmic patterns within the ensemble of the *marwas* drums (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2004, pp. 128-130).

Dancing the *zapin* or playing *zapin* music could become silent *dikhr* only if the practitioner wishes to embody the body movements or musical pulses as pulses of the silent *dhikr* utterance. The litanies of *dhikr* are not heard beyond introvert individual recitations. It is performed as a silent *dhikr* while the *zapin* songs or *qasidah* are sung by one of two singers. The dancers' 4-beat pattern from the pulses of their *dhikr* litanies frames the basic dance unit, which is accompanied by the musical sounds of the instruments such as the *marwas* hand drums and the *dok* barrel drum. A repetitive rhythmic 4-

beat pattern of three or more *marwas* hand drums punctuated by a *dok* drum over a 16-beat unit frames the dance motifs.

The compound structure of *zapin* drumming patterns within a 16-beat colotomic unit and the overarching rendition of *zapin* songs or *qasidah* consisting of repeated quatrains of passionate verses in praise of Prophet Muhammad and/or the attributes of God either literally or metaphorically, provides the spatial and sonic space for *dhikr*. Although dance movements only begin on the second drumbeat, which is of low timbre as it initiates the *kinemic* pulse, *dhikr* is first uttered during the first high timbre beat of the *marwas* drums. The first *shahadah*, *Lā ilāha illal-Lāh, Muhammadun rasūlul-Lāh* (“There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God”) commences on the high timber beat while the dance begins on the low timbre beat, which forms the second drumbeat. The entire *dhikr* would be completed at the end of the 8-beat phrase of repetitive rhythmic 4-beat pattern of three or more *marwas* drums. By then, the *dhikr*-dancer completes his dance motif as he completes the first round of his *shahadah*. The *dhikr* would be repeated over the 8-beat phrase into a second round of *shahadah* recitation as the dancers complete the dance or *choreme* over a 16-beat colotomic unit.

Within these chronological grammatical choreographic units, the *zapin* dancers interact with drummers and other *zapin* musicians with mnemonic vocalizations while sustaining the silent *dhikr* over improvised dance motifs. To practitioners of *Tariqat Naqshabandiyah*, most of the improvisations that deal with syncopated dance movements within a colotomic unit of *zapin* music provide both spatial and sonic space for the inward contemplation of God’s oneness and peerlessness, the spiritual essence of *Tawhid*. To non-practitioners of *Tariqat Naqshabandiyah*, the dance improvisations within the colotomic unit of *zapin* music with mnemonic vocalizations are deliberately made to impress or challenge new dancers, or to encourage others to join in the dance or as signals to the musicians to end their performance. *Zapin* ends with a loud rhythmic *kopak* played by interlocking drumming patterns of the *marwas* hand drums. In this final section, known as the *wainab* or *tahtim*, the litanies reach their climax. The word *wainab* is derived from the Arabic word *wainaq* (وعائق), which means embraced or hug (وعناق). The word *wainaq* (وعائق) appears in the Arab *zaffi*in signifying the climatic yearning of wanting to be embraced by God or embracing God. In the Malay *zapin* it reinforces the pinnacle state of temporality of the silent *dhikr*. It is a knowledge of the esoteric, known and understood by those whose *tariqah* commands the *murīdīn* to embrace God’s call to perceive his presence both in the world and in the self, best described as a Sufistic path.

### Constructing Malay-ness

*Zapin*-Melayu aptly reminds practitioners of its empathy of being a Malay derivative (*Melayu*) as opposed to the exclusivity of *zaffi*in for being a property of Hadhrami descendants of *bani Ba’Alawi*. The constructed Malay-ness is permeated by metonymic signifiers of the Malay worldview or *Weltanschauung*, which is crucial to the understanding of the concepts of dance and music making within the Malay psyche. Metonymy of the Malay psychic or worldview is a fundamental mode of thought that works by using one element from a given domain to refer to another closely related element by contiguity; a continuous mass, or a series of things in contact or in proximity, or association between two concepts that works through similarity. Metonym as a concept is not called by its own name but by the name of something that is intimately associated with representing real or fictional concepts that are widely understood as the second name for what they represent. Metonymy in the Malay language is *bidalan*, which is more abstract than *kiasan* (metaphor). *Bidalan* posits the conceptual abstraction of *haqiqah* (Arabic) or *hakikat* (Malay), which signifies the search for “truth”, ranked as the second most important level of knowledge in Sufistic understanding of *tasawuf* or Sufistic order, which is pertinent to the Malay performative psyche. The third and final level of recognition of the “being” and attributes of God is *ma’rifat*, only to be gotten once the pathways (*tarikah*) ascend from the practices of Islam (*sharia’t*) to knowledge of truth (*hakikat*). Hitherto, as metonymic signifiers the *zapin*-Melayu is both secular and sacred, a spectacle for public gazes and a covert *dhikr* for those who practiced it as a form of *tariqat*.

Similar to the *laeb* (play) in the Hadhrami *zaffi*in, the notion of play or *main* in the Malay language, which denotes activity done for amusement, recreation or things done for pleasure, has a slightly more converged meaning. It could mean performing musical instruments, act in a drama or act the role of a character, playing sports, gambling, and performing a structured movement system likened to a game. Generally, a structured movement system would fall within the category of dance-making

while a structured sound system would fall within the category of music-making. The Malay notion of playing the *zapin* as a structured movement or sound system is an act of play-performance, a recreational product rather than a process. As in the word *main* or play, a structured movement or sound system is a performance in which all can participate. In this sense, *zapin-Melayu* involves the sharing of space that is brought to life by the interaction of community members who are both performers and spectators (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2001, p. 238). Unlike the Hadhrami *zaffiin*, which is exclusive to members belonging to a common forefather (*bani*), *zapin-Melayu* engages all members of the community within a village or hamlet to be part of the community ensemble, sharing micro and macro metonymic signifiers. At the micro level, *zapin* music and dance are linked metonymically to stylistic representations of sonic and body movements as images of the world they live in. At the macro level, metonymical meaning through invented nuances of sound and body movements signifies deeper relationship of culture and religiosity.

*Zapin* metonymically signify Arabic-Islamic-Malayic representations that oscillate between culture and religion. A metonymic signifier of Islam is observed in the improvised or spontaneous sonic constructs of the *'ud* (lute). Played in a system of melodic types (*maqam*) with specific intervallic structure, the sonic structure signifies a prelude or *taksim* section of *Zapin*. It signifies solitude through the efficacy of solo spontaneous sonic constructs of a melodic type or *maqam*. Even if nothing else is played beyond the *taksim*, an Islamic metonymy has already emerged from *Zapin* music. The dancers enter their performance space in double or single file before positioning themselves in silent solitude as a mark of respect to the *maqam*, metonymically represented by the pear shape *gambus* or *'ud*. Dressed in fine Malay costumes, the dancers await for the moment when play-performance takes a separate meaning from the Hadhrami *laeb*.

*Zapin* metonymically signifies Malayness through the sonic constructions of sung text and interlocking sounds of the hand-held *marwas* frame drums punctuated by the *dok* barrel drum. The entire constructs may be referred to as *lagu* or *qasidah* (Malay religious tunes) and is part of the play-performance realm of music making or *main lagu*. The combination of melodic style, sung text and interlocking drum beats form an integral part of *Zapin* soundscapes, binding an ephemeral sense of religiosity and ethnicity. The final interlocking drumming patterns of the *kopak* percussive section, which is referred as *wainab*, serves as a coda and represents a metonymy of devotion and yearning to be with the divine creator. The word *wainab* in Malay is derived from the Arabic word *wainaq*, alluring to the notion of divine love and bonding with God.

Metonymic signifiers akin to the abovementioned examples abound in the corporeal presentation of *Zapin*. This could be briefly illustrated from the pragmatics of the dance motifs, based on stylized dance movements, as allegories of local flora and fauna that abound within the *alam* or world of the Malays. Although these bodily movements may be categorized according to specific animals, flowers, plants, roots or physical landscapes as recollected in the oral literatures, they represent the abstractions of *bidalan* or metonymic signifiers of the world they live in, quite apart from the Hadhrami notion of tables of arid mountains bordering lush green river valleys in Wadi Hadhramaut.

## Conclusion

As a secular performance, the Malay *zapin* seeks to define a hybridized performance, connecting the Arab *zaffiin* and all its significations of respect and admiration of the Sayyid or Syed (سيد) as descendants of Prophet Muhammad and the “Islamic way of life” to the Malay world. *Zapin* hold a special place amongst the Malays in Southeast Asia who regard it as the closest resemblance of an Islamic performance tradition, indigenous yet exogenous. In the abovementioned discussions I have attempted to show how intertwined is the Malay *Weltanschauung* with the world they lived in. Metonymic signifiers of *Zapin* music and dance or play-performance, as being Malay from the way the body moves, inspired by sonic and corporeal activities from the immediate world that surrounds them, transposes the immediate world of the Malays into the metonymic structure of restored behaviors enacted through the interrelated practices of recognized sonic and movement metaphors. Metaphors are plenty in *Zapin* but that alone is inadequate to explain the complexity of *bidalan* or metonymy. Metonymically signified soundscapes and dances of *zapin* are the essence of performativity in the music and dance of the Malay world. Sourcing dance and music from the local environment and the familiar landscapes are microcosms of the Malay worldview, their soundscapes and corporeality

replenish metonymic imageries of Malay aesthetics and semiotics of *zapin* performance. The world they live in continues to be the greatest, if not the ultimate, source of creating and sustaining traditional *zapin* soundscapes and corporeality as metonymic significations creating Malay-ness in *Zapin-Melayu*.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> *Taksim* is derived from the Arabic word “*taqsim*”, which means “division” or “distribution” and refers to a special improvisational musical form that is guided by the Makam system, a system of melody types, which provides a set of rules for composition.

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**PUPPETS, MOVEMENT AND MUSIC: KNOWING AND MEANING IN A MALAY *WAYANG KULIT* TRADITION**

The shadow puppet theater (*wayang kulit*) is found in many parts of Southeast Asia, including Malaysia where at least two forms of Malay shadow puppet theater exist today. These are folk theatricals, and the form that is the focus of this paper is called *wayang kulit Kelantan* (from the northeast state of Kelantan in Peninsular Malaysia). It formerly had wide distribution in the east and north of Peninsular Malaysia, and today it is still performed in its east-coast home base of Kelantan state as well as on some academic campuses in the urban, west coast regions of the country.

As a performative genre, the essential elements of the form are (1) the drama (the verbal expression and enactment of the story), (2) the theatrical conventions of the Kelantanese shadow play, such as a raised, hut-like stage (*panggung*), use of a white screen (*kelir*) and lamp (see Plate 1), puppet shadows cast on the screen and so on, (3) the puppet representing many kinds of creatures (both human and animal types), (4) the movements or gestures of the puppet body and (5) the music that accompanies the movements.<sup>1</sup> There is a specific musical repertory comprising about 30 different pieces used in different dramatic situations, and the *dalang* (puppeteer) draws on this repertory as needed in the enactment of a given story.



**Plate 1. Position of the white screen (*kelir*), lamp, *dalang* and puppets inside the shadow play stage.**  
(Photo: P. Matusky)

In this form of shadow play, puppet movement cannot happen without music or some kind of sound from the music ensemble. Specific kinds of puppet movement always require a particular pattern of drum timbres and a combination of gong tones. Therefore, a study of the performative aspects of this Southeast Asian theatrical examines the movement and sound elements together as two parts of a single component or entity in the enactment of a story.

This paper looks closely at the puppets, which represent certain character-types or role-types in the drama, and their movements or gestures in performance as these occur synchronously with the music, and which, as noted above, is inseparable from the movement. With a focus on the “puppet movement/music” component, we are informed about the different levels of understanding, meaning and negotiation between the *dalang* (puppeteer) and the musicians that make a performance happen. We are also informed about the local audience and what it understands about the various elements of the *wayang kulit* that makes the shadow play comprehensible to them, and, in turn, about the

performative circumstances and the culture in which this *wayang kulit* tradition exists. We may ask how this genre is “Malay” from the northeast of the Peninsula? What are the features of this genre that tell us about its “Malay-ness”, or more specifically its Kelantanese Malay-ness?

### **Movement and Music**

The concept of “movement” in the shadow play, as used in this paper, is the placement, gesture and other action of the puppet in the multi-dimensional space between the lamp and the screen, as the puppet is operated by the *dalang* (see Plate 1). In a theatrical event, the classical view of “gesture” and by extension “movement” dictates that the gesture/movement produces or exhibits meaning or expression by the actor, which may or may not be dependent on the spoken word. In effect, the gesture in itself is expression – it tells you something (Pavis, 1998, p. 162).

Furthermore, the movement or gesture, seen in puppet shadows on a screen, is an extension of the movement or gesture of the *dalang*, who not only “operates” the puppets but also performs stylized movements while holding the puppet, which are akin to dance-like movements, executed in a sitting position. In this respect, a recent conversation between this author and a Malaysian professional dancer/choreographer, who once took a practical course in shadow play performance, made clear the great degree of similarity between dance movements and those of the *dalang*, as he taught her how to operate the puppets.<sup>2</sup> Whether considered as dramatic gesture or a kind of hidden or unseen dance by the *dalang*,<sup>3</sup> whose movements are transferred to the puppet and seen by the audience in shadows on the screen, in this shadow theatre there are many stereotyped movements and gestures that are used in a performance.

The movements of puppets will be discussed here from two perspectives, that of the musician who sees the actual puppet, and also the viewer who sees mainly the shadows of the puppets on the screen. In the course of a performance, the musician sees the movements of the puppets and is informed about the kind of musical sounds that are required to accompany those movements, that is, he knows what musical elements are intrinsically important to the particular movement. In addition, the viewer, that is, the local audience member also makes some sense of the observed movements. Having seen the shadow play most of his life, the viewer expects to see certain puppet role-types and their movements acting out in particular ways. The puppet movement (in shadows on the screen) informs the viewer about the role-type and even the character on stage and the characteristics of the role-type, as well as appropriate behavioral traits of the particular role-type in given situations or contexts in the story being told.

In one of the major dance-drama forms of Kelantan (called the *makyung*), the dance movements of the human actors tell precisely the role-type doing the performing.<sup>4</sup> In the *makyung* the movements identify the role type, and likewise in the *wayang kulit* the movements identify and signify the role-type.

### **Puppet Movement for Battle**

Two specific kinds of puppet movement will be used here to illustrate the movement as signifier of musical sound as well as an analogy to the musical sound. The first example is the movement of fighting or battle, which is common in the *wayang kulit* regardless of the story told. The musical piece that always accompanies a battle is called *Perang* (the piece for battle).

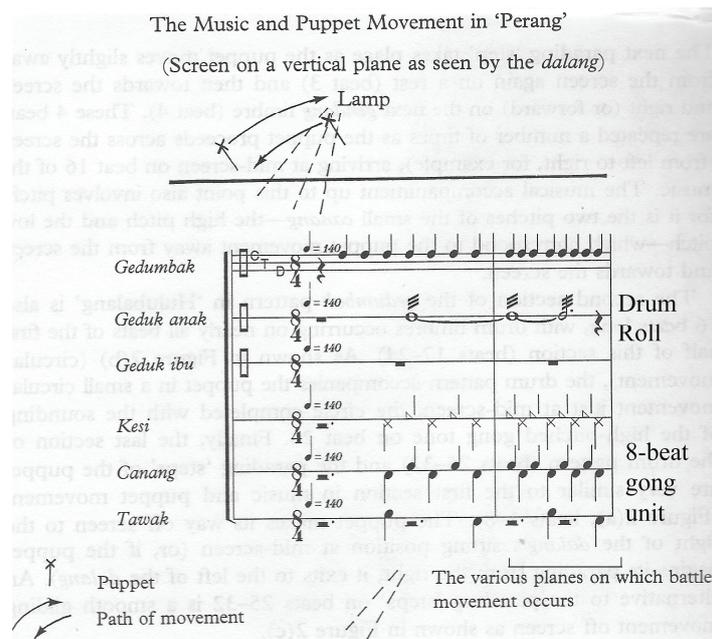
The movements of fighting usually involve just two puppets, and the sequence of movements typically is:

- 1) First, the quick entrance and strutting about of each puppet, one by one. The entrance occurs with a quick gliding movement from left or right stopping momentarily at center screen. Then each puppet, individually, struts about with quick movements of the body upward and downward at center-screen.
- 2) Second, the two warring puppets confront and chase each other. They face one another at center-screen and then quickly execute a chase on and off the screen several times.

3) Third, they clash with each other at left-screen (left side of the lamp) and then at right-screen (right side of the lamp), exhibiting their aggressive actions as they do battle (see Figure 1).

4) Fourth, the two puppets physically hit together punch each other.

These four movements usually occur in the above noted sequence at the beginning of a fight scene and they are repeated as necessary, but as the scene progresses the sequence of movements 2 through 4 may play out in nearly any order, especially in a long battle. The musicians watch these movements closely, as they need to provide the appropriate accompaniment for each movement, all of which happens at a very fast tempo.



**Figure 1. The battle movements of “clashing” to the left of the screen and the accompanying musical parts (drum roll and 8-beat gong unit)**

Finally at the end of the battle, the “defeated” character runs away or he may sit in a tangled heap at the bottom of the screen, and the victor glides victoriously off screen to the sound of the final low-pitched *tetawak* gong tone in the accompanying music.

### The Music for Battle

For all battle movement sequences, the musicians know that the required musical parts are:

1) A cyclical, repeated 8-beat gong unit (or colotomic unit), with the small *canang* gong-row and *kesi* cymbals providing the running beat in the music at a very fast tempo. The large *tetawak* hanging gongs provide a high gong tone on beat 4 and a low gong tone on beat 8 (beat 8 functioning as the end of one colotomic gong unit and the beginning of the next unit). Because of the very fast tempo, in a live performance these two gong tones become highly prominent in the overall musical soundscape (see Figure 1).

2) Another critical part in the music is the rhythmic pattern of the two *geduk* stick-hit drums. This pattern begins with a drum roll, sometimes about 8 to 16 beats long, followed by a fast triplet pattern of 3 strokes against 2 beats of the colotomic unit, which slows to 3 drum strokes against 4 beats of the colotomic unit, continuing with off-beat drum strokes (on each beat) that also last through one or more gong units, and finally a return to the drum roll. To accompany a battle scene, the two *geduk* drums, one small-size with high timbre and the other large-size

with low, thunderous timbre, alternately play this sequence of drum roll, fast triplets, slow triplets, off-beat strokes and concluding drum roll. Although other drums (*gedumbak*) and the *serunai* aerophone are also playing in this piece, the critical musical sound is the colotomic unit and the *geduk* drumming pattern.

In the scenes of battle, the movements and the musical parts generally do not show a close or direct one-to-one relationship, however the musician must have a good understanding of the musical parts in order to accompany the movement. He must know all the parts that make up the 8-beat colotomic unit and he must also know the *geduk* rhythmic patterns. The musician must also know when it is appropriate for the small *geduk* to play, and when the greatest dramatic effect will be achieved by performance on the large, low-timbre *geduk*. While the relationship and analogy found here between the movement and the music is generally remote, nevertheless a truly deep understanding and a deep “knowing about the music” is critical for the musician to appropriately accompany the movements of the battle scene in order for the scene to be effective. As an experienced performer, the details of the colotomic unit (the 8-beat gong unit) are rooted in the musical mind and body of the musician, he “feels” the 8-beat pulse and time unit in his body, and he knows the coincidence of the *geduk* drum parts in relation to this colotomic unit. These musical parts constitute a very deeply imbedded structure in the musical knowledge of the musician and, hence a remote or “deep” analogy may be posited between the movement and the music.<sup>5</sup>

The fighting movements noted above also inform the viewer that some kind of violent action (a fight) is happening on the screen. The viewer sees the quick gestures, the abrupt, jerk-like movement of the puppet body, the overt body motions in broad gliding strides off screen and again quickly on screen. If the fighting movements are done with great skill and style on the part of the *dalang*, and with the appropriate musical parts accompanying those movements, it is seen as a good battle. The viewer is drawn up in the conflict. He cheers for the good guy to overtake the bad guy, he becomes emotionally pulled in to see the good forces overcome the dark side, and he knows “deep down” in his mind and psyche that the good forces will prevail, for that is how it is in the *wayang kulit*, and that is how it should be in real life drama as well.

### **The Movement for Walking by Refined Characters**

Another example that clearly illustrates the relationship between movement and music is the walking by a refined character type. The walking movement illustrated here is by the character known as Seri Rama who is an aristocrat and a king, and whose royal social status carries recognition of refinement in his speech, demeanor and movement. This walking movement is accompanied by a musical piece called *Berjalan* (to travel, to walk). The action/movements comprise (1) the entrance onto the screen, (2) the walking movement (progressing forward or backward), and (3) the exit of the puppet. Both the entrance onto the screen and the exit from the screen are executed in a smooth gliding movement, similar to the gliding movement noted in the battle scene above.

The specific walking movement by a refined character, however, occurs in a 2-beat “walking” step that is repeated (a total of 4 beats) as the puppet slowly progresses across the screen with great finesse, slight and subtle movement upward and downward, to the left and the right, a slight twisting of the body, and the one moveable arm extended in front of the puppet gesturing slightly upward or downward with each step. To note this movement in greater detail (see Figure 2), on beat 1 the puppet body moves slightly upward, on beat 2 the body moves slightly downward to the right (of the *dalang*) with a slight rotation counter-clockwise and with the arm gesturing slightly upward. Continuing with the next 2-beat step, the body moves slight upward on beat 3, then on beat 4 slightly down and to the left with a rotation clockwise while the arm gestures slightly downward. This repeated 2-beat step is repeated as needed so that the puppet ‘walks’ across the screen to the accompaniment of the piece *Berjalan*.

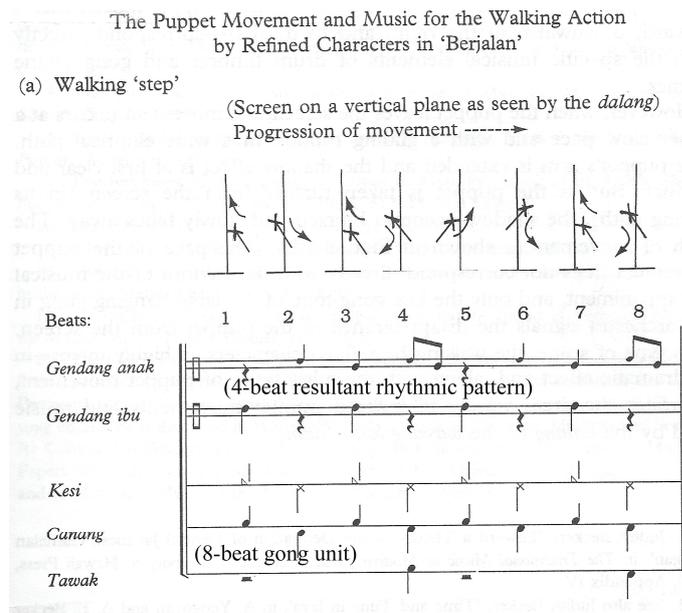


Figure 2. "Walking" movements and music (*Lagu Berjalan*) for a refined puppet character

### The Music for Walking by Refined Characters

Viewing this walking movement on the screen tells the musician that the distinct sounds needed are:

1) The 4-beat resultant rhythmic pattern of the piece *Berjalan*, which is played in interlocking drumming style on the two *gendang* drums. Using mnemonic sounds to represent this pattern, it is: < chap — chap — ting — chap-ting > [4 musical beats, and repeated]. The synchronic occurrence of movement and drum timbres is seen and heard as beat 1: 'chap'/body up, beat 2: 'chap'/body down-rotation counter-clockwise, arm up, beat 3: 'chap'/body up, beat 4: 'chap-ting'/body down-rotation clockwise, arm down.

2) Another critical musical part that accompanies this walking movement is the 8-beat colotomic unit. The *canang* gong-row provides a 2-beat repeated pattern (high and low pitches alternating on each beat), and the *kesi* cymbals plays a 2-beat repeated pattern (ringing and damped timbres alternating on each beat simultaneously with the *canang*). The deep-pitched hanging *tetawak* gongs also sounds out a high tone on beat 4 and a low tone on beat 8 (see Figure 2).

In this walking movement, a very close one-to-one correspondence exists between the specific movements and the specific drum timbres and gong tones. The musician follows the movement and tempo of the puppet. The kind of relationship and analogy found here is a close one in terms of the correspondence of the movements and music, and the intrinsic relationship of these two elements is clear to the eye and the ear. The analogy to be noted here is at a surface or close level.

The viewer, in this case, sees relatively slow and reserved movements; the body is always upright with the arm outstretched and moves gracefully in small upward or downward gestures. A graceful and slight twist of the lower body (clockwise and counter-clockwise), imitates the human dancer as the puppet progresses across the screen. The viewer also sees this kind of movement in a dance drama theatrical performed by humans in his home village, and in both kinds of theater he identifies these movements with a role-type of high and refined status in his social/cultural world. He sees movements that tell him a character of royal status is onstage, for these kinds of movements are associated with a king, a ruler and oftentimes a hero. The viewer knows, too, that the character

possesses the astuteness to know what to do when the going gets difficult, that is, he usually calls in his warriors to battle the bad guys, and he himself goes off screen.

### Conclusions

The common practice in the shadow puppet theater of the Malays of Kelantan in Peninsular Malaysia dictates that music is necessary for puppet movement to occur; it might be said that movement produces the musical sound because there can be no stylized movement of puppets without some kind of sound from the music ensemble, and it is usually a musical piece. While the stylized movement of puppets requires musical sound, yet musical sound does not dictate that movement must occur. Musical pieces, especially sung pieces, do occur without any puppet movement and are heard in the rather static and often reflective times in a story.

The foregoing discussion has pointed out that movements inform the musicians about the kinds of musical sounds that are appropriate to accompany the specific kinds of movement (or gesture) in the course of a performance. In addition, the puppet movements also inform the viewer about character-type, oftentimes the role-type and the acceptable behavioral traits of the given role-type.

It has also been pointed out that the various types of stylized movements indicate the kinds of relationships and analogies that exist between the movement and music, two important performative elements on the theatrical stage.<sup>6</sup> In the shadow play we find, for example, a remote relationship and analogy between the movement and music for battle. In this case, the remote analogy is manifested as an extrinsic relationship between music and movement in which no clear correspondence of kinetic and sound aspects are immediately evident to the eye and ear.

In contrast, the walking by a refined role-type exhibits a close relationship and analogy between movement and music, in which specific movement corresponds directly and intrinsically to specific drum timbres or gong tones. Furthermore, we find that in the successive scenes of the story, the musicians and the *dalang* shift back and forth from deep analogy (or relationship) to shallow or close analogy with great frequency and ease in order to make the performance itself a dynamic event.

The gaze of movement also informs us about role-types and behavioral patterns that are characteristic of given role-types, and about social relationships as found in Malay culture. In the case of walking by a refined character-type cited here, the movement signifies the role-type (a king), which, in turn, signifies the hierarchical relationship between such roles as commoners and kings. This hierarchical relationship among puppet characters parallels the same social relationship among humans in Malay society still today.

In addition, the kinds of movements that elicit emotional responses on the part of the viewer has also been noted. As the audience sees the actions of battle in the performance of a given story, he expects to see the forces of “good” overcome the forces of “evil”.

All of the examples given in this paper not only support the notion of inseparability of movement and music in this Southeast Asian puppet theatrical, but also show that movement can inform us about social relationships, behavioral traits and characteristics in the culture itself. This dynamic and the inseparability of movement and music requires a discourse and an approach to analysis that must be framed in a Southeast Asian epistemology, in which movement and music are inextricably tied.

At both the beginning and the end of a shadow play we watch the “tree of life” puppet (*pokok beringin*) bring the universe to life, and then later to sleep, with its graceful wavering movement that is accompanied by the *geduk* drum sounding out a fanfare-like dotted rhythm followed by a drum roll. The inextricable ties between the movement of this puppet and the music signals a very deep relationship, or analogy, between movement and music at these two moments in a performance (that is, at the beginning and the end). Both the musician and the audience know, at this point in the performance, that the *wayang kulit* does not end, but rather it goes on and on in a cyclical way exhibiting, indeed, a very deep structure.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The music for this shadow play is provided by ensemble of drums, gongs, cymbals and a reed aerophone, which plays all the music required for the performance of a story. The drums, used in pairs [large and small sizes, called *ibu* (mother) and *anak* (child), respectively] are (1) the single-headed goblet-shaped *gedumbak*, (2) the double-headed elongated barrel drum called *gendang* and (3) the stick-hit upright barrel drum called *geduk*. All drums

play specific rhythmic patterns for specific pieces, many of which are resultant rhythms played in interlocking performance style. The bronze idiophones are the time-markers in the music and are also found in pairs [low and high pitches, also called *ibu* and *anak*], and these are the large, knobbed hanging gongs called *tetawak*, the small, horizontal knobbed gongs called *canang*, and the *kesi* hand cymbals. The only non-percussion instrument in the ensemble is the *serunai* quadruple-reed aerophone, which provides melody in the musical repertory.

<sup>2</sup> Conversation with dancer/choreographer Marion D’Cruz on the kinds of stylized movements of the puppets and how they are created by the puppeteer, April 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Movements by the *dalang* are literally “hidden” or “unseen” because the viewer sits outside the stage building and sees neither the *dalang* nor the musicians who are inside the enclosed structure.

<sup>4</sup> Ghulam Sarwar Yousof, *The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance Drama, A Study of Performance Structure*. Doctoral dissertation, Honolulu, The University of Hawaii at Manoa, pp. 129-130.

<sup>5</sup> Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973, New York, Basic Books, p.p. 412-453). Geertz notes the “deep play” at work in his analysis of the Balinese cockfight in which deeply rooted cultural elements, not necessarily evident to immediate awareness or to the naked eye, are key to understanding the issues of status in a Balinese community. The notion of “deep analogy” noted in the relationship of movement to music in the *wayang kulit* is, likewise, a relationship that has no one-to-one correspondence of the concomitant kinetic and sound elements. Rather, the extrinsic nature of this relationship is underpinned by a deeply rooted understanding of the details of both music and movement events in the mind of the musicians and the *dalang*. See also, Patricia Matusky, *Music in the Malay Shadow Play*, (Chapters I and II) Doctoral dissertation, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1980.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that, on the topic of ritual sung folk literature in Malaysia, just as linguists and anthropologists explain language that is set in “shallow” and “deep” speech (see, for example, discussion of “reported” and “reportive” speech by Iban shamans in Sarawak, Malaysia, by Clifford Sather, 2011), the semantic depth in folk literature finds its parallel in the close (or surface level) and deep (or remote) relationships and analogies between movement and music in traditional theatrical forms such as the *wayang kulit*.

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**MUSIC, MOVEMENT, SPORT AND IDENTITY: THE *MOULILIAN TAGUNGGAK* OF THE GANA MURUT OF SABAH, MALAYSIA**

**Introduction**

The Gana Murut are a small ethnolinguistic group from the Murutic Family of languages and cultures in Sabah (formerly North Borneo), the east Malaysian state on northern Borneo. *Moliliun* (also pronounced *molilian*) in the Gana Murut language means “turning around” or “winding around” (Suhaidin Langkap & Juis Amin, personal communication, November 13, 2008). The term *tagunggak* in Murutic languages (*togunggak* in Dusunic languages) refers to ensembles of bamboo idiophones, each of a different size and pitch. Each one is held individually and hit with a beater (Plate 1). The composite interlocking rhythmic and melodic motifs form a distinctive music of colotomic patterns.<sup>1</sup>



**Plate 1. A selection of instruments used in *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* (clockwise from top left) the shortest *tagunggak*, the seventh *tagunggak*, the fifteenth *tagunggak*, *cangkul*, *gandang*, and the longest *tagunggak* (Photos: J. Pugh-Kitingan, 2009)**

*Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* is a competitive sport in which two teams, with up to 108 male players in each, run around and try to encircle one another while beating their *tagunggak*. This genre can be simultaneously regarded as “music” or socially accepted patterns of sound (Blacking 1995, p.

33), as “dance” or “a structured movement system of knowledge” (Kaeppeler, 1998, 2005 & 2011), and as “sport”. Sport may be classified as aesthetic or as competitive, and sporting games are sometimes part of ritual (Blanchard, 1995). Sport manifests social relationships, and as human movement and discourse it can be considered a form of dance (Grau, 2010).

This discussion places *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* in its historical and cultural context, and examines the genre as music and as dance/sport. It also briefly discusses the genre as an expression of Gana ethnic identity and its importance in the reconstruction of the Gana cultural past.

### **The Gana Murut and the Historical Context of *Moliliun Tagunggak***

The Gana Murut (also spelt Ganna, Ganaq, Gana’, and sometimes referred to as Minansut) live at Bingkor on the northwest part of the interior Keningau Plain of Sabah. They are located on the west side of the Pagalan River, north of Keningau Town. The name *Gana* is an ethnonym meaning “lowland” or “plain”. Gana is classified as a language in the Murutic Family of Languages. Many speakers are also fluent in Kuijau Dusun and Keningau Murut, as well as Kadazan Dusun, Bahasa Malaysia and English. Linguistic surveys in the early 1980s estimated the number of first language Gana speakers at 1,000 to 1,200 (Spitzack, 1984/1997, pp. 157, 168-170, 189-191). Today, however, the number of Gana who are still fluent in their heritage language is said to be less than 250 (Juis Amin, personal communication, November 13, 2008; Juanis Gan Tingadon, personal communication, May, 2012). They are geographically, culturally and demographically overshadowed by the large surrounding Kuijau Dusun on the west side of the Pagalan River at Bingkor, and also the Keningau Murut on the east of the Pagalan.

Over the past century or so, many Gana have intermarried with Kuijau, and the community has acculturated lots of features of Kuijau Dusun culture. Although the Murutic family probably originated from an area around the southern interior part of what is today known as Sabah, some Gana claim to be Dusun and believe their origins are from Nunuk Ragang, a village on the Liwagu River in today’s Ranau District (see also Juanis Gan Tingadon, 2012). Nunuk Ragang was the major dispersal point for Dusunic peoples throughout Sabah over hundreds of years. The Kuijau Dusun traditionally performed their *tagunggak* in long processions during rituals connected with headhunting and collections of skulls inherited from their forebears (J. J. Baptist, personal communication, June, 2012). *Tagunggak* performance is also a Gana tradition.

Some Gana claim that in the olden days during preparations for headhunting warfare, teams of warriors competed through *Moliliun Tagunggak* to select the most skilful for battle. The leader of the winning team, it is said, would lead the warriors into battle. Warriors wore ceremonial jackets made from the skins of *mondou* or clouded leopards. It is claimed that spirits, including the spirits of the dead, could come into *Moliliun Tagunggak* competitions. *Tagunggak* playing is also said to have been part of the annual *mansilad* rituals (Suhaidin Langkap, personal communication, April 3, 2009).

Although sets of *tagunggak* have been played for generations among the Gana and other interior communities that utilize bamboo, the actual origin of *Moliliun Tagunggak* as an organized sport is more recent. During the early 1900s when headhunting in the interior of North Borneo was rife, and especially following the Rundum revolt of 1915, district administrative officers under the British North Borneo Chartered Company government developed *tagunggak* playing into a competitive sport to settle conflicts among traditionally warring groups (P. Regis, personal communication, June, 2012). This sport was later continued as *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* by the Gana. Possibly claims by some Gana that *Moliliun Tagunggak* was used for warrior selection during headhunting days are based on somewhat distorted recollections passed down over recent generations about competitions organized by administrative officers during early Chartered Company times and Kuijau and Gana *tagunggak* processions in ceremonies connected with skull collections and headhunting.

After World War II, *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* developed further into a large competitive sport, and was performed by the Gana at Keningau in 1959 for the visit of Britain’s Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh. This visit of the husband of Queen Elizabeth II was celebrated with presentations of gong ensemble music and dance by most of the major ethnic groups of the interior of Sabah. During the 1970s, however, *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* declined and was rarely organized.

In an attempt to revive the genre in recent years, the Gana Cultural Association requested the senior executive officers of Universiti Malaysia Sabah to organize classes in *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* for the students. Since this was not feasible, I was directed to offer a solution for their requests, and

thus brought our third year Ethnomusicology students in the Anthropology-Sociology Program of the School of Social Sciences to conduct a short field project on *Moliliun Tagunggak* in 2009, as part of their course assessment. The fieldwork took place at Kampung Buang Sayang, Bingkor. This is a recent settlement across the river from two historical villages Kampung Pogun Antolob (lit. “place of a huge boulder or *ontolob*; there are many legends associated with this boulder) and Kampung Bandukan (*bandukan* = a type of fish) that grew over time and came to be combined as one village (KK Atat Suili, Village Headman of Kampung Pogun Antolob, personal communication, April 3, 2009).

### ***Moliliun Tagunggak* as Music**

The term *tagunggak* is derived from *tagung*, a generic name for a gong, and *gak gak* which is onomatopoeic for the sound of large bamboo when it is hit. These idiophones are cut from lengths of large *poring* bamboo. One end to the bamboo remains closed by a node, while the other end is open with half of its side cut away to enhance the resonance of the bamboo. Each idiophone has a specific pitch, according to its length and diameter. The shortest highest pitched instrument measures around 20 cm long, while the longer deep-sounding bamboos can reach up to two metres. The shorter bamboo idiophones are held at the basal end with the open end upright or, more usually, pointing downwards and are hit with short lengths of palm frond stems. The long *tagunggak*, each held with a cane strap and are struck with a wooden mallet that has its head covered in rubber or beeswax (see Plate 1).

It is said that in former times, up to 108 *tagunggak* idiophones could be played in one team together with a *gandang* drum and a metal hoe-head or *cangkul* (Malay). Only twenty *tagunggak*, however, were available during our field trip apart from the *gandang* and *cangkul*, and during the morning recording session, two *tagunggak* players left for work elsewhere.

The *gandang* is a single-headed native drum made from *nangka* or jackfruit wood with *poninisip* or tuning pegs around its head (see Plate 1). The *cangkul* head functions musically like a single hand held gong, but is much smaller and more easily carried and hit while running about. The *tagunggak* generally enter musically from the shortest to the longest, with the drum normally entering in second last place and the hoe-head as the last. As shown in Figure 2, which is an excerpt from the middle of a performance of eighteen *tagunggak* with the *gandang* and *cangkul*, the first shortest *tagunggak* plays a rapid repetitive semiquaver-like beat known as *tolipikon* which denotes a rapid knocking sound. The second *tagunggak* is struck on every main semiquaver beat and the third follows on the off-beat. The longest *tagunggak* and the drum and *cangkul* play the same rhythmic motif as shown in Plate 2, but sometimes the drum breaks into running semiquaver beats and the *cangkul*-head frequently just hits repeated quaver beats.



**Figure 1. Basic rhythmic motif of the longest *tagunggak*, *gandang* and *cangkul***

Between the third *tagunggak* and these last three instruments, all the other *tagunggak* play interlocking semiquaver patterns. Within this interlocking texture, more *tagunggak* can be added so that it is possible to increase the number of instruments for a particular performance. In the case of 108 *tagunggak* per team, several sets of instruments may be combined to complete the required number. The interlocking *tagunggak* parts form a colorful colotomic sound texture. Their composite rhythmic patterns are supported by the drum beating and delineated by the loud clanging sound of the *cangkul*, which acts as a coordinating signal for the large group of performers. To the listener, there is a sense of duple meter which is reflected in the running movements of the players.

The image shows a musical score for the Moliliun Tagunggak Gana. It features 18 staves for tagunggak instruments, one staff for gandang, and one staff for cangkul. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 153 MM. The score is organized into three main sections: tagunggak (1-18), gandang, and cangkul. The tagunggak staves are numbered 1 through 18. The gandang and cangkul parts are shown at the bottom of the score. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 153 MM.

Figure 2. Basic Patterns for Moliliun Tagunggak Gana (Transcription: Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan)

Although the *gandang* enters musically after all the *tagunggak* have begun playing, its player may be positioned between *tagunggak* 5 and *tagunggak* 6 during long processions, to ensure that his instrument is heard by the *tagunggak* players near the start of the line to maintain the beat. Similarly, the *cangkul* is always positioned at the very end of the line, and follows the entrance of the *gandang* to support the composite beating of the deep sounding *tagunggak* instruments, as well as to maintain the overall beat of the music. The *gandang* and *cangkul* support and elaborate upon the composite rhythms of the *tagunggak* instruments and are essential in maintaining the underlying beat and rhythmic framework of the music. This is most important during competitions of long lines of players, who may otherwise become disoriented and lose the beat of the music during the match.

Some bamboos have may similar pitches to others, and while the instruments generally enter one after the other, some might enter earlier such as *tagunggak* 8 that usually enters before *tagunggak* 7 that has the same pitch as *tagunggak* 5, but this does not affect the overall texture of the music. As the performers pass by, the ear of the listener catches lateral dialogues between adjacent instruments based on their intervallic relationships, such as the semitone between *tagunggak* 2 and 3, the fourth between *tagunggak* 4 and 5, the “minor”-sounding third between *tagunggak* 10 and 11, followed by the semitone between 11 and 12, the fourth between 15 and 16, and so on. The listener is also immersed in the overall shifting vertical clusters of pitches bordered by the highest pitch of *tagunggak* 1 and the lowest.

During competition, the corresponding members of both teams play the same patterns for their respective instruments, and the composite sound texture based on the interlocking rhythmic patterns of the pitched idiophones creates a distinctive swell of pulsating sound that can be heard from afar. The action of beating the instruments provides the impetus for the synchronized running of the members in

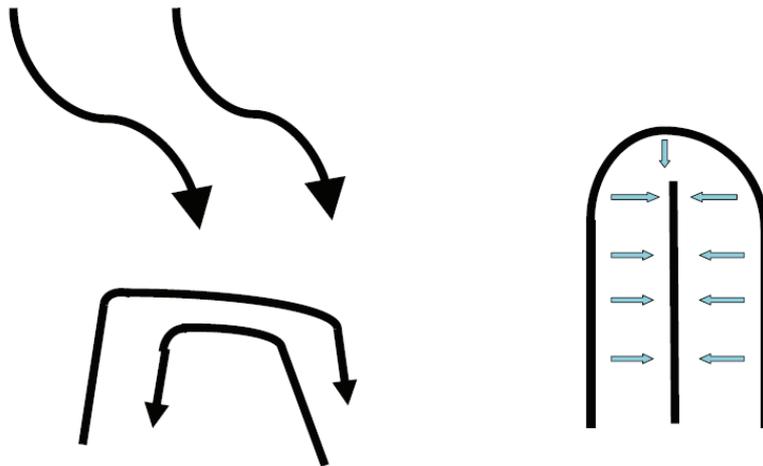
each team. Thus, from the auditory perspective, *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* can be regarded as moving patterns of sound or moving music.

### ***Moliliun Tagunggak* as Movement**

The *Moliliun Tagunggak* of the 1950s is said to have taken place in a field, roughly the size of a football oval. Two lines of 108 players, each holding their instruments, stood and faced each other and gradually began beating their instruments beginning with the men holding the shortest highest pitched bamboo idiophones then moving on down the lines of instruments to longest *tagunggak* and the hoe-heads.

Once the music was established, the two lines would then turn and start running parallel to each other in time to the music, all the while maintaining their interlocking beating (Figure 3). They would then begin running around each other while continuing to beat the *tagunggak*. Without losing a beat, each team would attempt to encircle the other. The basic running movement of the players' legs and feet was naturally coordinated with beating action of their arms, and mirrored the underlying duple beat of the music.<sup>2</sup> Competitions involving up to 216 participants, or two teams of 108 performers, could last up to 45 minutes long as the long lines of moving bodies wound around the field.

As shown in Figure 3, sometimes one team would encircle and close in on the other line of players. If the encircled team became trapped, they would suffer a penalty, and their opponents would score a point. But if they successfully broke through the opposing team's surrounding line or turned and escaped from the entrapment, they would score a point and the opposition would suffer a penalty. Usually three rounds of competition, with rests in between, were used to determine the winning team.



**Figure 3. Movement patterns of competing teams in *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana***

It is claimed that there were 38 penalties recognised in *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* (Suhaidin Langkap, personal communication, April 3, 2009). The most common penalties, however, were for:

1. Knocking one another or members of the opposing team
2. Breaking the flow of the music
3. Incorrect beating of a particular instrument
4. Disrupting the synchronized running pattern of one's team
5. Breaking the line of one's team
6. Becoming separated from one's line by the other team
7. Becoming cornered by the other team

Competitions were usually controlled and evaluated by a neutral umpire (with a police constable's whistle), and watched by surrounding crowds of onlookers.

Men performing *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* required strength and stamina, personal coordination to beat the correct rhythm and run at the same time, and group coordination to maintain

synchronized beating and running in each team. This activity was considered too physically strenuous for women to undertake.

From the kinesthetic perspective, *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* can be regarded as a system of sounding movement. As each man beats his instrument, he runs. Each running sounding body moves in relation to the other running sounding bodies in the team. As competing teams, the two lines of coordinated sounding bodies react and interact to determine the strongest and most powerful.

### ***Moliliun Tagunggak* as an Expression of Gana Identity**

Although the Gana Cultural Association is said to have a membership of around 2,000, outmarriage with the neighbouring Kuijau Dusun and also the Keningau Murut, as well as strong outside influences through development and education, have resulted in a situation where very few younger Gana speak their heritage language and know much of their history and traditional culture. Today, nearly all Gana people have had schooling at least up to secondary level. Traditional Gana material culture and most of their intangible cultural heritage have been lost, and many cultural elements have been borrowed from the Kuijau Dusun. Women's traditional weaving skills and knowledge of woven abstract geometrical designs representing flora and fauna have been lost. The warrior's jacket of *mondou* skins of long ago has long disappeared. It appears that in some cases that Kuijau gong ensemble music may be also shared by the Gana.

The Gana Cultural Association is seeking to revive and promote the "uniqueness" of aspects of Gana culture. Attempted reconstructions of traditional costumes and of "historical" stories, however, have drawn wide criticism for gross inaccuracies.

In this context, *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* is seen as an important and authentic expression of Gana cultural identity that can be developed and promoted. Although the music is typical of common *tagunggak* patterns played by many other Murutic communities, the aspect of running while playing *tagunggak* as a form of competition appears to have been only practiced by the Gana in recent times.<sup>3</sup>

### **Conclusions**

*Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* is a complex form of discourse that can be viewed through the gazes of music and movement as sounding dance or musicked movement. Its musical sounds and structured movements are essential to the genre and cannot be separated. It is the interlocking musical patterns of all the *tagunggak*, *gandang* and *cangkul*, however, which provide the basis and driving force for the running movements of the participants, with skill in maintaining the beat being of fundamental importance. These movements constitute a structured system of knowledge that may be regarded as "dance" at the kinesthetic level, and "sport" in their wider socio-competitive context.

Formerly, this music/dance/sport genre was used for conflict resolution and the prevention of warfare and headhunting between communities by the British North Borneo Chartered Company administration. Today, it is claimed by the Gana Murut as part of their cultural heritage. Although the music is similar to *tagunggak* patterns played by other communities, it appears that the aspect of running while playing *tagunggak* as a form of competition has been practiced up until recently mainly by the Gana. Today, the Gana Murut are a declining ethnic minority who have experienced rapid culture change and lost much of their traditional culture. As a form of traditional sport, *Moliliun Tagunggak Gana* has the potential to be developed as a distinctive and enduring part of Gana culture.

### **Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> In most Murutic cultures, *tagunggak* accompany *magunatip* dances (called *moginatip* in some Dusunic languages) in which dancers deftly step in and out of sets of long bamboo poles that are clapped together and banged on the floor. In both Murutic and Dusunic cultures, these bamboo idiophone ensembles are often played by musicians in processions, and can also be used as substitutes for playing gong ensemble music when no gongs are available (Pugh-Kitingan, 2004, pp. 28-29, 90, 216).

<sup>2</sup> In the case of our field work, the Gana players teamed up against our students in order to give the students a taste of playing and running in *Moliliun Tagunggak*. The students had practiced the *tagunggak* beating for much of the morning. Unfortunately, the competition was over in just a few minutes, since the students were unable to run in formation and beat their instruments.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the Murutic peoples, such as the Timugon and the Palawan, have large repertoires of hanging gong ensemble music of various names, and some of these pieces can be played with *tagunggak*. The piece in Plate 3, however, is very common for *tagunggak* music.

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**RELIGION, CHANT, AND HEALING: *RUQYAH* MEDICAL SYSTEM AND ISLAMIC  
CHANT IN JAVA**

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### **A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON JAVANESE *WAYANG* AND ISLAMIC *DAKWAH***

It is commonly held opinion that due to ambiguity in the foundational texts of Islam regarding music, the role of music in society in the Islamic Middle Eastern homeland has been subject to considerable controversy and local fluctuation in evaluation along the spectrum of approved and disapproved practices (al Faruqi, 1985; Neubauer & Doubleday, 2001). Regardless of the limitation or delimitation of music as dictated by religious dogma, music and its related performing arts in the Arabic world are as vital as the faith itself (Rasmussen, 2010), but the controversy persists.

While the role of music remains a subject of debate in the Islamic homeland, what happened as Islam spread to other countries around the world? How does an Islamized culture receive Islamic music and musical ideology? These questions lead us to the topic of religious syncretism or hybridization, a process involving intercultural encounters and exchanges between groups of people with different tradition and worldviews. In this regard, musical considerations become even more complex and ambiguous as a result of the host culture's negotiation, adaptation, rejection, and reconciliation with the incoming Islamic cultural values and ideology. Regarding the Islamization of Indonesia, which began in the sixteenth century, we learn that it has given rise to rich variations in the content and context of Indonesian-Islamic musical hybrids and ideologies and to diverse voices of Indonesian Muslims toward the performing arts.

It is worth noting that, in today's Indonesia, the Muslims' expression of their faith is more diverse than in the past. This diversity manifests in many aspects of contemporary life.

Some don traditional Islamic dress, buy only *halal* products, put their money in sharia bank accounts, log on to Islamic websites, observe the voluntary prayers and engage in charitable work for Islamic foundations. Others wear Western-style clothing or the latest Muslim fashions, watch television broadcasts of their favourite preachers, take part in mass religious ceremonies, pilgrimage to the burial site of Islamic saints and buy Islamic art to display in homes and workplaces (Fealy & White, 2008, pp. 2-3).

#### ***Dakwah***

Another way for Indonesian Muslims to express their faith is through their attendance to *dakwah*. Literally meaning "call to religion", *dakwah* is an oral proselytization, or any kind of preaching, predication of Islamic outreach (Millie, 2008, p. 80). In light of the rapidly modernizing and urbanizing society of Indonesia, with access to the modern tools and methods of communication and technology, the most prevalent *dakwah* is televangelistic preaching. Well-known televangelists, such as AA Gym and Arifin Ilham, might attract several thousand people to attend their sermons, not to mention thousands more viewing them on television (Howell, 2008; Hoesterey, 2008). In addition to their spectacular presentation, the two preachers are known "to move their congregations or audiences to tears of remorse mixed with relief and wonder at the mercy of God and the beauty of His creation" (Howell, 2008, p. 46).

There are also less spectacular *dakwah*, carried out by preachers in the rural (see Millie, 2008) and mid-town environment. Many of their *dakwah* (also commonly known as *pengajian*) are drawn from situations in village life (Millie, 2008, p. 89). Typically, they use humor in their *dakwah*, including many vulgar and coarse jokes. I quote here one of the most vulgar, sexually suggestive jokes: "During his speech, Al-Jauhari [the preacher] will raise his hand to look at his watch, upon which the audience, concerned he is about to conclude, will cry 'No! No!' He then asks the audience: 'Aren't you tired, ladies?' They call out, 'Not yet!' He says: 'I'm the one who should be tired, because I'm the one on top [that is, on the stage]! You aren't tired because you're underneath! You should try it on top some time, ladies'" (Millie, 2008, p. 12). This is the kind of humor that has led to the popularity of these preachers in village communities.

### **Wayang Dakwah Type I**

In this rural type of *dakwah*, especially in central and east Java, some preachers use *wayang* shadow puppet play as a tool to deliver their Islamic dogma. This preacher-cum-*dhalang* (puppet master) might have been educated in an Islamic boarding school (*pesantrèn*), have gone to the pilgrimage to Mecca, and/or have an access to and learn about Islam from literature.

About their training of *wayang* performance, Ustad Fadil of Krian, East Java, acknowledged that he has no training as *dhalang*.<sup>1</sup> During his childhood, *wayang* performance is his favorite play. But when he entered *pesantrèn* education, he stopped watching *wayang* plays, because his *pesantrèn* discouraged students from watching *wayang* or listening to gamelan. After graduating from the *pesantrèn*, his interest in *wayang* resumed. Moreover, he was interested in using *wayang* for *dakwah*. In 2005, he began to train himself to perform *wayang* by watching and listening to many live or recorded performances. In 2007, he began his new career as *dhalang dakwah*. While throughout the years his ability in the movement of puppets has improved, he acknowledged that, until now, his understanding of gamelan accompaniment is very limited. So in performing *wayang*, he has an assistant to help him sing mood songs (*sulukan*) and play *kepyak* (a set of metal plates sounded to punctuate the movement of the puppet).



**Plate 1. The author (right) and *dhalang* Fadil (left)  
(Photo: Sumarsam)**

Like preacher-cum-*dhalang* Fadil, Sunan Sunhaji of Banyumas, Purwakerto is also a graduate of a *pesantrèn*.<sup>2</sup> He also never had formal training to perform *wayang*. He was self-taught, learning from watching and listening to many performances since childhood. Teaching at the elementary school is his permanent employment. Unlike Fadil, however, he performs *wayang* like any traditional *dhalang*: he tells the story, plays *kepyak*, signals musicians what to play, sings mood songs, and so forth.

The musical accompaniment for *wayang dakwah* is the same as in traditional *wayang* performance, that is, a set of gamelan. But in Fadil's *wayang* performance (like in many *wayang* performances today), keyboards and drum sets are also used. The function of the drum set (especially the cymbals) is crucial in Fadil's *wayang*, because Fadil does not know how to play *kepyak*: the cymbals substitute the *kepyak* to punctuate the movement of the puppets. Western musical instruments are also featured in performing certain light pieces during a humorous scene.

To sum up, *dhalang* Fadil and Sunhaji use traditional *wayang* performance as a tool for *dakwah*. Later, I will discuss the ways these *dhalangs* convey Islamic messages in their *wayang* performance. At this juncture, let me introduce the second type of *wayang dakwah*.

### **Wayang Dakwah Type II**

In this case, instead of presenting the whole *wayang* performance, *wayang* is used only as an interlude or postlude of the *dakwah*. My report on this second type of *wayang dakwah* is limited to my

observation of video clips of this *wayang* performance that I found on YouTube. I will focus on one preacher who seems to be the most renowned *dhalang dakwah* in the Central North Coast area of Java. Unfortunately, my attempt to meet this *dhalang* was not successful because of his busy schedule. His name is Kyai Haji Abdur Rochim. Perhaps because of his success in incorporating *wayang* in his *dakwah*, he is known as Ki Joko Goro-Goro. *Ki* is an honorable title for *dhalang*; *Joko*, young man; and *Goro-Goro*, a scene symbolically portraying the world in turmoil. In this scene, humorous conversation among the *punakawan* (clowns, the retainers of a prince) is the main attraction of the scene.

The setting of the stage for this second type of *wayang dakwah* differs from the traditional *wayang* performance. Usually the preacher-cum-*dhalang* sits on a sofa, or stands up, holding a microphone. In front of him is a *wayang* stage: banana logs placed on a stand, but without a screen. *Wayang* puppets are planted in the left and right side of the banana logs in front of (sometimes behind) the preacher, or placed on the floor.

Interestingly, the musical accompaniment of this second type of *wayang dakwah* is not gamelan, but an ensemble consisting of keyboards, guitar, and a drum set; this is a *dangdut* ensemble, a popular musical genre developed in the 1970s. In this second type of *wayang dakwah*, *dangdut* repertoire is often featured as an interlude, either in the *wayang* segment or in the *dakwah* itself. Standard gamelan pieces for the entrance and exit of character(s) and for the fighting scene are also played by this ensemble. Sometimes, a *kendhang* (drum in gamelan) is used, but the bongo can be used as a substitute for the *kendhang*.

### Islamic Messages in *Wayang Dakwah*

In the case of the second type of *wayang dakwah*, the preacher begins his presentation with the words of introduction in Arabic, often starting with *al-fatihah* (the opening of Quranic reading). Then he switches to Javanese language, the main language of the whole sermon. Only when he makes an important point about the content of the *dakwah*, then he justifies and emphasizes his point by citing passages from *Quran* or *Hadith*. This is also the way in which the preacher of the first type of *wayang dakwah* does his preaching.

As I mentioned in my opening remark, the most prevalent characteristic of *wayang dakwah* is in the content of the oratory, which is drawn from situations in rural life, and which uses a lot of humor, including many vulgar jokes. I should also add that typically the *dakwah* also contains comments and criticism of current political issues. The following quotation is a passage from Ki Joko Goro-Goro's *wayang* interlude of his *dakwah*.

Janaka appears with folded-hands, praying *tahajjud* and *tajjad*. At precisely a half past one Janaka awakes. Janaka must appear after midnight; **if he appears before midnight, the puppeteer must be crazy.**<sup>3</sup> Janaka is from the word "janatuka", [which means] "heaven". Arjuna is "*arcunaja*". "*Arcu*" means "aspiration", "*unaja*", "safe and sound". "*Rojana sarjana*", if you want to enter heaven, you need to see Puntadewa [the oldest of Pandhawa brothers], who leads you to righteousness and brings you to a Quranic reading (*pengajian*). After the *pengajian*, let's pray; crazy people are cured, since they carry out the five times of prayers. I S L A M means Isak, Subuh Luhur, Asar, Magrib – the five times [of praying]. You'll enter heaven. At a half past one, you should stay awake. Let me emphasize, if you want to enter heaven, you should be awake at night; **right gentlemen...[audience]: "right"!)...pee. You're awake just to pee; if not peeing [for yourself], peeing to [someone else]. That is not the way to enter heaven.** It is difficult to enter heaven, because there are many crazy people, many monsters; you can imagine their faces. They are gigantic spiritual beings. Everyday they are giving birth. This is the boss of iblis, the king of satan – **can you pick up that puppet closer to me; that Cakil is too far away.** This is the boss. Everyday they are giving birth. They cannot die; they will die at the same time with the end of the world. Thus, today the world is full of spiritual beings. Careful! In the street, *pengajian* will be disturbed [by them], in the house, disturbed, in the street, disturbed. **Cakil cannot die. He is killed by Janaka, but tomorrow there will be another Cakil again. Actually his death is caused by stress because one of his teeth is too long, therefore, he cannot spit. I am tired**

**thinking about this [Cakil]. Ah, I am tired but it is not time to stop yet.** My army of satan, you must disturb all *pengajian*. Satan, come here, satan!

## Conclusion

In *wayang dakwah*, the preacher explicitly incorporates Islamic messages into his *wayang* performance. The Hindu characters from Mahabharata or Ramayana were Islamized. This is another continuing process of syncretism or hybridization. Let us think about the dynamism of this hybridization: the preacher uses *wayang* for *dakwah*; the *wayang* tells stories based on the Javanese version of Hindu epics, but in the Islamic context; the *wayang* performance is accompanied by either gamelan instruments, or the *dangdut* band; the *dangdut* band performs gamelan compositions, alongside *dangdut* songs or repertoire from other genres of popular music.

Indeed, this *wayang dakwah* has given rise to richer variations in the content and context of Javanese-Islamic musical genres and ideologies and to diverse voices of Indonesian Muslims toward the performing arts. This *wayang dakwah* is an instance of the dynamics of hybridization. Hybridity concerns with inter- and/or intra-cultural encounters and exchanges, including the exchanges of artifacts; the artifacts might be reproduced and reinterpreted at will by the recipient.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The information about Ustad Fadil is based on my interview in June 2012.

<sup>2</sup> My information about *dhalang* Sunan Sunhaji is based on evidence that I gathered from web resources.

<sup>3</sup> **Texts in bold** contain comments of the *dhalang* about a scene, a character or himself. The comments are unrelated to the content of the narration, mostly containing jokes that speak directly to and about the audience or the *dhalang* himself.

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**NEGOTIATING PLURALISM AND MODERNITY THROUGH COMIC SONGS IN COLONIAL MALAYA**

Malay popular songs emerged through the *bangsawan* theatre in the early twentieth century. As I have shown elsewhere, *bangsawan* was one of the new cultural forms which developed in response to rapid social, economic and political changes caused by British colonial expansion into Malaya in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Tan, 1993). It was at this time that Malaya was transformed into a multiethnic society as Chinese, Indians and Indonesians were brought in to provide labour for the tin mining, rubber and construction industries. As commercial theatre playing to multiethnic audiences, *bangsawan* theatre was eclectic. It incorporated Malay, Chinese, Indian, Arabic, European and Javanese stories, dances, languages and music. Gramophone companies such as His Master's Voice (HMV), Columbia and Pathe recorded these multilingual popular songs (Tan, 1997).<sup>1</sup>

This paper focuses on the development of a type of popular music known as *lagulucu* or comic songs which were sung in *bangsawan* theatre and recorded on 78 RPM records from the 1930s till the 1950s. Through an analysis of the music and texts of selected comic songs from the three decades, this essay suggests that the songs were popular among and attracted diverse communities because they resonated with the everyday lives and experiences of the ordinary local people. By mixing languages, melodies and humour as well as common social concerns of the various ethnic groups, performers spoke the language of inclusion. The *lagulucu* played an important role in mediating transethnic communication in colonial Malaya. The comic songs were also attractive as they were considered up-to-date, modern and adapted to the latest Anglo-American pop music and dance orchestras which combined strings, trumpets, trombones, clarinets, drum set and maracas.<sup>2</sup>

**Taxi drivers, Trishaw Pullers and Hawkers**

*Lagulucu* incorporated topical issues including commentaries on poverty and problems in Malayan society such as gambling, womanising and the plight of taxi drivers, hawkers, trishaw men and the small businessmen. The songs were often invigorated by humour in the tone of voice and in the lyrics. The lyrics which were relevant and amusing became the focal point for listeners. These songs did not use the Malay *pantun* or quatrain verse form (as in other *bangsawan* and Malay social songs) but were sung in colloquial Malay (known locally as *pasar* or *bazaar*/ market in Malay) and incorporated English, Chinese and Tamil/Hindustani words. They were accompanied by upbeat rhythms such as the rumba, foxtrot or tango played by the dance orchestra. Sometimes, well known melodies from American, European, Indian, Chinese or Malay films and pop songs were adapted to new lyrics.

*Taxi Rumba* [Rumba Taxi] (P 13172, Che Tarminah and Piet S., HMV July 1939) is an example of a lively comic song about the problems faced by taxi drivers. It is accompanied by the rhythms of a lively rumba. Sung as a duet between a female passenger and a male taxi driver, the song tells the audience about how the passenger often takes the driver for granted and orders him around. The engine often breaks down. The taxi driver is frequently stopped by police who takes away his license because his lights are not working properly or his number plates have disappeared. The texts mixed Malay and English (*italics*) words:

*Taxi.....Yes Sir.....*pusing kanan  
*Taxi.....Yes Mam.....*kasi tangan

*Taxi.....Yes Sir.....*turn right  
*Taxi.....Yes Mam.....*put your hand out

Saya tidak sabar, perut sudah lapar  
Hati saya jadi gusar  
Saya tidak tahan, saya mau makan  
Kita cari satu *restaurant*.

I am impatient, I am hungry  
My heart is anxious  
I cannot endure it, I want to eat  
Let us look for a *restaurant*.

Bilang saja nona dimana pergi

Just tell me lady where do you want to go

Saya tau semua jalan disini.	I know all the roads here.
Saya sudah kenyang, mari kita pulang Jangan sampai hujan datang.	I am already full, let us go home Don't wait till the rain comes.
<i>Taxi.....Yes Sir.....</i> apa ini	<i>Taxi.....Yes Sir.....</i> what is this
<i>Taxi.....Yes Mam.....</i> isi minyak	<i>Taxi.....Yes Mam.....</i> fill petrol
<i>Taxi.....Yes Sir.....</i> apa lagi	<i>Taxi.....Yes Sir.....</i> what else is happening
<i>Taxi.....Yes Mam.....</i> engine rosak.	<i>Taxi.....Yes Mam.....</i> engine spoilt.
Sabarlah nona, lampu tidak nyala Number belakang tidak ada <i>Gohed</i> lah saja, hari sudah gelap Jangan takut kena tangkap.	Be patient lady, [my] lamp is not lighting There is no number [plate] at the back <i>Go ahead</i> , the day is getting dark Don't be afraid of getting caught.
Kena saman saya takut Saya khuatir lessen kena chabut.	I am scared of getting a summon I am afraid [my] licence will be confiscated.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, multilingual topical comic songs concerning ordinary working people of all races continued to be popular. *Saudagar Minyak Urat* [Nerve Oil Merchant] (Aman Ballon, King Clown, Nooran Opera & HMV Orchestra, P 13078 HMV 1948), *Che' Mah Dengan Tukang Becha* [Che' Mah and the Trishaw Puller] (AmanBallon, P 13179), *Kesah Tok Bomo* [Story of a Shaman] (Aman Ballon P 22788) and *Uncle Murtabak* (Mohd. Yatim, P 22945) described the hardships faced by the Malay nerve oil merchant, the Chinese trishaw puller, the Malay medicine man and the Indian *murtabak*<sup>3</sup> seller respectively. The small businessmen were inevitably harassed by the police:

*Uncle Murtabak* (Mohd. Yatim, P 22945, 1950s)

Uncle Murtabak tersalah cakap Mata gelap dating tangkap Kena masuk dalam lokap Central polis tiga tingkat.	Uncle Murtabak said something wrong The secret police came to catch him He had to go to jail [At the] Third Floor of the Central police station.
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One verse of *Uncle Murtabak* (Mohd. Yatim, P 22945) calling Indians and Chinese to buy *murtabak* is completely sung in Hokkien and Cantonese (*italics*):

Lay pai long chongmai lay pai <i>Tai kai yantui</i> chin say kai Keling, Tenglang, laililailai Lay tian, toh chiongkah <i>Malai</i> .	Sunday, no one wants [to work on] Sunday Everybody feels good when he meets others Indians, Chinese, come come come Everyday, all [come and] join the Malays.
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P. Ramlee, who dominated the Malay-language film and recorded more than 350 songs in the 1950s and 1960s, was also known for his multilingual comic songs. In both his films and songs, P. Ramlee combined humour and conversational Malay to portray the contradictions faced by ordinary Malays in a modernizing society (Baharudin Latif, 1989). *Apikdan Marjina* [Old Man and Marjina] (film *Ali Baba BujangLapok*) is a duet between an old Chinese man and a Malay lady sung in colloquial Malay with Chinese words interspersed. In *Mencece Bujang Lapok* [Speak Worthless Bachelor] (film *Bujang Lapok*, 1957), P. Ramlee incorporated humour as he sang about the hardships faced by the unemployed Malay youths in the city.

Comic sketches which were topical such as *Lawan Boxing Mr. Jampok vs. Che Minah Sopak* [Boxing Match Mr. Jampok vs. Che Minah Sopak] (P 13165, Aman Ballon and Partner, HMV 1950s) and *Klakar Telephone* [Amusing Telephone] (P 22900, Aman Ballon & Tambi Chik, HMV 1950s) were also recorded in the 1950s. The former re-enacted a boxing match between a man and a woman while the latter a telephone conversation between a Malay trying to speak English to an Indian. Both boxing and the telephone were popular topics of conversation during the post-World War II period. Some songs and comic sketches poked fun at other races but the humour in the songs helped to counter stereotypes. Two examples include *Kling Mabok* [Drunk Indian] (P 22900, Aman Ballon & Leiman SS, HMV), and *Keling dengan Java* [Indian and Javanese] (P 13179, Aman Ballon, HMV 1950s).

## Moral Concerns

Comic songs and sketches, which advocated morals and responsibilities to the family and society, were also performed in *bangsawan* theatre and recorded from the 1930s till the 1950s.<sup>4</sup> The example below is a song advising the audience about the woes and consequences of excessive drinking. *Yam Choi Chow* (Mohd. Yatim, Nam 13, 1950s) mixes Malay, English (CAPS) and Cantonese (*italics*):

MY DARLING BROKE MY HEART	MY DARLING BROKE MY HEART
<i>Yi karn gomo</i> SWEETHEART	<i>Now I do not have a</i> SWEETHEART
<i>Ngo yo lok soon</i> badan ku tak sehat	<i>I am ugly</i> my body is not fit
<i>Ngo pang kau saman</i> yamok and <i>moksat</i> .	<i>I sleep together with</i> mosquitoes and <i>lice</i> .

It is interesting to note that the melody of *Yam Choi Chow* was adapted from a song in the French silent movie *Sous Les Toits De Paris* [Under the Roofs of Paris] by Rene Clair. This film, which was set in the dance halls of Paris in the late 1920s, had voice and sound in some parts. The melody must have been a hit in the 1930s as it was appropriated and sung with different lyrics in different parts of the world.<sup>5</sup> As shown in the musical excerpt below, the Malay version of the song is accompanied by a tuba, piano and double bass performing the waltz *oom-pah-pah* rhythm, while the clarinet and trumpet repeat the melody during short interludes. The tuba plays a discordant note (G #) in a teasing way at the end of melodic phrases to emphasize the lyrics and to create humor through sound (see bar 40 of musical example below).

The musical score for 'Yam Choi Chow' is presented in a multi-staff format. The Tenor part is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the Tenor staff: 'yi ka ngo mou sweet - heart'. The Clarinet and Trumpet parts are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Tuba part is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Piano part is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Double Bass part is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score shows a waltz rhythm with a 'oom-pah-pah' pattern. The Tuba part has a discordant note (G#) at the end of a phrase.

Figure 1. *Yam Choi Chow* (Mohd. Yatim, Nam 13, 1950s)

## Conclusion

Malay comic songs from the 1930s to the 1950s which were performed live in *bangsawan* theatre and recorded by gramophone companies were able to attract multiethnic audiences for several reasons. The use of western popular tunes, dance rhythms and musical instruments gave the songs an aura of modernity and progressiveness. Although they resembled foreign popular music in terms of style, these songs provided a remarkable stimulus for the creation of new local multilingual lyrics and hybrid melodies.

Additionally, the *lagulucu* were popular as multilingual is exemplified everyday reality and social relations in the colonial plural society. By using several languages such as colloquial Malay (the common language in the urban and rural areas), Hokkien, Cantonese, Hindi and English, the comic songs became relevant to multiethnic audiences. The use of duets, small talk, dialogue and the colloquial multilingual medium reminded audiences of everyday conversations in the market place.

Furthermore, the comic songs were well-liked as they mediated and expressed the broader contradictions in the plural colonial urban society. They portrayed the sentiments of the local people by

analogy and by direct references. Singers who often came from rural or poor backgrounds identified with the common people and the poor in their songs. Through humour in the lyrics, singers were able to expose the problems of the common man regardless of race such as the taxi driver, trishaw man, *murtabak* seller, the medicine man and working people adjusting to life in the urban areas.

Moreover, the comic songs were attractive as they engaged multiethnic audiences in social transition and modernity. Audiences could laugh at their own faults and outdated customs which were common to other ethnic groups as well. The singers advised audiences about their moral responsibilities to society through the comic songs. Humour eased anxieties about modernity and change.

Finally, multilingual comic songs were able to extend beyond ethnic boundaries and audiences in the 1930s till the 1950s as they focused on the similarities rather than the differences of the ethnically diverse urban population. By so doing, the comic songs mediated inter-ethnic interaction. The Malay singers promoted a Malay-ness that was more open to and inclusive of other ethnic groups through their comic songs.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of the gramophone recording companies, the types of songs recorded and the processes of recording in pre-World War II Malaya, see Tan (1997). The first recordings in British Malaya were recorded by Gaisberg of The Gramophone Co. in 1903.

<sup>2</sup> See Tan (1993) for an in-depth discussion of the evolution, development and characteristics of *bangsawan* theatre and music.

<sup>3</sup> *Murtabak* is a type of Indian food made of flour, egg and meat fried in ghee.

<sup>4</sup> See Matheson (2000) for a discussion of the relationship between social change and literature in Malaysia. She analyzes Syed Syekh's new *hikayat* which advocates new concepts about the interpretation of Islam, the relationship between men and women, the contribution of individuals to "people, race and country" and moral concern.

<sup>5</sup> I thank Uwe Patzold for alerting me to this French film and song. He also pointed out that the melody of the French song was probably adapted by the Germans in the song "*Lech Misch Am Arsche, Marie!* [Lick me the arse, Marie!]", a type of "vernacular men's party song" often sung during drinking sessions where vulgar words were used. A version of *Lech Misch Am Arsche, Marie!* [Sous Les Toi[t]s DeParis] was recorded on vinyl record by the German singers Klaus und Ferdie [http://www.discogs.com/Klaus-Und-Ferdl-Das-Berglandecho-Ein-Abend-Auf-Der-Heidi/master/257358]. According to Patzold, the texts of this recording have some words which refer to World War II (U. Patzold, personal communication, 28-29 September, 2012).

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**A KING, A PALACE, A COUNTRY: EXPLORING THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE BODY IN *MAK YONG* HEALING PERFORMANCES IN KELANTAN, MALAYSIA**

*Mak yong* is a Malay dramatic art performed in the region of the former Pattani Sultanate, an area that includes the northern Malaysian states of Kedah, Terengganu, and Kelantan and the southern Thai provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat. In 1991, Parti Islam Se-Malaysia, or PAS, the Islamic party that rules Kelantan, issued an official ban on *mak yong* performances under a clause prohibiting acts of vice (Khoo, Tikamdas, & Wong, 2003). PAS officials claim that *mak yong* performances incorporate pre-Islamic belief systems and encourage the worship of deities and supernatural beings other than Allah. PAS officials also take issue with the prominent role of women as *mak yong* actresses, arguing that the appearance of women in such performances encourages male audience members to view them as sexual objects.

The longstanding PAS ban on Kelantanese *mak yong* has altered its performance, but has not succeeded in its obliteration. Kelantanese performers may no longer be granted permits to perform *mak yong* as a secular form of folk entertainment, however, *mak yong* continues to be an important part of village life through its incorporation into *main puteri* ritual healing performances. *Mak yong-main puteri* healing performances treat social and psychological illnesses that western medical techniques cannot address. In this paper I will examine how contemporary *mak yong-main puteri* practitioners envision the human body and how they engage traditional Kelantanese concepts of personhood when performing in a healing context. I will also investigate how the physical and metaphysical selves of a patient are united during *mak yong-main puteri* performances through the use of metaphor.

**Introduction to *Mak Yong-Main Puteri***

*Mak yong-main puteri* rituals often take place over a series of several nights, beginning only after *Isyak*, the last Muslim prayer. The musical ensemble of a Kelantanese *mak yong-main puteri* troupe is flexible, but includes at least a *rebab*, *ibu gendang*, *anak gendang*, *ibu tetawak*, *anak tetawak*, *canang/kesi* and *serunai*. Although scholars agree that the *rebab* originated in the Near East, *mak yong* performers have created their own mythology for the origins of the *rebab* (Fernando, 1996). The reverence that traditional Kelantanese performers have for the *rebab* can be traced to understandings of the instrument as the embodiment of a devoted mother whose concern for the well being of her child transcends her own illness and death (Fernando, 1996). The theme of maternal devotion and the strength of the mother-child bond extends to two other instruments in the *mak yong* orchestra, the *tetawak*, or brass gongs, and the *gendang*, the double-headed barrel drums covered in tanned goatskin and cowhide. Both the *tetawak* and the *gendang* come in a mother-child pair. The *ibu*, or mother, instrument is larger with a deeper resonant sound. The *anak*, or child, instrument is smaller with a lighter sound. During a performance, the mother and child *gendang* are played together to create intricate, interdependent, interlocking rhythms.

*Main puteri* music enables the *tok 'teri*, or shaman, to achieve a hyperaware state marked most distinctively by the whirling of his head. In trance, a *tok 'teri* senses the presence of agents of illness and gives them voice through his acting, embodying it through his own dramatic talent. A *minduk*, who often doubles as the *juru rebab*, or *rebab* player, engages the entranced *tok 'teri* in a sung and spoken dialogue teasing out the identities of the characters portrayed by the *tok 'teri*. To the untrained Kelantanese-speaking observer, it will appear that the *tok 'teri* is serially besieged by ghosts and supernatural beings that take over his body and use his voice to haggle with the *minduk* for offerings and rituals to appease them. However, the majority of contemporary *mak yong-main puteri* practitioners understand that the *tok 'teri* is not possessed by supernatural entities, rather his performance is a symbolically encoded, dramatized conversation with different parts of the patient's body. During his diagnostic performance, a *tok 'teri* takes a symbolic journey through his patient's body, searching for illness.

A *tok 'teri's* dramatic healing journey through the body has a set course that begins with the earth. The Black Jinn is the name given by traditional healers to the feet and legs of a patient's body. The Black Jinn is understood to be the guardian spirit of the earth because the feet connect the human body with the ground and root human beings to the essential element of earth. From the feet and the legs of the body, the *tok 'teri* and *minduk* travel on their internal journey to a patient's torso. Kelantanese traditional healers understand the upper torso to be divided into four sections. The front of the upper chest region is divided into the regions of the village and the jungle. After the *tok 'teri* and *minduk* have addressed the guardians of the village and the jungle to see what ailments might lurk in the chest, they travel to the patient's back, which is referred to as the wide, expansive field. From the back of the patient, the *tok 'teri* and *minduk* descend within the torso, investigating the health of a patient's digestive system. Kelantanese healers refer to the patient's stomach as the internal sea, which is inhabited by Bantalan Naga, the dragon of seven coils, our intestines. From the realm of the internal sea of the stomach the *minduk* and the *tok 'teri* continue on their journey through the body to the airy heaven of the patient's head. In the heavenly kingdom of the head, they address the doors of the body: the eyes, mouth, and ears. The late *mak yong-main puteri* performer Saari bin Abdullah explains why traditional Kelantanese performers rely on the use of symbolic language when assessing the health of the body of a patient:

Symbolic language. They call it symbolic language. You cannot heal someone if you say 'Eh! Legs!' How can they accept 'legs' like that? It must be done like there is one, only then do things seem different when they are said. They don't need to say straight away 'What is your name?' 'I am the right leg', 'I am the left leg'. How would it be if it were like that? For example you hear 'Eh! I am Jinn Hitam [the Black Jinn]!' Doesn't that sound different? You see? They want to give the person a feeling of *semangat* with this. If they say 'Eh! I am the right leg', 'Eh! I am the left leg,' this can also be done. But it is not so nice. Perhaps the patient will laugh. It is no longer serious. Ah! So to avoid this becoming something laughable, symbolism is used, another symbol so that people can concentrate. That is all...In *puteri* they play with words referring to the interior of the human being, not with otherworldly beings (Saari bin Abdullah, personal communication, June 12, 2005).

While the conversation between the *tok 'teri* and the *minduk* is one important way to determine the course of treatment for a patient, a *mak yong-main puteri* performance troupe also observes a patient's physical response to different *lagu*, or songs understood by practitioners to correspond to different illnesses. Once a patient has been diagnosed by the *tok 'teri*, a treatment of Kelantanese traditional performance is developed by the entire *mak yong-main puteri* troupe to be performed during subsequent evenings. *Mak yong-main puteri* events are designed by traditional performers to be enjoyed by a patient, catering to a patient's innermost needs and desires.

### The Kelantanese Self

In the traditional worldview of Kelantanese Malays, the living human body is understood to be composed of four essential elements: earth, water, fire, and wind. Any interruption of the balance among these elements creates a disturbance within the body that can result in a physical disease or mental illness. The physical, unanimated shell of the human body is understood to be composed of the elements of earth and water. The breath of life, or *nyawa*, contains the elements of fire and wind and animates the body (Laderman, 1991, p. 41). Adam, the first human being, was created by Allah from earth, and infused with the breath of life by the Archangel Gabriel. A human infant, its body composed of the element of earth, like the ancestor Adam, leaves the watery world of its mother's womb at birth. As a baby is born, it takes its first breath. In this act, the infant re-enacts the animation of Adam as it fills its own lungs with the Breath of Life. *Nyawa* is also the term used by Kelantanese performers to describe the *rebab* solo that introduces the *Menghadap Rebab*, the opening dance of the *mak yong*. According to the late *mak yong* performers Jennab binti Yacob and Ali bin Ibrahim, the seated position of the *Pak Yong* during the opening of the *Menghadap Rebab* symbolizes the fetal position assumed by an infant within the womb of its mother. As the sound of the *rebab* breathes life into the performance, many *mak yong* practitioners note a physiological response to the sound, which they describe using the term *naik angin*, or the rising of the wind. This experience is often described by

traditional performers as a euphoria accompanied by a quickened pulse and a feeling of wind rushing within the breast.

### **Angin: The Inner Winds**

While *nyawa*, the breath of life, may animate a human being, *angin* or wind is understood by East Coast Malays to be the force that drives humanity. In this sense, *angin* is a term used to describe internal human desires, and has been compared by medical anthropologist Carol Laderman to the western concept of temperament (1991, p. 68). In life not all people are able to obtain their desires or live up to their personal talents. These people experience a sense of imbalance in the force that drives them; their *angin* blocked by the circumstances of their existence. The prolonged blockage of *angin* can make a person ill. *Angin* associated with the traditional performing arts – shadow puppetry, *mak yong*, *silat*, or dance – are understood by Kelantanese Malay healers to be inherited through bloodlines. *Angin* associated with traditional healing, such as the wind of midwifery, or with the keeping of supernatural guides, such as tiger spirits, are also understood to descend within families.

### **Semangat: The Spirit of Life**

East Coast Malay tradition teaches that every aspect of creation is permeated with *semangat*, which Carol Laderman glossed as the spirit of life (1991, p. 41). Through extensive conversations about illness with the late *mak yong-main puteri* performer Saari bin Abdullah, I came to understand that he viewed *semangat* functioning for the soul in a way similar to the way western medicine describes an immune system functioning for the body. Pak Saari noted that *semangat* protects and maintains the health of the entity it inhabits, and that the strength of one's *semangat* ebbs and flows with the spiritual and emotional health of the individual who possesses it. A strong *semangat* can protect the body, while a weakened *semangat* leaves an individual open to depression, spiritual attack, and manipulation according to the whims of other individuals. Pak Saari explained that *semangat* can be reinforced through prayer, meditation, and *mak yong-main puteri* performances:

*Semangat* [spirit]? We do have *semangat*...every second, every minute, sometimes we are strong, sometimes we are weak, sometimes strong, sometimes weak. Like time, like the turning of the clock...Because of this, people who study this know that this person is weak, this person is strong. That philosophy, they see. So if we are speaking in modern terms, what do they call it? Psychology?...It is the strength of the mind that controls the *semangat* (Saari bin Abdullah, personal communication, June 12, 2005).

### **The Metaphysics of Mak Yong Movement**

Although *main puteri* has its own specific songs and dance movements, when a *mak yong-main puteri* is performed, *mak yong* songs and dances are incorporated into the performance with minor adaptations. The *mak yong* section of a *mak yong-main puteri* performance begins with the song and dance of the *Menghadap Rebab*, followed by performances of all of the opening songs and dances that preface a traditional non-ritual *mak yong* performance: the *Lagu Sedayong Mak Yong*, the *Lagu Sedayong Pak Yong*, the *Lagu Pak Yong Muda*, the *Lagu Barat Anjur*, the *Lagu Saudara*, the *Lagu Khabar*, and the *Lagu Barat Cepat*. As a *mak yong* story progresses during a *mak yong-main puteri*, other *mak yong* songs and dances typically used in a non-ritual *mak yong* performance, *Lagu Mengulit* for sleeping or bathing, *Lagu Mengambil* for emotionally charged scenes, *Lagu Barat Cepat* for the changing of scenes, *Lagu Berjale* for walking or travelling, are also incorporated into the healing performance as needed. When *mak yong* songs are incorporated into *mak yong-main puteri* healing rituals they are performed in *cara puteri*, or *puteri* style. Performing *lagu mak yong cara puteri*, *mak yong* songs in *puteri* style, involves an adaptation of drumming speed and the addition of *canang* and *kesi*. Variations in drumming speed and the use of *canang* and *kesi* enable *mak yong-main puteri* performers to assist their patients in achieving a state of trance.

*Mak yong* movement vocabulary is firmly associated with traditional Kelantanese conceptions of the physical body and the metaphysical self (Hardwick 2005, 2009, 2013). A *mak yong* actress performing the lead role of the *Pak Yong* is at once an embodiment of the ideal refined masculinity of a

semi-divine king and the everyday femininity of a Kelantanese woman. The external juxtaposition of gender roles in performance is significant as traditional performers note that the body of a *Pak Yong* is understood not as wholly male nor wholly female, but rather split between genders. The right side of the body is understood to be masculine, the *keris* worn on the right, a sublimated representation of male genitalia and sexual power. The left side of the body is understood to be feminine.

Many of the metaphysical traditions of maritime Southeast Asia (Bateson & Mead, 1942; Kessler, 1977; Geertz, 1980; Hobart, 2003; Headly, 2004; Harnish & Rasmussen, 2011) describe the human body as a microcosm in relation to the macrocosm of the universe. Addressing Javanese court performance, Harnish and Rasmussen (2001) state “[i]n Hindu-Buddhist ideology, a *mandala* is a visualization or physical manifestation of the center of the cosmos and represents a microcosm of the world...Hindu-Buddhist aesthetics woven into a Sufi covering appear to underlie many of the gamelan and dance traditions of the court to the present day” (p. 18). In Kelantanese *mak yong*, the movements of its practitioners are miniaturizations of the cosmic forces that create, sustain, and destroy life (Hardwick, 2009). During a traditional *mak yong* performance, dancers create delicate movements with their hands that symbolize the four humors of earth, air, wind, and fire; the conception of human life, the spiritual force that animates all of creation, the spinning of the earth on its axis, and the oneness and unity of God (Hardwick, 2005, 2009, 2013).

A performance of the *Menghadap Rebab*, the opening song and dance of a traditional *mak yong* performance, reiterates the creation of a fetus in its mother’s womb. The song of the *Menghadap Rebab* details how the fetus, an incarnation of Dewa Muda, metaphorically referred to as a divine king, clothes itself in the finest of all garments. Sumptuous materials create the fetal tissues, and the fetal skin is said to be composed of gold, the most precious of metals. In a position of readiness, Dewa Muda, the fetus, sits and waits in the maternal womb, contemplating its creation and anticipating its birth and descent into the world. The dance of the *Menghadap Rebab* is literally “pregnant” with meaning, its lyrics and movements weaving together metaphors of fertility, birth and new life.

### **The Body as a State, Castle, and Demi-God**

The *balai*, a model palace made of forest materials, is a material representation of the human body in *mak yong-main puteri* healing performances. According to anthropologist Clive Kessler (1977), the *balai* simultaneously represents the social-political realm and an individual patient’s body. “For Kelantanese the person is, at least metaphorically, a miniature state, an arena of contending forces, some dominant, others usually subordinate but always having the potential to mount insurrection and foment strife. The Englishman’s home is reputedly his castle; the Kelantanese is himself his own realm, his mind its palace, his embattled reason its precarious sovereign” (Kessler, 1977, p. 321). Kessler regards the *balai* as a four-fold analogy between the person, the idea of a state represented by the *balai*, the state as an institution, and the cosmos (1977, p. 321).

My research of *mak yong-main puteri* healing performances reveals that the metaphor of individual as state extends beyond Kessler’s assessment of the *balai* to include traditional insular Southeast Asian ideas about the divine sovereign as a physical manifestation of the state (Hardwick, 2013). Clifford Geertz defines his doctrine of the exemplary center: “[t]he theory that the court-and-capital is at once a microcosm of the supernatural order – ‘an image of...the universe on a smaller scale’ – and the material embodiment of political order. It is not just the nucleus, the engine, or the pivot of the state, it *is* the state” (1980, p. 13). Geertz notes that “[t]he exemplary center within the exemplary center, the icon king depicted outwardly for his subjects what he depicted inwardly to himself: the equanimous beauty of divinity” (1980, p. 130). In the metaphysical tradition of *mak yong-main puteri*, at the center of the *balai*, the metaphorical state-as-self, iconic figure of the crown prince, Dewa Muda, the Young Demi-god is invited to sit within the royal hall. Dewa Muda exists in each individual as a symbol of the human infant.

### **Dewa Muda**

Most ritual performances of *mak yong* include the performance of at least one of episodes from the epic of *Dewa Muda*. The pattern of separation, liminality, and reincorporation repeats throughout each important episode of *Dewa Muda*, emphasizing the significance of the structure of a tale for the transformation of the health of a patient. Kelantanese healers explain that the character

Dewa Muda, and by extension each individual human being, has three siblings: Abe Sejambul Lebat, Abe Kuda Hijau Jelmu Dewa, and Dewa Pechil. Dewa Muda and his three siblings are collectively referred to as the four *jemage*, or birth siblings. Dewa Muda's birth siblings assist in the gestation and development of the fetus, and each birth sibling is respected for its role in bringing forth human life.

The embryo within the maternal womb is understood by Kelantanese healers as an incarnation of Dewa Muda. Abe Sejambul Lebat, the placenta, is the spiritual elder sibling who watches over the infant throughout its lifetime. Abe Kuda Hijau Jelmu Dewa, Elder Brother Green Horse the Demi-god Incarnate, is the amniotic sac. Dewa Pechil is a spirit-like being that was created from amniotic fluid. The *mak yong* tale of *Dewa Pechil* is one of banishment, and is only resolved when Dewa Pechil returns to the forest to establish a spirit kingdom where his rule lasts forever. Hence, the *mak yong* story of *Dewa Pechil* is most often performed during healing rituals for patients that feel that they have been maltreated and shunned by society

The tale of *Dewa Muda* centers around Dewa Muda's infatuation and attempts at reunification with the sky princess Puteri Ratna Mas. On a metaphorical level, Dewa Muda and Puteri Ratna Mas represent two aspects of a human soul; one aspect female, one aspect male. They are two parts of one whole, separated by causes beyond their control, and drawn to one another despite distance or hardship. Healing versions of *mak yong* culminate in the reunification of these characters through marriage. To Kelantanese healers, the reunification of these mythic characters through a dramatic enactment of their marriage is a powerful symbol of the restoration of internal harmony within an individual who is suffering from an illness of repressed desire.

## Conclusion

*Mak yong-main puteri* employs a complex theory of the human person that acknowledges both the physical body and the metaphysical self. *Mak yong-main puteri* was the only form of healing available to rural Kelantanese in the period before widespread western medical care, and it continues to function in rural Kelantan as a complement to western medical practice. Masters of a tradition of psychological study, *mak yong* performers understand how to excite a listless patient's senses in order to raise *angin* to blow within his or her breast. Within a healing context, their performance is geared toward releasing a patient's pent-up desires by leading the patient into the embodiment of a lead character in a *mak yong* play. Through performance, a patient, embodying the character from a traditional tale, is able to dramatically link his or her mental or physical illness with the trials and tribulations of a character in a tale. Clothed in everyday clothing, *mak yong* actors dress their patient in their costumes, lead them into their performance space, and guide them through a public performance of a *mak yong* tale. Resplendent in the moment of embodying a demi-god or divine king, patients stand beside simply clad *mak yong* masters. Patients imitate a master's dance movements and, moved to weep at the beauty of their songs; they are guided to wellness through the enactment of their narratives.

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### **MONKEY BUSINESS: INTERWEAVING STORIES, TRANSFORMATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF GAMELAN THEATRE**

This paper explores the idea of interweaving stories into contemporary gamelan performance, encapsulated in the staging of *Monkey Business*, a gamelan production conceptualized by the contemporary Malaysian gamelan ensemble Rhythm in Bronze. Staged in 2005, *Monkey Business* experimented with the idea of weaving personal stories to form new contemporary gamelan compositions, a construct that was inspired from Javanese *Panji* tales that were once incorporated into traditional *Joget* gamelan performances. *Monkey Business* was a highly experimental staging that marked the beginning of Rhythm in Bronze's exploration into the realm of Gamelan Theatre, an invented hybrid that saw the ensemble move beyond its recognisable concertized-style performances. Employing a piece from the production called *His Face, Her Eyes*, this paper examines the transformation and construction of Gamelan Theatre, a contemporary attempt of creating gamelan performance that displayed contemporary possibilities for the Malaysian gamelan.

#### **Gamelan Roots and the 1960s Revival**

The roots of gamelan performance in Malaysia can be traced back to the royal Malay courts of Pahang and Terengganu, Malay states that were once ruled by the Riau-Lingga Empire of Java in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. From this Javanese connection, Pahang and Terengganu gained exposure to Javanese court dance and music, consequently resulting in the development of a court dance known as the *Joget* gamelan, which thrived and developed in Pahang from 1811 to 1914 and later in Terengganu from 1914 to 1942 (D'Cruz, 1979; D' Cruz, 2011). The *Joget* gamelan was a dance form that was accompanied by gamelan music, and was said to have been heavily influenced by other Central Javanese court dances such as the *Serimpi* and the *Bedoyo* due to similarities in movement, costume and form.

Structurally, the *Joget* gamelan comprised dancers who were female, led by an all-male gamelan ensemble. The *Joget* gamelan was performed at royal celebrations such as inaugurations, birthdays and weddings; its audience comprised members of the royal household, invited guests and dignitaries. As a performance form, the *Joget* gamelan was made up of interpretive dances that depicted various activities that bordered on the themes of agriculture, nature, war and life in the royal court. Props such as fans, scarves, bows and arrows were used to depict these scenes. These dances were supported by stories taken from the Javanese *Panji* tales that detailed the heroics of Javanese princes and princesses. An example of these tales is reflected in *Timang Burung*, one of the *Joget* gamelan's best known pieces. It tells the story of Raden Galoh, a Javanese princess, who sees a golden swallow, and, enraptured by the movements of the bird, requests her handmaidens to imitate its movements. The dance that is subsequently performed utilises fan movements depicting the fluttering wings and tail of the swallow (D'Cruz, 1979).

Following the onset of the Japanese Occupation in Malaya, the *Joget* gamelan experienced a decline. For the next 20 years, nothing was heard of the *Joget* gamelan until the 1960s when a chance meeting between the Terengganu princess Tengku Mariam and cultural enthusiast Mubin Sheppard resulted in an attempt at reviving the *Joget* gamelan. Following this, *Joget* gamelan showcases were organised, marking the very first time the *Joget* gamelan was now able to be seen within the public sphere. It has to be noted however, that these showcases were unlike that of the earlier *Joget* gamelan performances held at the royal courts. Three main changes were noted in these *Joget* gamelan showcases. Firstly, the shift in context from the royal court to the public sphere consequently resulted in a duration decrease of a *Joget* gamelan performance: where performances at the royal courts would have initially gone through the night, these showcases were now limited to two hours for a full *Joget* gamelan performance, or 5 to 10 minutes for a single *Joget* gamelan piece. Secondly, the element of storytelling was completely eliminated from the *Joget* gamelan performance – again, a result of the changes in performance duration. Thus, more attention and focus was now placed on the visual

aesthetics of the dance rather than the *Panji* tale that would have typically accompanied a full *Joget* gamelan performance.

The last but perhaps most significant change was noted in parallel to Malaysia's evolving socio-political setting. Towards the late 1960s and into the 1970s, considerable efforts were taken by the government of Malaysia to construct a Malaysian national culture, and this was embodied through the formation of the 1971 National Culture Policy, which identified – among many other traditional performance forms – the *Joget* gamelan to be a performance form that was “suitable” to be developed as a national culture. Thus, the context of *Joget* gamelan performances shifted, and was now increasingly a part of many government-organised cultural dance events that now saw *Joget* gamelan being performed alongside other Malay, Chinese and Indian dances – all crucial racial signifiers to the construction of the Malaysian national culture (Yong, 2010).

### **The Formation of Rhythm in Bronze**

Away from the constructs of the *Joget* gamelan is Rhythm in Bronze, a contemporary Malaysian gamelan ensemble based in Kuala Lumpur. Formed in 1997 by ethnomusicologist and composer Sunetra Fernando, the roots of Rhythm in Bronze lie with the first gamelan group Fernando formed in 1993. Known as the Gamelan Club, the ensemble began as a social group based in the urban centre of Kuala Lumpur, comprising friends and enthusiasts who were interested in learning how to play the gamelan. Members of the group met for weekly rehearsals and were exposed to an array of gamelan repertoire including traditional gamelan forms of Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese styles, which Fernando herself had been exposed to during her years as a music student at the University of York in the UK, and at Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (STSI) in Solo, where she had pursued a year of extensive gamelan study.

Besides regular rehearsals, Fernando and the Gamelan Club shared a collaborative relationship with the Five Arts Centre, a Malaysian theatre company formed in 1984 by choreographer Marion D'Cruz and theatre directors Chin San Sooi and Krishen Jit, the latter a mentor of Fernando's who would later direct Rhythm in Bronze in its first attempt of staging Gamelan Theatre. The Gamelan Club provided live gamelan accompaniment for Five Arts' theatre productions including *Suara Rimba* (1994), *Scorpion Orchid* (1995), *Storyteller* (1996) and *Trees* (1997), marking a first for collaborations between gamelan music and theatre. These collaborations garnered attention with its showcase of an eclectic gamelan repertoire coupled with Fernando's early and emerging gamelan compositions.

In 1997, Fernando focused her attention on forming another gamelan group that would be geared towards a more serious approach of performing and writing gamelan music. To facilitate this process, Fernando invited trained musicians to join her newly formed group, which she named Rhythm in Bronze. What emerged from these selections was an interesting construct: members comprised a multicultural-multiethnic make up, and all were female – a construct that was not intentional but significant to the formation of the Rhythm in Bronze imagery. Between the years of 1999-2004, Rhythm in Bronze forged ahead with its concertized gamelan performances and a production of their CD entitled *Rhythm in Bronze: New Music for the Malaysian Gamelan*, which showcased the group's original compositions as well as rearrangements of a number of traditional gamelan pieces. By this time, the group had begun to actively forge creative collaborations with other gamelan composers that were based within Malaysia, Java, Bali, the UK and New Zealand, to explore and to create new possibilities for the gamelan music. Consequently, the repertoire of Rhythm in Bronze grew to become highly syncretic and eclectic over this period of time, reflecting the ensemble's experience in collaborative work and composition.

### **The Construction of Gamelan Theatre**

In 2004, Rhythm in Bronze's concertized-style performances went through a transformation when the group began to explore the possibility of combining theatre with gamelan music for an upcoming production. Initially referred to as the Gamelan Music Theatre project, this shift sought “to expand the performative capacities of Rhythm in Bronze musicians...into main initiators and creators of performance” (Fernando, 2004). To facilitate the project, the group held auditions to recruit other musicians, actors and dancers to join the project, consequently shifting the dynamics of the ensemble's all-female construct. By the end of 2004, the ensemble of the Gamelan Music Theatre project

comprised Bernard Goh and Boyii from the Hands Percussion drum ensemble, theatre actors Melvin Ho, Jay and Sobri Anuar, and gamelan musician Harlina Mohamed. Other collaborators of the project included Kuala Lumpur-based Venezuelan choreographer Judimar Hernandez and set designers Carolyn Lau and David Wong. Directing this project was Krishen Jit, whom Fernando had expressed a deep interest in wanting to work with her mentor in a new and organic way.

As director of the project, Krishen's theatrical strategy of Gamelan Theatre was to create new gamelan compositions that would be drawn from stories written by every ensemble member "to evoke music from an autobiographical honesty" (Fernando & Ooi, 2005). To begin the writing process, Krishen started the ensemble off with the following question: "Did you ever think of quitting the gamelan? Give 10 reasons why you continue with the gamelan" (Fernando & Ooi, 2005). Over a series of workshops, these stories fuelled new gamelan compositions and were referred to as "musical nuggets". Compositions were developed via "strategic improvisations and discussions...in order to find the dramatic essence of each [musical nugget] and to see how they could be transported step by step into the realm of theatre" (Fernando & Ooi, 2005).

In March 2005, the culmination of gamelan compositions, workshops and rehearsals were staged in a Rhythm in Bronze production called *Monkey Business*. This production, now referred to as Gamelan Theatre, showcased Rhythm in Bronze as an ensemble of multi dimensional performers who composed, played gamelan, sang and acted. *Monkey Business* showcased a total of 8 original gamelan compositions: Sunetra Fernando's *From Here to There*, Melvin Ho's *There Was This Dream*, Sharmini Ratnasingam's *180 Degrees*, Jillian Ooi's *His Face, Her Eyes*, Susan Sarah John's *Carbon*, Sobri Anuar's *Main-Main in Details*, Ann Salina Peter's *Single Soul* and Bernard Goh's *Borderless*. Each piece, choreographed by Judimar Hernandez and accompanied by theatrical movements, was not performed in any particular order. Instead, the order of performance was drawn randomly and only announced by the performers during specific moments of the performance. Devoid of the rigidity of a proper concert programme, this unconventional showcasing of gamelan composition and performance required performers and audiences alike to adapt to the flexible and experimental nature of *Monkey Business*.

The clear shift away from Rhythm in Bronze's previous concertized-style performances were also reflected visually through the gamelan set. For the very first time, the gamelan's intricate carvings were not visible, and the instruments were made mobile, placed in black wooden boxes that were attached with wheels. With the exception of the larger gongs, which were arranged forward-facing in a long row, this new-found neutrality and mobility enabled performers to move the gamelan during the performance, converting both the performers and the gamelan into vehicles of transformation, detached from its Javanese and Malay roots for the very first time.

### ***His Face, Her Eyes***

Of the 8 original compositions showcased in *Monkey Business*, this paper focuses on a piece called *His Face, Her Eyes*, as a means of demonstrating the layers of transformation that took place within this production. Composed by Rhythm in Bronze's artistic director Jillian Ooi, *His Face, Her Eyes* explored the idea of the musician-actor transforming and growing into character. Using the vocal style of the female-dominated *Mak Yong* theatre, Ooi draws parallels of gendered role play, where the *Pak Yong* – the main male character played by a female in the *Mak Yong* – is reflected in Ooi's male character, who shifts between female and male roles before choosing to embody his female character.

*His Face, Her Eyes* begins with the main male performer, played by Sobri Anuar, preparing to get into his female character. The piece begins with a clash from the gong, and the spotlight focuses on Sobri, who is putting on makeup. Meanwhile, the remaining ensemble members who are seated at the gamelan have their faces smeared with paint, symbolizing a putting on of a mask. Ooi remains on the right of Sobri and circles a temple bowl repeatedly to rebirth (J. Ooi, personal communication, May 29, 2012). She leads Sobri into a trance-state as he shifts between feminine gestures and the masculine *silat*-derived movements. At various points in the piece, Sobri looks into the mirror intensely, because what he sees in the mirror is his face but his eyes are female. The trance transforms Sobri, and for a brief moment he becomes a monkey. The music, which comprises a repeated gamelan riff, develops and builds to a climax as more instruments are added to the melodic motif, which drives the performers and the performance into the intensity and complexity of the transformation. The piece ends with a choice given by Ooi, who comes up to Sobri offering a long wig. At this point, he has to choose to

either revert to his gender, or to embody his female character. Sobri chooses the latter and he leaves the stage as a female.



Plate 1. Sobri performs *silat* gestures in *His Face, Her Eyes* as the ensemble (background) looks on.  
(Photo: Rhythm in Bronze)

### Observations

*His Face, Her Eyes* explored different levels of transformation; while it dealt with the complex shifting of genders embodied in Sobri's characters, Ooi's piece also reflected the blurring of lines between the embodied character and the true self, questioning, ultimately, who one really is, or what one becomes, when choices are made in embodying different gendered roles. The transformation that takes place between Sobri's characters are also reflected by props such as makeup and face paint, and point to the performance artist's role of acquiring layers of characters and personalities when one is onstage.

At a deeper level, the transformation expressed in Ooi's piece also parallels Rhythm in Bronze's transformation from a concertized-style gamelan ensemble to an ensemble which takes its first steps into the unexplored territory of Gamelan Theatre, a realm conjured through the intertwining of personal narratives, stories and histories. I posit that the shift into Gamelan Theatre is an experimental space that reflects the musical experience of Rhythm in Bronze's syncretic and eclectic work in gamelan composition and collaborations with the Five Arts Centre, a theatre company. This experience is crucial, because it has negotiated the emergence of the space of Gamelan Theatre, one which responds to the contemporary setting of urban Kuala Lumpur. This invented space parallels Homi Bhaba's writings on the "in-between" space:

The borderline work of culture demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation. Such art does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent 'in-between' space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present. The 'past-present' becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia, of living (Bhaba, 1994, p. 10).

While the experimental space of Gamelan Theatre is a new development for the Malaysian gamelan, it is not entirely disconnected from its past connections to the *Joget* gamelan. Instead, it is a construct that looks to the past but also invents in the present, creating contemporary possibilities that allows for the creation of new gamelan works, such that is seen in the performance of *His Face, Her*

*Eyes*. Against these observations, one is also able to observe how contrasting socio-cultural spaces of Malaysia have paralleled and shaped the developments of the Malaysian gamelan; from its inception at the royal courts of Pahang and Terengganu; its revival under the auspice of the 1971 National Culture Policy; and the syncretic space of Rhythm in Bronze, which has been the catalyst to the construction of Gamelan Theatre within Kuala Lumpur's contemporary space.

### Concluding Notes

*Monkey Business*, a contemporary Malaysian gamelan production staged by Rhythm in Bronze, conceptualized the interjection of personal stories and narratives into contemporary gamelan performance, a construct inspired from Javanese *Panji* tales that were once a part and parcel of a traditional *Joget* gamelan of the Pahang and Terengganu courts. The staging of *Monkey Business* was highly experimental; headed by Malaysian theatre director Krishen Jit, the production showcased collaborative efforts with musicians, actors and set designers to create a contemporary production far removed from Rhythm in Bronze's once-recognisable concertized style setup. *Monkey Business* featured, for the very first time, Rhythm in Bronze musicians playing multiple roles as performers, actors and initiators of Gamelan Theatre, an invented hybrid that has allowed the ensemble to shift and transform within contemporary gamelan performance, a reaction that has similarly resonated in Jillian Ooi's piece *His Face, Her Eyes*.

The invention of Gamelan Theatre continues to the present day, creating – in Homi Bhaba's words – an “in between space” that continues to create interesting possibilities for contemporary gamelan performance in Malaysia; challenging notions of what constitutes gamelan performance and if gamelan performance can embrace other disciplines such as theatre in its performances.

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**CREATIVE PROCESSES, PERCEPTION AND THEIR REDEFINITION IN  
CONTEMPORARY TRADITIONAL PERFORMANCE: THE EXAMPLE OF SUNDANESE  
WAYANG GOLEK PURWA (WEST JAVA, INDONESIA)**

Sundanese *Wayang golek purwa* is a rod puppet theatre in West Java, Indonesia, that was created in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in a colonized and already Muslim society. It involves a *dalang* (puppeteer) playing the *wayang* (puppets), accompanied by *sinden* (female singers) and *nayaga* (musicians) playing on a *gamelan* (mainly percussive collective instruments). The troupe is completed by *peralatan* (technicians carrying and setting the *gamelan* and the sound system). Stories (*lakon*) are performed in Sundanese and Kawi, and are adapted and/or derived from the Indian epics of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* as well as from the local cycle of *Babad Loka Pala*.

A performance lasts seven to eight hours, starting from 8:00pm, while day performances last up to five hours. The main contexts of performance are life-cycle events (wedding, circumcision), rituals (purification *ruatan*, propitiatory events), large scale public and political events. The audience is always large, never limited in age, sex or social status and participates actively during the performance.

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**Plate 1. *Dalang* Dadan Sunandar Sunarya performing the story Sondara-Sondari in Soreang. (Hanuman character) (West Java - 11 November 2010) (Photo: S. A. Andrieu)**

Creation and perception appear as two faces of a same process, as creation has to communicate to the audience in a way that they can perceive what it is all about, within its specific context. I will briefly introduce striking social creation processes, as connected with the larger social life of Sundanese performers and audience, which will bring us to consider *wayang golek* performance as a holistic event. In the end, I will indicate how these elements are challenging historical and contemporary attempts of categorization, particularly by the Indonesian government, as well as how these categorisations might have an impact on the performance practices themselves.

**Creation Processes**

If we look at what is valued by performers and the participating audience, we can observe a system based on spontaneity, interlocking, and formulae that happen to be key elements in Sundanese social life.

### **Spontaneity**

Spontaneity (unexpected expression of any kind suiting a given context) is at the core of a successful *wayang golek* performance. There are no rehearsals, no prepared text for the *dalang*, and countless ways of performing the same story. The audience expects novelty, freshness, and surprise for a unique performance, or at least experienced as such. If not, the audience as well the musicians might feel dangerously bored, and the prestige of the puppeteer might drop as a result of it.

There are, thus, strategies to foster this spontaneity. For example, the *dalang* has great freedom to interpret and develop the story performed. Musicians like to comment and joke about what is happening on the stage, and even joyfully try to “trap” each other. Their *senggak*, (vocal accompaniment) is unpredictable, spontaneous, but is an essential element of the performance as microphones are set for this purpose. Musically speaking, the emphasis is put on the melodic ornamentations of the *sinden* and of the most “soloist” elements, that is, the *rebab*, *gambang*, and *suling*.

*Dadak*, *mendadak/ngadadak* or *dadakan* (Indonesian and Sundanese language) means suddenly, unexpectedly, without warning. It refers precisely to the surprise effect/freshness, and it is a value we can find in various aspects of the Sundanese social life, such as cooking, social interactions, naming/referring to other people depending on the status with regard to the interlocutor or the one he is talking about. This shows a great sense of relativity, and constant and active composition in everyday activities. As such, spontaneity is closely related to adaptation, as the spontaneous expression has to be in harmony with the context, the present people and so on. This valued spontaneity also refers to the deep knowledge of social frames and situations.

### **Interlocking/Intermediation Processes**

Other fundamental elements are the various interlocking processes nourishing *wayang golek* performances. I will now connect them with intermediating at a social level, as being a similar process of filling spaces “in-between” other elements.

Musically speaking, interlocking is at the core of *gamelan* playing, as the melody is played by various elements of the collective ensemble that are intertwined. On the other hand, the alternation (or interlocking) between speech and music is fundamental within *wayang* performances (Mrazek, 1998). The huge majority of stories or *lakon* performed nowadays are derived from *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. “Derivation” means that each *lakon* is either a chosen episode from one of the epics (*lakon galur*), or that *dalangs* have been inventing stories (*lakon sempalan* and *carangan*) taking place within the larger frame of the epics, and situated at a various distance in the chronology of or between (again) the “official” episodes. In the most classic performances, the *dalang* also inserts the scene of the *panakawan* (the distinctively indigenous jesters who connect performance and context) at around one o’clock in the morning. Semar Cepot, Dawala and Gareng (in Sunda) are usually cheerful characters who intermediate between gods and human heroes, but also between the population and the princes, at different levels. Finally, the *dalang* himself is a mediator between sponsors and public, between government and population, between people and, in ritual context, between humans and God(s).

In Sunda, intermediaries (*perantara/calor*) are present within the society, between seller and buyer, between private people and administration (hospitals, police), or between bus drivers and passengers. This may be a very pragmatic answer to a high unemployment rate in West Java, as everyone can become an intermediary for someone else and expect remuneration for it. This system, filling the gaps of a decadent economic situation, is complex to define and abuses are frequent, even involving corruption and abusive extortion of money. Intermediation also marks the consciousness of the essential interdependence of the members of the society. The intermediary is often pacifying the relation between the two poles, releasing them from any effort and emotional investment and possible conflict. Intermediaries may turn into high valued diplomats.

The ability to interlock in a proper way also suggests that one knows deeply the frame of relationships, the context of the intermediation/interlocking. We can think as well about social identity processes, when the self and the others define each other. Again, this refers to the adaption value mentioned earlier.

### Formulae or Frames of Creation

For *wayang golek*, these frames are for one part the social context of the performance, but also the formulae/patterns that were learned by the various performers (traditionally in informal way). For the *dalang*, it may be the characteristics of the characters such as their voice, pitch (connected to the *gamelan*), ways of speaking, of moving, that also refer to social Sundanese etiquette codes. He also uses delimited structural elements such as *gugunungan* or *kakawen* (mood songs) and fixed musical pieces.

The musicians can use up to six *laras* (groups of organized tones – *salendro/pelog degung/madenda sorog/wisaya/mataram/jawar*) depending on the *gamelan* used. They also can use various rhythmical patterns (*wilet*, in Sunda), and playing techniques (*pola/patokan*) for each element (instrument) of the *gamelan*. They also have access to melodic references or structures (*posisi* – integrated into the *patet* theory of transpositions). Although many people are questioning the relevance of the *patet* theory in Sunda, nowadays it is nonetheless considered as the basis for interpretation and new compositions. Each *posisi* can be used with a range of melodic (and often solo) introductions (*pangkat*), which turn into various different pieces and songs. For example, the position called *Gendu* might turn into various songs such as *Ngalagana*, *Surat Ondangan*, *Neuteup Bulan* and so on. The *syair* (lyrics) are mainly formed on the basis of *sisindiran* (a poetic form) that can be invented on the spot (adults as well as teenagers like to use *sisindiran* in their everyday life), or that can be chosen within the context of the performance, the moment in the play and so on. The musical example below shows that the choice of a free song in *wayang* (not every song is free) requires the combinations between *wilet*, *laras*, *syair*, the spontaneous innovations and adaptation to the context.

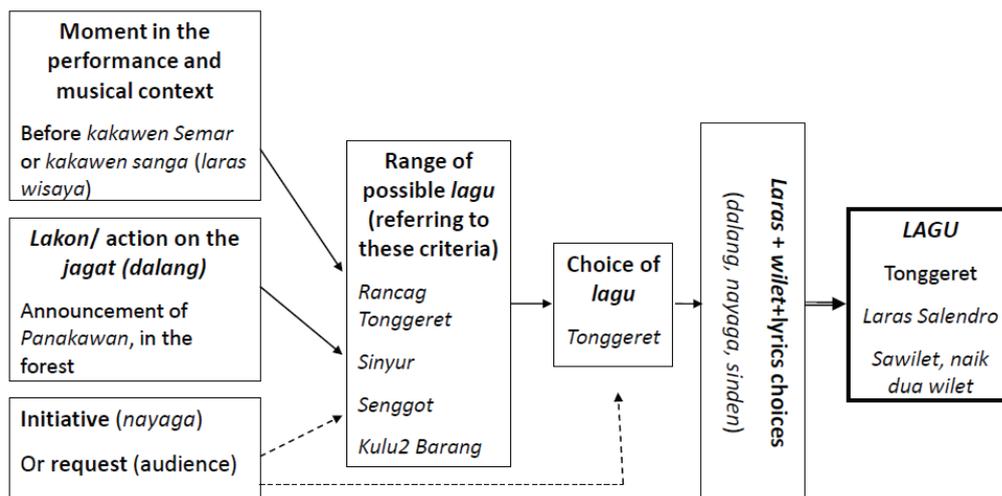


Figure 1. Choice of a “free” song during *wayang golek* performance

In the everyday life, Sundanese people also interact within important social frames which include behavioural codes, language levels or kinship relationships among many others.

CREATION PROCESSES (WAYANG)	SOCIAL LIFE
<b>SPONTANEITY</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Unique performance</li> <li>- On-the-spot interpretation and/or creation</li> <li>- Comments and humour by the <i>dalang</i> and the musicians</li> <li>- 'Free' musical ornamentations (<i>sinden, kendang, rebab, suling, gambang...</i>)</li> <li>- <i>Senggak</i> (vocal accompaniment)</li> <li>- ...</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: right;">→ Referring to adaptation, sense of harmony → Acknowledgement of 'frames' or references for spontaneity</p>	<p>* <b>dadak</b> &gt; <i>mendadak, dadakan</i> (surprise, freshness)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cooking (<i>sambal dadakan...</i>)</li> <li>- Social and verbal interactions (humour, to be quick-witted...)</li> <li>- Naming/referring to people considering their status and one's own</li> <li>- ...</li> </ul>
<b>INTERLOCKING / INTERMEDIATION</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Interlocking as basis for playing <i>gamelan</i></li> <li>- Alternation speech / music</li> <li>- Stories derived from main Epics, episodes inserted between others</li> <li>- <i>Panakawan</i> inserted among wider story</li> <li>- <i>Panakawan</i> as mediators</li> <li>- <i>Dalang</i> as a mediator</li> <li>- ...</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: right;">→ Increase of the number of participating elements within a relationship → Sense of interdependence → Acknowledgement of references or 'frames' for intermediating/interlocking</p>	<p>* <b>perantara / calo</b> (intermediary)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Between seller and buyer</li> <li>- Between people and administration (police, hospitals, public services...)</li> <li>- Between bus drivers and passengers</li> <li>- ...</li> </ul>
<b>FORMULAE / FRAMES</b>	
<p>* <b>Dalang</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Characteristics of the <i>wayang</i> characters (voice, pitch, ways of moving and speaking...)</li> <li>- Structural elements (<i>gugunungan, kakawen...</i>)</li> </ul> <p>* <b>Gamelan</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Laras</i> (groups of organized tones)</li> <li>- <i>Wilet</i> (rhythmic patterns)</li> <li>- <i>Pola / patokan</i> (playing techniques/patterns)</li> <li>- <i>Posisi</i> (melodic structures)</li> <li>- <i>Syair</i> (lyrics) – <i>Sisindiran</i> (poetic form)</li> <li>- Types of vocal ornamentations</li> <li>- ...</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: right;">→ Combinations, adaptation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Behavioural codes</li> <li>- Sundanese language levels</li> <li>- Kinship relationships</li> <li>- ...</li> </ul>

**Table 1. Summary: creation processes in *wayang golek* performances and Sundanese social life**

More generally, creation and performance deeply interact with the social context in which they take place.

### Perception Elements

*Wayang golek* can be considered as a total phenomenon, a performance combining both ritual and entertainment dimensions (Schechner, 1988). *Wayang golek* only means something within the social context of its performance. It is both a highly effective and deeply philosophical practice, where *dunia pewayangan* (*wayang* world) is a microcosm balanced by the *dalang* among the universal macrocosm ruled by God. As such, *wayang golek* remains strongly involved in the transformations that affect the modernising Sundanese society. Considering the performance as a whole, we can watch a *wayang golek* performance as it presents itself and how it is important to the society, while re-introducing diversity inside perception, analysis and understanding of the practice. "However one interacts with and around the *wayang* performance, one does so bodily... Watching *wayang* changes you physically, leaves you physically reconstituted" (Kleinsmiede, 2002, p. 39). Indeed, attending a *wayang* performance is overwhelmingly stimulating to the senses and requires participation.

### ***A Multisensory Experience***

We cannot merely “watch” *wayang golek*. One can watch the puppets moving, dancing, fighting but he/she will at the same time be listening to sounds, melodies and dings of the *dalang*’s voice, the singers and the *gamelan*. He or she cannot avoid the sweet smell of *kretek* that is continuously smoked on the stage by the performers as well as the audience, nor the smell of roasting *sate kambing* and the thick vapor of *kacang kulit* you can find in the small market that has been settling around the stage since the afternoon hours. One cannot escape from the heat of the midday or the coolness of the night, or even the gentle heat of the closest fellow spectators. One will probably drink at least one glass of warm tea or coffee and get some food at the buffet displayed by the host. A *wayang* performance is always a good opportunity to meet with old friends or relatives, to chat, to seduce, to sell or to buy, to play, sometimes to gamble. Even the musicians enjoy the atmosphere; they exchange short messages on cigarette packs or on their phones, they share food and look at the girls in the audience. They are asked by the spectators about the *dalang*, the *wayang* puppets, they are given cigarettes and hot beverages by fans, and so on. *Wayang golek* is conceived as a total social and aesthetic experience, which fulfils senses and the inner perception to what is happening in the world, what is at stake all around and on the stage during eight hours. It is a shared extra-ordinary life.

### ***Lahir and Batin***

Behind this multimedia and multisensory aspect, perception (and expression as well) is based on two complementary poles that the Sundanese themselves refer to as *lahir* and *batin*, which are strongly linked with the Islamic context. Van Zanten (1997) writes:

The Sundanese consider music, dance and theatre to be outer manifestations (*lahir*) of thoughts or inner life (*batin*)...It is in the first place the right spirit that counts, not technical perfection. The technicalities only concern the outer manifestation (*lahir*); technical perfection will be achieved if the inner constitution (*batin*) is right, and not the other way around (pp. 41, 47).

In the same manner, audience members like to come on the stage and actively participate, dancing during the musical opening of *wayang golek* – *ngiring kaul* – or giving extra money to the puppets or the troupe – *nyawer*. What is most important seems here to be the shared experience, which is also a way of honouring the hosts.

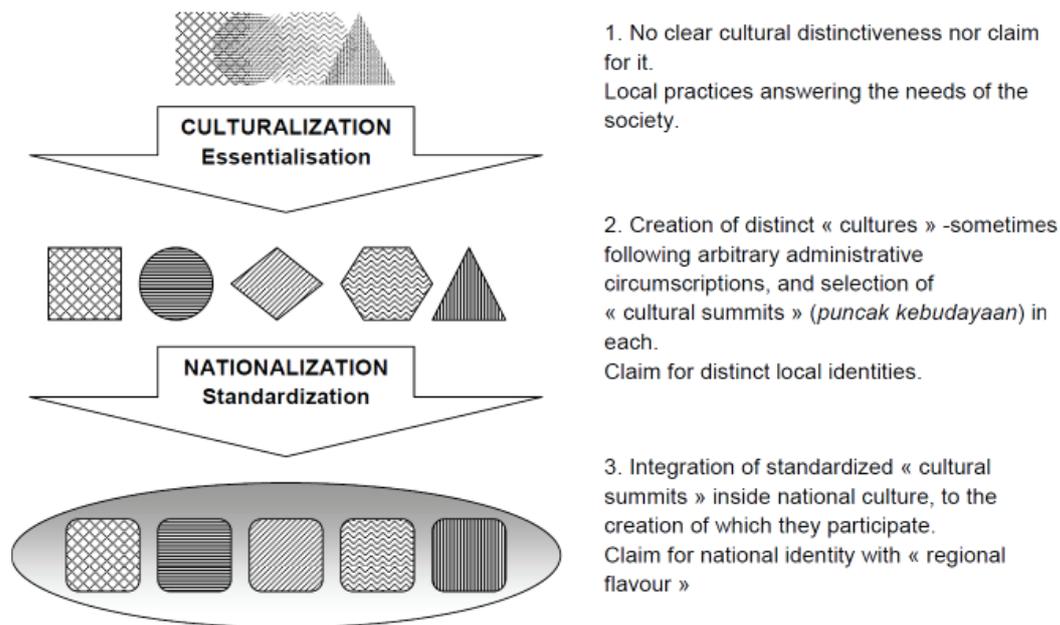
*Wayang golek* is thus a strongly interactive practice, the product of the relationship between sponsors, a performing group and the audience. It is polarized on the *dalang*’s role as he concentrates powers, skill and stakes that are renewed in each unique performance. His leadership among the group is based on the Sundanese kinship system. Sponsors see their prestige increase by inviting a *wayang golek* performance for their ceremonies. The audience looks more for a holistic experience of the event in its larger frame, although aesthetics might be an important part of this social perception.

### ***Wayang Performances and Categorization***

It seems that this holistic conception of *wayang golek* performance challenges a particular process that concerns performance practices in general in Indonesia. By this I mean the soft policies of which the different governments have been trying to control (different from direct censure and propaganda). In the colonial context, concepts such as “culture” (*budaya* and *kebudayaan*), “art” (*seni* and *kesenian*) and “ceremony” (*upacara*) were progressively applied to the indigenous practices. These categories were as much the display of the inherent ethnocentrism of Orientalist scholarly works of that period, as much as tools for the political domestication of the elite (Pemberton, 1994). But if this was true in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Central Java, it was slightly different in West Java, where the last Sundanese (Hindu) kingdom (Pajajaran) had fallen in 1579, and the region had passed progressively under Islamic Javanese rule. In this context, the remaining Sundanese elite welcomed the symbolic and cultural power that the new Dutch colonial government offered to them, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a kind of Sundanese arts renaissance, soon to spread in the whole region. In this context, *wayang golek purwa*,

*tembang Sunda Cianjuran, gamelan degung* and so on emerged at the houses of the influential *Bupati* (regents).

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these performing arts were used as a nationalist instrument participating in the building of national identity and national culture after independence in 1945. In this context, “tradition” (*tradisi*) became an instrument based on the past to standardize and control the present and future national and popular expressions. For *wayang golek purwa*, the invention of the *Tetekon* (12 criteria) by Salmun (1942) in the early 1940s was supposed to reinforce traditional rules for *wayang golek* performances that never existed, but that were invented on the basis of Javanese palatine *wayang kulit* rules, while *wayang golek* was suffering from this comparison in a Java-centric policy-making system. The table below summarizes the national identity building process – still ongoing nowadays – based on the culturalization and nationalization of the practices.



**Figure 2. Double process of culturalization and nationalization in the formation of national Indonesian culture**

Also, with the increase of the mass media (radio, TV, tapes, and VCDs) *wayang golek* became considered *de facto* as entertainment (*hiburan*). This emphasized the distance between audience and performers, while aesthetic tastes, functions and reactions to the practice were redefined and its understanding was diversified (Weintraub, 1994).

The last avatar of this categorisation processes now seems to be the “intangible heritage” (officially translated in Indonesian as *warisan tak benda*), as introduced by UNESCO programs and accepted by the Indonesian government. *Wayang Indonesia* was proclaimed as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2003 and became part of the Representative List of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2008, after Indonesia’s acceptance of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage. As such, intangible heritage conveys a controllable Indonesian image at the international level, as well as an opportunity to insert *wayang* practices into global economic and political networks (through tourism, cultural diplomacy, and so on.)

Culture, tradition, heritage – all these categories share the basic premise of the existence of cultural essences (Amselle, 2001), which inherently leave aside the various processes of change, and constant adaptation that characterize performances and more precisely *wayang golek*. Rather than focusing on the notion of essence and its correlative notions of authenticity and fantasized “pure” origins, shouldn’t we investigate the processes and the various stakes that run across historical and contemporary performances?

Besides, these categories are obviously far from covering the complexity of *wayang golek* performances. By trying to reduce it to these frames, a shift or a distance is created between audience and performers, while defining specific status for arts and artists in the service of the nation building,

defining limits whereas *wayang golek* is meant to be an all-encompassing practice. In the end, submitting to these categories means turning *wayang golek* performances into a representation rather than a presentation or a way of being-in-the world.

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**THE BODY PRODUCING THE MUSIC: VOICE, BODY, AND MUSIC IN THE BALINESE MUSICAL THEATER, *ARJA***

***Pragina Arja and Penabuh***

*Arja* is a traditional art form in Bali, created out of the collaboration of an actor/actress, called the *pragina*, who is simultaneously vocalist and dancer, and the *penabuh*, or *gamelan* musicians. This paper discusses the *pragina*'s body as a venue and a vehicle for producing music, both vocal and instrumental. I describe how the *pragina* control their voice and body to represent character and emotion, singing *mocapat* and interacting with the *penabuh*, and how the *penabuh* react to the *pragina*'s body.

**The *Pragina*'s Body Representing the Stock Characters**

Although today, *arja* is a comprehensive art form in which aural and visual elements such as drama, dance, songs, and jokes are intertwined, at its very beginning, it was an art form emphasizing vocal elements. As described in previous studies, *arja doyong*, the earliest form of *arja* appeared in the 1940s as a gathering of village singers, employing only simple gestures (Bandem & deBoer, 1995, pp. 80-81; Dibia, 1992a, pp. 24-31). Even after the 1950s, when *arja* had incorporated choreographic components from earlier dance drama – primarily *gambuh* – the vocal elements remained preeminent. Beginners in *pragina arja* usually learn the singing first, and then proceed to learn the corresponding choreography. Many Balinese have enjoyed *arja* through local radio programs and cassette tapes, in addition to live performances, TV, and VCDs, since *pragina arja* are evaluated primarily by their voice quality and vocal technique, rather than their dance skills or appearance.

Ordinary *arja* has ten to twelve stock characters, who almost always appear in any *arja* story. Each stock character has its own rather stereotyped personality, which is explicitly and symbolically expressed through various elements such as dialogue, language, voice quality and singing style, choreography, costume, and make-up. For example, *Galuh*, one of these stock characters who usually appears as a queen or princess, is always serious and refined, sings her dialogue, and dances elegantly, while *Liku*, a coarse and crazy princess, speaks ordinary Balinese in addition to singing, and dances awkwardly and comically<sup>1</sup> (See Plates 1 and 2). A *pragina* is specifically assigned to one of the stock characters, based largely upon the performer's inborn vocal quality, in addition to her body and face. *Galuh* is assigned to a woman who can sing like a ringing bell, in a higher register with long breaths, while *Limbur*, an empress, should have a deeper and lower voice, which suits her dignity. Visually, *Galuh* should have an oval face, and should not be too short or fat, while *Limbur* should have a rather square face, and can be fat or taller than *Galuh*, but should not be too short or too thin (See Plate 3). The *arja* stock character system and its casting of performers are grounded in the idea that certain characteristics of human physique and voice represent, reflect, or embody a certain type of personality in performance. Voice quality and vocal range owe much to the physical inheritance granted at birth; in this sense, the body has cultural significance in Balinese theater, more or less preordaining the path of the *pragina arja*.

Besides its vocal quality, each character has its own vocal style for speaking and singing, as well as differences in language choice, word phrasing, and vocal rendition of the melody, which *pragina* should endeavor to master. The *pragina arja* usually performs one character assigned to him/her for a long time as a specialist. One reason for this, of course, is the difficulty of changing into a voice and body type suitable for a different character. More importantly, though, performing one character over a length of time allows the *pragina* to establish an intimate relationship with his/her character, developing deep sympathy and identification with it. Well-experienced *pragina* can deeply *menjiwai*, or give soul to the character, as they repeatedly experience performing it on innumerable occasions, in which they *masolah* (perform, characterize) – speaking, acting, and even thinking and feeling as the character would. Well-known *pragina* are often identified with and referred to as ideal

models of the character for the audience and new generations of performers. Thus, the voices, faces, bodies, and performing styles of great *pragina* from the past have collectively contributed to shaping and reshaping the images of stock characters. In a sense, the body of the *pragina* is the primary vehicle of the stock character.

For plates see published Proceedings

**Plate 1. *Galuh*, a refined princess, performed by Jero Ratna (left) and *Condong*, *Galuh*'s servant, performed by Ni Nyoman Candri (right) in *arja* performance, 11 August 2011, in Sibang.  
(Photo: A. Mashino)**

For plates see published Proceedings

**Plate 2. *Liku*, performed by Ni Wayan Resni (right) and *Desak Rai*, *Liku*'s servant, performed by Ni Made Murniasih (left) in *arja* performance, 11 August 2011, in Sibang.  
(Photo: A. Mashino)**

For plates see published Proceedings

**Plate 3. *Limbur*, performed by Ni Wayan Rimbit in *arja* performance, 11 August 2011, in Sibang.  
(Photo: A. Mashino)**

### **Voice and Body as a Unity in Singing *Mocapat***

*Arja* is distinguished from other traditional Balinese dramatic genres in its use of *mocapat* songs, or *tembang mocapat*, as its chief vocal form. As Edward Herbst (1997) also describes, the *mocapat* singers use more head and nose for producing the voice than other vocal genres, such as *kidung* (ritual songs), for which the throat is the major source, and *kekawin* (recitation of the Kawi literature in *wirama* meter), which uses both chest and throat voices (p. 32).

*Mocapat* is poetry, typically presented in vocal rendition, with a prescribed number of lines (*padalingsa*), a specific number of syllables in each line (*guru wilang*), and a particular vowel sound at the end of each line (*guru ding-dong*) (Bandem, 1985, p. 13). There are around nine *mocapat* types frequently used in *arja* – *Semarandana*, *Ginada*, *Ginanti*, *Adri*, *Sinom*, *Dangdang*, *Durma*, *Mijil*, and *Pangkur* – each with its respective melodies and associated with specific moods, emotions, and characters.<sup>2</sup> The *tembang mocapat* melodies can be sung in *paca priring* – a simple and syllabic vocal style following the basic melody, or may be sung with full ornamentation, or *wilet*, added to the basic melody. Even the same *mocapat* melodies can express totally different emotions and personalities through different vocal renderings in terms of tempo, vocal quality, and usage of *wilet*. Here, I focus on the expression of emotion.

In her workshops and lessons, Ni Nyoman Candri, an established *pragina arja* who taught many *arja* performers, often emphasized the significance of moving and controlling the body, especially the breath and the facial muscles, including the lips, eyes, and chin, when one is singing. For example, in workshops she held in Japan in September 2011, she suggested the following to the participants.<sup>3</sup> She said that it is necessary to raise the corners of the lips (actually smile) and show the teeth while singing, to allow the voice to come out. In order to add *wilet* in a refined way, using musical ornamentation via *getaran*, or vibrato, in the voice, one should consciously move the upper chest (below the neck) and chin. In addition, she said that it is also necessary to elongate exhalation and the corresponding sound of the voice for the last vowel, and imagine the breath and sound ascending into the air and then edging away. For most beginners, especially foreigners, it was quite difficult to imitate these body movements, and therefore also difficult to create the ideal vocal movement. Expressing emotion through the voice is closely connected to specific postures and movements. Candri suggested, in the same workshops, that to express happiness, one needs to open the eyes fully, showing the teeth, and also stretch the back. On the contrary, to express sadness, the teeth are not shown, and the exhalation is extended for as long as possible while singing. Usually, *pragina* do not use *wilet* with many notes in sad scenes, although they vibrate their voice delicately, so as to sound like weeping or

sobbing. For anger, on the other hand, *pragina* “raise the breath” (*naik napas*), so that the voice enters with a strong attack, and sounds loud and harsh. Phrases are cut off abruptly, and the basic melody line is sung clearly, without *wilet* or *getaran*, at a quick tempo, corresponding to the body movements expressing anger and accusation, in which the *pragina* slaps her hands, points out the offending person with her index and middle fingers, and hastily moves from right to left.<sup>4</sup> I should note that facial or body movements, such as rushing at another or abruptly slapping the hands, also inevitably affect the vocal quality and breath.

### Music Accompanying Arja

*Arja* is usually accompanied by a *gamelan geguntangan*, which consists of a pair of *kendang* (drum) as the musical leader, several *suling* (bamboo flutes) which follow the vocal melody, *guntang* (a bamboo slit-drum) for keeping the beat, *gong pulu* (a metallophone with two bronze keys), *tawak* (a small gong) for punctuating the musical cycle, and other small percussion instruments (see Plate 4, *geguntangan* instruments). *Gamelan gong kebyar*, a larger, modern *gamelan* ensemble, is also used for *arja*. In both cases, the musical leader of the ensemble, often compared to a driver (*sopir*), is the *kendang* player – in particular, the *kendang lanang* player in *geguntangan*, who signals the others to start, stop, and make changes in tempo, dynamics, and rhythmic patterns. There are several musical forms for *arja*, such as *tabuh besik* (*batel*), *tabuh dua*, and *tabuh empat*.<sup>5</sup> Each musical form is categorized by a prescribed number of beats comprising a musical unit, or *gong* cycle, punctuated by *gong pulu* in *geguntangan* (or *gong* in the *gong kebyar* ensemble), which sounds at the end of the cycle, and *tawak* (*kelentong* in *gong kebyar*), which sounds at the halfway-point of the cycle. For example, *batel* has a two-beat *gong* cycle, which means that *gong pulu* and *tawak* are played in turn on every beat. The *gong* cycle of *tabuh dua* (literally, “musical cycle of two,” indicating that a punctuating instrument sounds every two beats) is four beats long, with *gong pulu* and *tawak* played in alternation every second beat. In *tabuh empat* (“musical cycle of four”), the length of each cycle is again doubled, with *tawak* played on the fourth beat and *gong pulu* played on the eighth beat of each musical unit. Besides the number of beats constituting a cycle, each *tabuh* has a specific tempo and rhythmic pattern, associated with certain theatrical circumstances and characters.

For figures see published Proceedings

### Figure 1. *Geguntangan* Instruments. (Illustration: A. Mashino)

The *kendang lanang* player, who must recognize which *tabuh* should be performed in specific theatrical circumstances, “drives” (*nyopir*) the ensemble by giving musical cues to the other players. However, among all the performers, it is the *pragina* who actually “drives” the *kendang* musicians using conventional cues. There are several verbal cues, such as *durung puput* (“not yet finished”) or *kagiat* (“be surprised”) for leaving the stage or changing a scene, and also choreographic cues, for example, by slapping hands to express anger, which informs the *penabuh* to change the music to *batel*, which is used for that emotion because of its quick tempo and urgent mood.

Next, I would like to focus on the interaction between *pragina* and *penabuh* on a more detailed level, as it occurs during the *pepeson*.

### Analysis of Music and Body in *Pepeson*

*Pepeson* is a vocal and dance performance that occurs at the first appearance of each stock character on the stage; each stock character has its own performance style and form of *pepeson*, using a different type of *mocapat* song, song text, and styles of dancing and singing, with corresponding music by the *penabuh* performing in the respective *gamelan* musical form. The general outline of *pepeson* choreography – open the curtain, dance on the right and the left sides, proceed to the front, go around the stage, and finish in the back – is shared by all characters, while there are some differences between the component parts which reflect the characters' differing personalities. Indeed, between *pragina*, there is less individual variation, but rather subtle distinctions of nuance or detail.

In his dissertation discussing *kendang geguntangan*, Made Mantle Hood (2001) analyzes how the components of *pepeson condong*, such as vocals, dance, and drums, appear in combination. He points out that the sung *mocapat* text is “the principal guideline for both dancer and musician” (p. 141). Indeed, the total composition of choreography and *gamelan* is based upon the text structure and vocal line of *mocapat*, with the vocals dictating the body movements. At some points in the performance, too, the *pragina*'s body movements serve to provide practical and specific leadership of the music, with perhaps greater immediacy to the dancer-musician interaction than is communicated through the vocal line.<sup>6</sup>

For analysis, I roughly categorize *pepeson* choreographic components into two groups having different levels of musical interaction.

- (a) Choreographic sequences where *pragina* do not need to be highly concerned with the *gamelan* and move rather freely: When the *pragina* sings and dances simultaneously, he/she seems more focused on the flow created through the intricate combination of the vocal line with the body movements, as if the voice dances and the body sings. This is also partly because the vocal line in *pepeson* does not follow the regular beats of the *gamelan*.

In *pepeson*, the vocal line leads the actions of the body, which are fixed in a stylized choreography, to achieve a coherence of voice and body movements. Except for the *suling* player, who follows the vocal line of the *pragina*, the *penabuh* mostly keep their own beats, gong cycle, and basic rhythm patterns without direct correspondence to the *pragina*'s performance during these (a)-type sequences, while they certainly remain attentive to it.

- (b) Sequences which require musical interaction, usually appearing between the *mocapat* lines, when the *pragina* is not singing: Many choreographic sequences which have specific names are included in this category, such as *angsel*, a momentary break, many of which have specific corresponding rhythm patterns performed by the *kendang*. To lead the *gamelan*, the *pragina* follows the beat created by the *guntang*, and should be conscious of the musical punctuation provided by the *gong pulu* and *tawak*, because the *kendang* performer can only change the rhythm patterns at specific points in the gong cycle.

For analysis, I videotaped Candri's demonstration without *gamelan*, in which she dances and explains the correspondence of music and choreography in each section of the *pepeson*. I compared this with my observations of ordinary *arja* performances and the musical patterns I learned from my *kendang geguntangan* teacher, I Wayan Tama, to understand how the *pragina* recognizes, signals, and reacts to the music. Below, I detail the section at the very beginning as an example.

At the beginning of the *pepeson*, the *pragina* shakes the curtain from behind with her hands, singing the first word of the *pepeson*. This is a cue to the *kendang*, which reacts accordingly. *Gong pulu*, *tawak*, and *guntang* start playing, providing the beats and punctuation of the gong cycle, followed by the *kendang*, which plays the particular pattern – as Candri describes it in her own vocalization of *trantantantantan*.<sup>7</sup> The *penabuh* play the specific *tabuh* for the character. For example, *tabuh batel* (*tabuh besar*) is played for Condong's *pepeson*, while *tabuh dua* is played for Galuh or Mantri Manis. Then, the *pragina* gradually moves the curtains aside (*langsir*) and appears, while singing. She does

not necessarily correspond to or count the gong cycles while singing and opening the curtain, until the point where she marks the end of the sequence with *angsel* – a series of movements leading to a momentary break. In demonstration, Candri sang the gong cycle as “*sir - tan, sir - tan.*” *Sir*, or *gir*, is the sound of the gong, and *tan* is the sound of the *tawak*, suggesting that she listens to the gong cycle while opening the curtain, although neither her song nor her choreography are exactly fixed to the musical units (sequence type a). However, when performing *angsel*, she adjusts her movement to the *gamelan* (sequence type b). She moves her right foot, with the sound “*sir pak toraan,*” then her left foot with “*gir paktupak daak,*” and then *seledet* (moves her eyes) with “*gir trutupa dek.*” She listens to the gong cycle to prepare her *angsel*, in order to catch the right time to cue the *kendang* and make the *angsel* fit the musical cycle.

After the *angsel* comes the dance sequence called *nabdab gelung*, in which the *pragina* touches the headdress in an elegant and highly stylized manner, and *nyegut* (looks downward), like nodding for a moment, and returns the face upright. During *nabdab gelung*, Candri says, the *pragina* can move *bebas* (freely), meaning that she does not care about the musical cycle (sequence type a), although the last gesture to end the *nyegut* sequence with a choreographic accent should properly correspond to the *gong pulu* (sequence type b).

Figure 1 is the basic *kendang* rhythm pattern for the *angsel* by Condong as I learned it, although there are several other variants which can be applied to the *angsel*. The *kendang lanang* and *wadon* interlock, so that the whole sequence becomes “*punpun, pak pupupunpun pukapakatudek.*” Candri selectively picks up *sir* as the gong sound, and *da* or *dek* (the specific sounds which correspond to the choreographic punctuation) are the sounds of the *kendang wadon* player’s right hand. *Toraan* seems to be her expression of the sound when the *lanang* plays *pun* and the *wadon* plays *da* simultaneously, while the sound between *sir* and *da/dek* is actually different in this *kendang* pattern. The demonstration suggests that Candri refers to a specific sound at a specific point which she picks up from the whole ensemble, so that the music, voice, and body smoothly flow together as an entity. However, the *pragina* does not necessarily listen to and recognize the whole ensemble, nor every moment of their playing. Candri herself has never learned *kendang* nor any other *gamelan* instrument. Her knowledge and interpretation of the *gamelan* sounds are almost exclusively based upon her experience as *pragina*, not as *penabuh*.

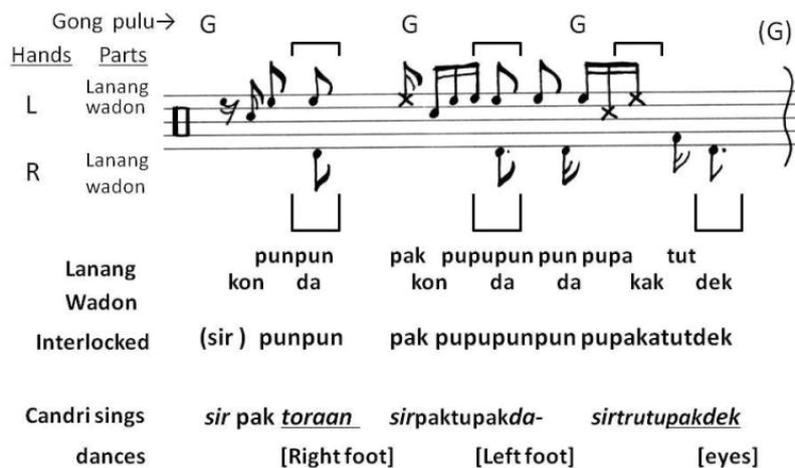


Figure 2. An example of *angsel* in *pepeson*, *kendang* rhythm patterns, and Candri’s explanation

### Musical Interaction from the *Penabuh*’s Viewpoint

As Candri interprets the music from the *pragina*’s viewpoint, the *penabuh* also interpret the choreography from their perspective. During several rehearsals of my Japanese *geguntangan* group where I played *kendang lanang*, Candri tried to explain to me that the sequence for *angsel* starts choreographically from raising the shoulder, though, interestingly, both Tama and I Ketut Buda Astra (another *kendang* teacher of mine who played *kendang wadon* in the group) had advised me “not to see the upper parts of the body” and “to concentrate on the foot.” In the process of rehearsal, I also found

that concentrating on the feet was more practical for the *kendang* player, rather than focusing on the shoulder movement which starts the choreographic unit of *angsel*. Two other excellent *kendang arja* musicians, Tjokorda Alit Hendrawan of Pengosekan and Pande Gede Eka Mardiana of Batubulan, whom I later interviewed, also agreed that they concentrated most attentively on the *pragina*'s feet, during *the pepeson* and elsewhere (T. A. Hendrawan, personal communication, March 15, 2012; P. G. E. Mardiana, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

The voice and body in *pepeson* are coherently intertwined, and the whole choreography is organized according to the *mocapat* song structure and its vocal embodiment. However, in a practical sense, these *penabuh* also found their musical key points, or *kunci*, in the *pragina*'s footsteps. None of the *kendang geguntangan* players I mention here can dance themselves, except Tjokorda Alit, who used to perform as *pragina arja* in his youth. Their interpretation of the *pragina*'s body movement is, therefore, basically grounded upon their experience as *penabuh*. The mutual correspondence of *penabuh* and *pragina* can be achieved through their partial but effective understanding of one another, which is empirically established through their performance experiences as *pragina* or *penabuh*, rather than in theoretical thinking or isolated learning of the skill.

Experienced performers, including both *pragina* and *penabuh*, admit that the true “driver” of the whole performance is the *pragina*. To effectively “drive” the vehicle, the *pragina* is required to at least understand the musical structure.<sup>8</sup> The *penabuh*, in turn, should also be competent enough to interpret and understand the *pragina*'s intentions seen through the body. Even though the basic choreographic structure of *pepeson* is quite fixed, many *kendang arja* players say that they need special concentration and competence to accompany *arja*.<sup>9</sup>

The difficulty, and also the subtlety of the interaction of music and body during *pepeson*, is in the fact that the *pragina* should organize voice, body, and music into an entity, and that the *penabuh* should exactly correspond to the *pragina*'s vocal and body performance, so that the coherence of *penabuh* and *pragina* can together create a single flow of energy.

## Conclusion

I Wayan Dibia writes that vocal music (*tembang*) and *gamelan* are “like two souls in one body, and together they form one musical stream” (Dibia, 1992b, p. 295). In reality, these two musical forces are intertwined through the body movement of the *pragina*. In *arja*, voice drives the body, dance drives the music, and music enlivens the body and voice. The voice and body of the *pragina* are merged into one entity to sing *mocapat*, to express emotion and personality, and to represent and give soul to the character on the stage.

## Acknowledgements

I owe much to my teachers, Ni Nyoman Candri, I Wayan Tama, and I Ketut Buda Astra, who always supported, guided, and encouraged my research, as well as my experiences and performances as an immature *kendang geguntangan* player. In addition, I express my gratitude to Tjokorda Alit Hendrawan and Pande Eka Mardiana. I also acknowledge Wendell Ishii for his editorial assistance in English with this paper.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Dibia (1992a, chapter 3) and Mashino (2001, chapter 2) describe and analyze in detail how the visual and aural elements characterize each stock character.

<sup>2</sup> Bandem (1985, p. 15) lists seventeen types of *mocapat*. Dibia discusses the association of each *mocapat* type in *arja* with specific emotions, characters, and dramatic atmosphere (Dibia, 1992a, pp. 179-81; 1992b, pp. 285-289).

<sup>3</sup> In 2011, Candri held three lecture/demonstrations, including workshops, in Tokyo, Japan: at the meeting of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music at the University of the Sacred Heart on 3 September; an open lecture at the Tokyo Art University on 8 September; and an open lecture and concert at Kunitachi College of Music on 14 September. She demonstrated the emotional expressions of *mocapat* at each venue.

<sup>4</sup> Herbst also describes Candri's technique for conveying emotion (Herbst, 1997, pp. 54-55). In Balinese traditional performing arts, the emotions, such as anger or sadness, are often expressed in standard and rather conventional forms. For example, pointing out a person with the fingers is a common, somewhat stereotyped theatrical gesture also used in other genres such as *legong keraton* (female dance without vocal expression) and *gambuh*.

<sup>5</sup> Different categorizations and terms for musical structures exist among performers and scholars. Hood (2001),

Dibia (1992a and 1992b), and some *kendang* musicians use the term *tabuh telu* (three beats) in place of *tabuh empat* (four beats), which was used by my teacher, I Wayan Tama, although they refer to the same musical structure. Hood differentiates *tabuh besik* and *batel*, although Tama did not clearly distinguish them, at least during my lessons. Here, I follow Tama's categorization.

<sup>6</sup> Some experienced *kendang geguntangan* players fully understand the poetic structures of *mocapat* types, but less-experienced *kendang* players can also manage to effectively accompany *pepeson*, simply by following the *pragina*'s body movements.

<sup>7</sup> Although there is some variety in the ways to verbally represent the *kendang* sounds with specific syllables, here I follow Candri's usage.

<sup>8</sup> Many *kendang arja* players, however, complain that less-experienced *pragina* are often too focused on their own performance, such that they cannot afford to listen attentively to the gong cycle, but nevertheless blame the *penabuh* for any inconsistency. This sometimes becomes the source of temporary dissension between *penabuh* and *penari*, the dancers, as each of them decries the other's incompetence.

<sup>9</sup> Tjokorda Alit Hendrawan also said that he can play for other genres such as *kebyar* or *legong* dances even while sleeping, but he needs especially high concentration for accompanying established *pragina* such as Candri in *arja* performance (T. A. Hendrawan, personal communication, March 15, 2012). He exaggerates of course, half out of fun, although his words hold truth.

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### THEME THREE

#### NEW RESEARCH

New Research in this Symposium was reported, firstly, through a panel of four scholars presenting papers on tuning systems as found in Southeast Asia. Made Mantle Hood (Univ. of Melbourne, Australia) spoke about “Musical Invasives: Hybridity and the Forces of Diatonicization in Balinese Children’s Music”, Kristina Benitez (Philippine Women’s Univ.) presented her paper entitled “Insights into Concepts of Melody and Tuning among Practitioners of Traditional Musics in the Philippines”, Mayco A. Santaella (Univ. of Hawai’i, USA) presented “Nationalizing *Kakula*: The Works of Hasan Bahasyuan in Central Sulawesi”, and John Garzoli (Monash Univ., Australia) spoke on “Musical Consonance and Cultural Dissonance: An issue in Musical Hybridity”.

A second session on New Research presented a variety of topics on both folk and classical musics. Neal Matherne (UC Riverside, USA) presented “Remembering Maceda: *Ugnayan* and National Memory in the Philippines”, Leo Eva Rempola (Univ. of the Philippines) spoke on “Metaphors of Power and Propaganda in Lucino T. Sacramento’s *Ang Maharlika* and *Ang Bituin* Concertos for Piano and Orchestra”, while Lawrence Ross (CUNY, USA) spoke on “For the Sake of Religion, Race and Nation: Articulating Malay-ness through *Silat* in Malaysia”.

**MADE MANTLE HOOD (Australia)**  
University of Melbourne

## **MUSICAL INVASIVES: ECOLOGY AND THE FORCES OF DIATONICIZATION IN BALINESE MUSIC**

### **Introduction**

The world's many and diverse tuning systems drove early ethnomusicologists to the corners of the globe in search of new material to found new theories. Today, few ethnomusicologists find the topic of tuning systems particularly "cutting edge". While it is true many tuning systems have remained more or less unchanged since the time of Hornbostel and Sachs, the same cannot be said for the cultures that employ them or the field of ethnomusicology. Today, the interdisciplinary approaches in ethnomusicology have much to offer when re-examining such a dry, old fuddy-duddy topic that involves measuring intervals and scales. My topic is treated with just such an interdisciplinary approach as I examine Children's Music on the Indonesian island of Bali through the established method of musical analysis and the emerging theories related to "music ecology" and "music and sustainability".

Bali's post-Suharto media explosion has catapulted the island's popular music industry to new heights. As with other popular musics in modern urban Southeast Asian soundscapes, Bali's popular music for children adapts traditional folk songs to western diatonic scales. In this music, collectively known as *Gending Rare*, diatonically tuned Yamaha keyboards sample bronze gongs, simulate bamboo flutes and provide harmonic progressions for folk and contemporary vocal music. Previously, pitch reference and intervallic structure for *Gending Rare* has been sourced from locally tuned *gamelan*, individually crafted bamboo flutes, or the spontaneity of an accapella singer, all of which reference a multiplicity of local tuning systems. In this paper, I explore the contested sonic space between equal temperament and the diversity of micro-tonal Balinese tuning systems. Depicting diatonicization as a "musical invasive", I interview musicians and analyse scales to see how local tuning systems are being marginalized in the formative genre of children's music. I hope to suggest how the notion of stewardship borrowed from music ecology may be implemented so that local artisans may collaborate with industry leaders, culture-bearers, and music researchers to empower local tuning systems.

### **Theoretical Background and Definitions**

Before examining *Gending Rare*, I want to define two key terms in the title of my paper: diatonicization and musical invasives. There is no significant discussion of the term diatonicization in any of ethnomusicology's principal journals. However, the concept does relate to an extensive body of literature on homogenization and globalization. Globalization theories that echo sentiments of cultural imperialism posit that globalization forces cultural influences on primitive peoples, stripping them of their identity and homogenising culture (Robertson, 1992; Harrison, 1999, as cited in McIntosh, 2010, p. 2). Yet counter arguments suggest that global forces such as diatonic music enable participants to become active agents in either assimilating or rejecting global forms. In Bali, this has been examined through Emma Baulch's work (2007) on death metal and punk music scenes, which are perched on the periphery of traditional Balinese society but participants enjoy a vantage point that favours reaching out towards the global. I define diatonicization as an adaptational process by which the Western equal-temperament tuning system moves into, and dominates soundscapes and subsequently marginalizes or replaces local tuning systems.

The second term I use in this paper is "musical invasives". From ecology we learn that "invasives" are introduced species, meaning non-indigenous or non-native species that adversely affect the habitats and bioregions they invade (Leasman-Tanner, 2001). Invasives often cohabit with native varieties for many years, and eventually the stronger aggressive design of an invasive becomes obvious as its population increases and becomes dense while it adapts to its new surroundings. In Bali diatonicism has co-existed with local tuning systems for decades. Nonetheless few can argue against the fact that diatonic music has rapidly expanded its territory over the past ten years through Bali's newly

established and highly competitive media industry, but also “diatonic gadgetry” infiltrating Bali’s soundscapes in the form of mobile phone ringtones, games, and other handheld personal devices.

In his recent theoretical essay on cultural heritage management and Music and Sustainability, Jeff Todd Titon suggests that, “Music cultures behave as ecosystems” and that if a diversity of musical systems, such as tuning systems, is to be maintained we need to recognize the dynamics of mobility and interconnectedness that bring about hybridity and change. Titon upholds that we need to consider strategies from ecology that empower what he calls “sustainable music” (Titon, 2009, p. 119). For Bali’s *Gending Rare* composers and child stars, sustainability of Bali’s diversity of tuning systems is proving to be a bit of a challenge. Of course at the moment, sustainability is far from their agenda. The industry is simply booming. It is also rocking and rolling and entertaining thousands of adoring fans via live public performances and televised song contests not unlike Eurovision and American Idol.

### Cosmopolitanism and Diatonicization

In a video clip of the 2009 *Gending Rare* hit *Melali Ke Nusa Dua* written by Ngakan Rai Lanus, six child stars take the stage in front of a live audience of thousands (Lanus, 2009). This video made Lanus’s song a hit, and at the time of its release in 2006, *Melali Ke Nusa Dua* was the number one song in the *Gending Rare* category, outselling all other hits and even attracting sales in Jakarta and Surabaya, which is no small feat for a pop song sung, not in the Indonesian language, but in Balinese. The children sing about *melali*, a fun daytrip from the rural village to the tourist resort town of Nusa Dua to enjoy the beach at the southern tip of the island.

In the video a backing band provides accompaniment in A flat major for the refrain and uses its relative minor, F for the verse. The children’s melody spans one and a half octaves. But despite the familiar three-chord accompaniment, the melody uses only the pitches A flat, B flat, C, E flat, and F, a diatonicized version of the traditional five-tone near-equidistant scale called *saih gender*. The music’s tonality echoes the central voices of Indonesian popular music that is also predominantly diatonic.

The commercial agenda of this live concert promotes the artists in a capitalist framework where music as commodity generates revenue through CD sales and advertising sponsorship. Not surprisingly there is a rather obvious alliance between the homogenizing force of diatonicization and the corporate model of consumer consumption. The smaller regional Balinese *Gending Rare* industry is created in the image of its Creator, that is, the larger national Indonesian pop music industry. The fact that songs such as *Melali Ke Nusa Dua* are distinctly Balinese but created largely in the image of the “mother industry” of Indonesian pop is not surprising. One would not expect modern, upper middle class Balinese to look anywhere other than Jakarta media as a model to formulate Balinese children’s music, an aspect of modernity and Thomas Turino’s notion of cosmopolitanism which states that a section of society will emulate modern models to “legitimize their middle-classness” (2003, p. 62). When *Melali ke Nusa Dua* was written by Lanus, modern diatonic tuning systems were very much on the periphery of his village soundscape. Lanus wrote the song in 1978 as an elementary school teacher for his pupils in the village of Peliatan. Only in 1991 was it entered into a song competition where it won first place and then rediscovered in 2005 to become the hit that it is today. Over the course of Lanus’s teaching career, he wrote more than 100 songs for his students. With no training in Western music, he penned his children’s songs based on folk melodies he learned growing up as a child in the village of Peliatan.

Many of those folk melodies Lanus would have heard growing up would have been sung in the traditional 5-tone scale called *selisir*. Today many *Gending Rare* use a diatonic version of *selisir* with an intervallic structure not unlike the one depicted here in Western staff notation:

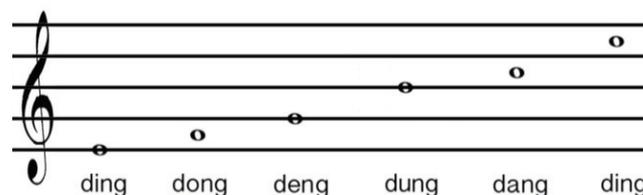
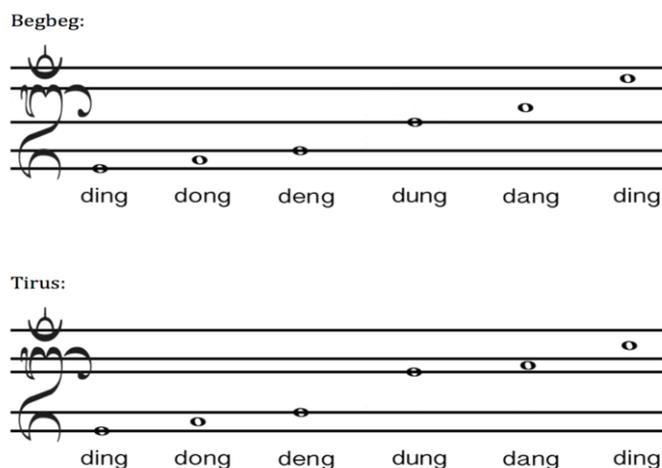


Figure 1. A diatonic version of *selisir* depicted in Western staff notation

Underneath the five-tone scale are the Balinese solfege names *ding*, *dong*, *deng*, *dung* and *dang* corresponding to E, F, G, B and C. The lines and spaces in western staff notation are of course equidistant. This visual representation illustrates the sonic phenomenon where a half step between E and F measures 100 cents and the whole step between F and G, 200 cents.

In Balinese tuning systems, local *gamelan* tuners have their own individual sets of bamboo tuning keys called *petuding* used to measure and design individual scales or *saih*. For example, *gamelan* makers use *petuding* as a tuning reference to forge the bronze keys of *gamelan* orchestras. *Gamelan* makers, however, often fine-tune *saih* according the desires of their client's tastes and regional preferences. The result is a micro-tonally nuanced ordering of intervals. The next diagram represents these micro-tonal intervals by shifting staff lines to more accurately depict intervallic distance:



**Figure 2. Hypothetical *begbeg* and *tirus* type *selisir* scales represented with shifting staff lines and *Om Kara* Sanskrit to symbolized intervallic distance (after Herbst 1997)**

This results in a diversity of different tuning systems with individually designed intervallic structures. The terms *begbeg* meaning “evenly spaced” and *tirus* meaning “sharp and jagged” are used to describe varying intervallic arrangements when tuning *gamelan*. These terms apply to, among other criteria, the large and small intervals between the Balinese solfege names *ding* and *dong* as well as *deng* and *dung*.

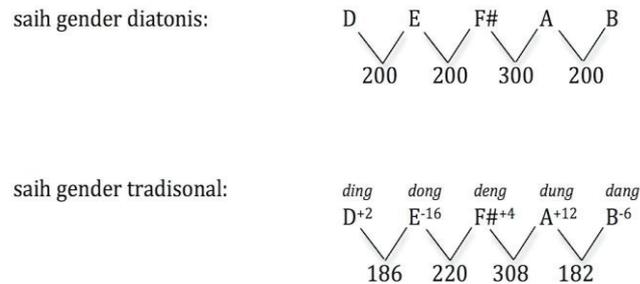
### Musical Terror and Sounding Locality

A non-diatonic, traditional version of *Meong-Meong*, a children's song sung to accompany a playful game or *dolanan* that involves a cat chasing a mouse would be based upon, for example, a ten-keyed bronze metallophone called *gender* which provides the pitch reference. A small group of singers would sing along to the *gender*'s 5-tone near-equidistant scale called *saih gender*. Often folk songs such as *Meong-Meong* would also have an end-blown bamboo flute called *suling* that provides melodic embellishment to the principal melody.

In a non-diatonic version of *Meong-Meong*, the fixed pitches of the *gender* metallophone would be unique to this set of instruments, this group of musicians, in this particular local. Vocalists' intonation must adhere to the intervallic structure, the particular scale identity of the instrument. The same song sung in the home of a different family, in a different village will have its own unique tuning system. The diversity of tunings available are still numerous **IF** musicians, composers, record producers and industry promoters choose to empower multiplicity in main stream production, as is the case with popular forms of *gamelan* music.

The same song, *Meong-Meong*, has its diatonic equivalent produced by Maharani Records for their Bali Family Series of *Gending Rare* VCDs (Maharani VCD, 2004). In the video clip, synthesized Caribbean steel pans and sampled *gamelan*-like tuned percussion accompany a solo singer in D major. Pre-programmed sound effects animate the movements of a group of children holding hands in a circle. Guided by a wise-old grandpa, they act out the roles of cat and mouse chasing each other around a traditional Balinese household compound. The cartoon characters Tom and Jerry provide the animated backdrop for the young lead singer. The tuning system is *saih gender diatonis*.

When not watched passively, videos such as this one do inspire children to sing while learning through kinaesthetic movement, building essential hand eye coordination and other motor skills that are coupled with early age development. The constant stream of karaoke-like Balinese text encourages children to sing and learn their increasingly marginalized and standardized local language. Just ask my three-year old daughter who continually dances around our house in Australia singing in Balinese language to the video discs she receives in the mail from her Balinese cousins. There are only subtle micro-tonal differences between the diatonic and traditional *saih gender* examples discussed here.



**Figure 3. Diatonic and traditional examples of *saih gender* illustrating averaged intervallic distance through cent system measurements**

In Figure 3, the pitch called *ding* measures D plus two cents and *dong*, E minus 16 cents. This creates an interval of 186 cents, which is 14 cents smaller than the diatonic version. Averaged intervallic measurements of the traditional *saih gender* indicate a differential of between 8 and 20 cents across the pentatonic scale, hardly enough for an academic to claim music-culture grey out! Diatonic children’s music is not the only music kids listen to. There are more children who actively participate in school and village *gamelan* than there ever has been in the past. Temple ceremonies and Arts Festivals still feature a diverse assortment of instrumental and vocal music that is not diatonic. Why then is there such a concern about the slight micro-tonal differences?

I return to music and ecology to address this question. If we remember the analogy of music cultures to ecosystems, a healthy ecosystem has a competitive environment where organisms compete for a limited number of resources. As Titon observes, “The more diverse the organisms, populations, and communities, the greater the chances of survival in and of the ecosystem” (Titon, 2009, p. 123). Given this analogy, a diversity of tuning systems is of paramount importance to the survival of a given music culture. Limiting children’s music to simply the key of G or A flat cheats children of the experience of expressing themselves in multiple ways through singing, playing, and dancing with a voice that is locally and regionally their own, not only a Balinese voice or a Denpasar voice, but one that is truly organic to their particular sonic environment. This is not preservationist rhetoric. Preservationist models isolate and protect against change, something new conservationist ecology rejects as an artificial means of nurturing ecosystems. Previously, harmony and balance was thought to be nature’s key to successful eco-management. Today, ecologists know that a dynamic flow and flux more accurately describes how nature’s interconnectedness creates a vibrant environment for sustainability. A mono-crop in agriculture produces enormous yields but eventually strips the soil of its nutrients and is not sustainable without artificial fertilization. Today’s organic crops draw nutrients from local soils enriched by dynamic biospheres, which are diverse, interconnected networks of organisms. Similar to the French concept of food production (Torres, 2006), I observe a kind of “musical terror” where discourse on musical diversity benefits from examining local soundscapes.

## Conclusion

Ethnomusicologists have been collectively chastised recently for our discipline’s short institutional memory. In a probing reassessment of Nazir Ali Jairazbouy’s classic 1971 monograph on Indian *Raga*, Marc Perlman (2011, p. 318) urges us not to lose track of the questions that inspired early ethnomusicologists such as musical structures, including tuning systems. Following Perlman’s advice, I have attempted to highlight issues surrounding the contested sonic space between equal temperament and the diversity of micro-tonal Balinese tuning systems. Diatonicization may be considered a “musical

invasive”, a non-native species that dominates the Balinese children’s music industry output. Local tuning systems have been marginalized but are not by any means extinct. However, there is a need to respond to musical invasives in order to empower local tuning systems.

Why has there not been a more significant selection of creative output that features, rather than marginalizes, local tuning systems? The most obvious answer lies in the aspirations of the local industry itself that looks nationally to a model of modernity for its cosmopolitan consumers. “Created in the image of the creator” perhaps summarizes how Bali Pop will continue to mirror Indonesian pop unless an ecology of music and sustainability is implemented.

Instrument specific tunings and nurturing individual style have been a hallmark of Balinese music for generations. Regional style and tuning has diminished considerably with the onslaught of modernity and the influx of conservatory-trained teachers into village settings where “unique tunings have consequently disappeared over recent decades” (Harnish, 2005, p. 114). With the embrace of “transnational popular styles”, globally oriented youth-culture is made unaware of what lurks just beneath the soil of their “musical terroir”. Therefore it seems critical to address the issue of musical invasives, not as preservationists, but active agents in the dynamic, multi-tiered exchange between researchers, industry leaders and local culture bearers to participate in the creation of Balinese, and indeed Southeast Asian soundscapes that are sustainable and musically diverse.

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**LAWRENCE ROSS (USA)**  
University of Malaya, Malaysia

***DEMI AGAMA, BANGSA, DAN NEGARA (FOR THE SAKE OF RELIGION, RACE, AND NATION): ARTICULATING MALAY-NESS THROUGH SILAT IN MALAYSIA***

In June 2011, roughly two weeks before a mass rally by Malaysian opposition parties and NGOs on the streets of Kuala Lumpur, organized by a group called *Bersih*, calling for “clean and fair elections,” Oмардин Mauju – the *mahaguru*, or “grandmaster” of the country’s largest *silat* martial arts organization – publically announced that his 50,000 fighters were ready to wage war on behalf of the federal government against those “traitors” he said were “spreading chaos” (Utusan Online, 2011). His words echoed those of Prime Minister, Najib Tun Razak, who in addressing a national *silat* gathering eight months earlier, called them a “third line of defense” (after the military and police) whom he confidently believed “would be ready to fight against those who wish to challenge our country’s peace, security and sovereignty” (Abd Rahman, 2010). A week later, Ali Rustam, president of the national federation of *silat* groups (PESAKA), and governor of Malacca State, amplified the threat. Speaking to *silat* teachers at the Sultan Sulaiman Club in Kampung Baru, Kuala Lumpur – a site of deep historical significance to Malay ethnic nationalists – he warned that if the rally were not cancelled, it could descend into “extreme chaos on the order of May 13, 1969” (Faizatul, Muhd Amirul & Latifah, 2011), a widely understood reference to an infamous episode of racial rioting in the capital and elsewhere.

What is intriguing about these statements is not their martial tone – something that is, understandably, intrinsic to *silat* – but that they are revealing of the prominence and influence this martial art occupies in national discourses. Provocations such as these also illustrate important, yet under-explored aspects of *silat*: how it has been as an important component of Malay political struggles and for furthering ideologies within a Malaysian Malay worldview, and how it has employed violence in the pursuit of objectives. This paper is thus a preliminary examination into the sometimes-menacing recent history of *silat*. It is presented as a timeline showing the involvement of certain ideological groups that have coalesced around *silat* during the latter-twentieth-century. What is of particular interest is their relationships with notions and discourses intertwined with local Malay “struggles” (*perjuangan*) – commonly articulated in a trinity of ideals by the oath “*demi agama, bangsa, dan negara*,” (for the sake of religion, race, and nation). In understanding the contexts that give rise to martial *silat*, we might better understand its potential to affect Malaysian politics and society.

**Ethnicity in Peninsular Malaysia**

Long before the arrival of Western colonialism, Malaysia has been populated by multiple ethnic groups, including the Malays, a people defined in particular religious, cultural, and linguistic terms, who in actuality encompass many different ethnic identities from across Southeast Asia; Chinese, Indians, and Arab communities whose trading contacts and settlements in the region date to more than a thousand years; various so-called indigenous people (*orang asli*) whose arrival predates recorded history; and other groups. With particular regard to West, or Peninsular, Malaysia (East Malaysia presents a somewhat different case), in the post-colonial era, two or three groups stand out for having accrued the most political leverage: Malays, Chinese, and to a lesser extent, Indians. Part of the reason these identities are used to contest power today may be seen as a legacy of British colonial administrators, who found it advantageous to their political, and ultimately their economic dominance to categorize local populations in general racial terms.

At the federal level, Malaysia’s ethnic-based political structure has seen continuous rule by the Barisan Nasional, or “National Front”, government (henceforth, BN): an entrenched coalition of Malay, Chinese, and Indian parties, for which the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) is the dominant partner. By virtue of their popular majority and principal position within the government, Malays have come to dominate social and economic policies in a plural, post-colonial Malaysian society over their Chinese, Indian, and indigenous compatriots. And for all Malaysians, regardless of

religion, Islam has, since independence and especially in the last three decades, become an omnipresent factor in the public sphere, to the hegemonic advantage of the Malays—defined constitutionally as Muslims—over other races, and resulting in issues melding race and religion becoming thoroughly inescapable.

During British Malaya's advance toward independence following the Second World War, the inevitable conflicts that resulted from economic and political competition among (mostly) Malay, Chinese, and Indian communities gave rise to outright physical conflicts. Coinciding with *silat*'s emergence from the court to the general population, militias involved with *silat* became recurring phenomena, rising up at several points as vanguards to (ostensibly) defend communal, or intra-communal, interests.

### **Silat**

The term *silat* (also called *pencak* or *pencak silat*) encompasses myriad forms of stylized self-defense movements found throughout the Malay-speaking world, including parts of Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, and Thailand that often involve religious and/or occult practices. In Malaysia during the twentieth century, *silat* went from being an esoteric practice of royal courts, to becoming circulated among a much broader population. As an organizing force at various levels, from the *kampung* (or village) to the regional and global, and at various junctures in Malaysian history, *silat* has been a prominent medium through which Malays can articulate and serve ethnic, religious, and political allegiances.

*Silat* groups are organized of dancer-combatants called *pesilat*. *Pesilat* are initiated into one or more *perguruan* “schools” of which there are myriad styles, and which center around a teacher (*guru silat*) who professes a particular lineage, often connected with traditional healing and/or occult practices. The concept of *perguruan* has changed significantly with the migration of *silat* from the privileged knowledge of royal courts, to the general public (although certain areas of knowledge are still kept privileged by *guru silat*). They have also gained a larger national presence. Whereas in the 1940s and 1950s *perguruan silat* were local, often *kampung*-based communities of a teacher and his followers, the post-independence era saw some of these groups grow to become national, and later international, organizations, with a strong influence on national matters.

Another feature of *silat* is that it commonly features musical accompaniment that enlivens the combat, although in the specific cases of militarized *silat* discussed here, musical accompaniment was not, to my knowledge, employed. The music itself – as it can be heard in formal and casual settings, or outside of *silat* contexts, may be seen as indexical of *silat* combat as well as various aspects of Malay identity. The music may often be distinguished by strong regional characteristics. For example, in the north of Peninsular Malaysia a typical ensemble consists of a *serunai*, a folded-palm-leaf-reed aerophone (sometimes imprecisely described as oboe-like), two drummers playing two-headed barrel drums (*gendang panjang*) – one larger (*ibu*, “mother”) and the other smaller (*anak*, “child”), and a hanging, knobbed gong. Southern ensembles may provide very different accompaniment using *gamelan* or *caklempong* gong-chime ensembles. For all the ubiquity of *silat* music, ethnomusicological research is only beginning to gain attention.

Although recent scholarship in other *silat* areas (such as movement, ritual, and mysticism, etc.) have been positive developments,<sup>1</sup> there is an urgency to better understand its close relationship to identity politics – as each successive episode of *silat*-related violence shows. There is already a good amount of literature devoted to understanding Malay identity in the post-colonial era, including the changing perceptions toward Islam.<sup>2</sup> Research takes a different perspective, exploring where *silat* is situated as *agama*, *bangsa*, *dan negara* accrues different meanings at different times and places, through historical sources, as well as personal observations of competitions, training, politicking, and social bonding that takes place among *silat* practitioners.

### **Silat and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict**

There are several noteworthy historical episodes that inform *silat*'s position today, vis-à-vis identity and electoral politics. In the 1945-1946 postwar interregnum under the British Military

Administration in Malaya, Cheah writes that the vacuum of post-Japanese occupation preceding the re-establishment of British rule on the peninsula, and an environment of Malay religious fervor and anti-Chinese rhetoric gave rise to a militia of *silat* warriors calling itself *Tentera Sabilillah* “Army in the Cause of God,” or *Selendang Merah* “the red scarves” (Cheah, 1983), a name used by Malay militias in later decades. *Sabilillah* was led by a charismatic imam named Kiyai Salleh from the southern state of Johor, whose principle adversaries were the primarily Chinese, anti-Japanese army and Malayan Communists. The *Sabilillah* movement, according to the Cheah, caused widespread slaughter that spread beyond Johor, and sowed seeds of future Malay-Chinese ethnic conflicts.

Perhaps best known of these conflicts were the riots that erupted on 13 May 1969 in the wake of opposition gains in federal and state elections. Taking place primarily in mixed Malay and Chinese urban areas of Kuala Lumpur and Penang, organized *silat* fighters were the vanguard of anti-Chinese hostilities. The date stands as a seminal moment for politics and race relations in Malaysian history. In the forty-three years of uninterrupted BN rule since then, the government has kept it mostly off-limits for public discussion, while also invoking the specter of its rioting and violence in order to intimidate political opposition. May 13 was pivotal for *silat*, as it heralded a resurgence of martially-inclined groups, as well as their greater participation in electoral politics and the Malay-dominated armed forces. Cheah notes that this was not exclusive to the Malays, as “other racial groups had begun to put emphasis on the martial arts too” citing *karate*, *judo*, and *kung tow* (Cheah, 2003, p. xvii).

In the post-May 13 political environment of the 1970s, *agama*, *bangsa*, *dan negara* ideologies grew prominently in public discourse, and a new phenomenon of national *silat* organizations with large memberships appeared alongside a plethora of smaller groups based in various religious and mystic beliefs like the *Tentera Sabilillah*. The BN government came to terms with some of these groups by co-opting those who they considered supporters: providing access to a broad system of political patronage, funds to build new training and performance facilities, and lucrative government concessions for *silat* leaders. And those whom the government perceived as public threats were banned – a paradigm paralleling how they have dealt with (and continue to deal with) growing trends of Islamization in the country.

### The Advent of National *Silat* Bodies

During the 1970s, one of the most significant challenges to the government came internally from a *silat* group called *Nasrul Haq*, led by the “charismatic” Minister for Culture, Youth, and Sports, Abdul Samad Bin Idris. Judith Nagata describes the organization as “an interesting blend of ethnic chauvinism...[and] Islamic revival” whose stated objectives were to protect their “holy religion, their race and their country, for which they were willing to shed their blood” (Nagata, 1980, p. 434). Religious fundamentalism, however, was not their foremost concern, as Mohammad Abu Bakar writes, they were “more an expression of Malay nationalism if not an embodiment of the political ambitions of its leaders” (Abu Bakar, 1981, p. 1045). In other words, *Nasrul Haq*, which by 1978 was purported to have amassed a three-hundred-thousand-strong membership, had become a *silat* militia under the direction of one rising politician.

*Nasrul Haq* was banned that same year – conveniently, during the run up to a national election – predicated on religious grounds that it was “deviationist”. Among the indictments were that its leader assumed the Arabic title, *khalifah*, or “caliph”, and the ostensibly un-Islamic Hindu title *mahaguru*, or “great teacher”. Illustrative of the selective nature of the government’s actions, in later years, these same titles would generate no controversy whatsoever when bestowed by *silat* organizations upon various public figures (including the current prime minister).

In addition to *Nasrul Haq*, the years following May 13 saw the rise of several other *perguruan silat* to national and even trans-national prominence. Three of the largest were *Pertubuhan Silat Seni Gayong Malaysia* (PSSGM), *Pertubuhan Seni Silat Cekak Malaysia* (PSSCM), and *Pertubuhan Seni Silat Lincah Malaysia* (PSSLM) – heretofore referred to as *Gayong*, *Cekak*, and *Lincah*, respectively.

In their national manifestations, these three groups have freely employed expressions of *agama*, *bangsa*, *dan negara*, explicit support for the BN government, and popular mythologies in order to present themselves in a particularly mainstream Malay manner, with deep roots in the past and present. *Gayong* and *Cekak* histories both highlight the passing of *silat* traditions from court to *kampung*. For example, *Cekak* claims its pedigree in the early-nineteenth-century Kedah court of

Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II, whose reign remains a traumatic memory of defeat and occupation at the hands of the Siamese, and the dismembering of the kingdom from its previous, perhaps overly-imagined glory. Its founding story tells of how, in 1925, the last *Cekak* warrior taught the form to a commoner – ending the exclusivity with the palace, but preserving the tradition among Malays (*Sejarah*, n.d.). *Gayong* claims as its founder Daeng Kuning, a nineteenth-century Bugis warrior-prince in Malaya who married a Pattani princess (*Sejarah Silat Gayong*, n.d.). The local lineage continued in the palace until entering the public domain during the Japanese occupation, when Daeng's great-grandson, Meor Abdul Rahman, taught *kampung* folk in Singapore to successfully defend themselves. The *Lincah* story differs somewhat, and occurs later, probably around the 1950s, when the mystique of monarchy had greatly diminished. Its founder, the aforementioned Omardin Mauju, has created a mystique of authenticity by retroactively connecting himself to Malay history and traditions, such as through ceremonies on Pulau Besar in Malacca (an important site in pre-colonial mythology) that installed him as *Mahaguru*; in the *Sajak Lincah* (*Lincah Poem*) that connects him to the righteous Malaccan warrior, Hang Jebat, known for having uttered the famous words “*Raja adil raja disembah, raja zalim raja disanggah*” (the just king is to be worshipped, the tyrannical king, to be fought against); and his biography that claims he “confirmed” his esoteric knowledge by travelling to Mecca in Saudi Arabia (*Sejarah Lincah*, n.d.).

Through the use of mythology, imagery, religion, and the state these *silat* groups broaden their connections to hegemonic Malay power. Some of the better contemporary examples of these connections are the *Gayong* and *Cekak* organizational videos that state their *agama, bangsa, dan negara* ideologies in song and verse, using production values that resemble insipid indoctrinational sing-a-long songs broadcast throughout the day on state-run television. These feature lyrics in familiar *pantun* and *sy'air* poetic forms that flash by on the screen to up-tempo, patriotic march-style musical accompaniment (*Cekak*), or sounding like a 1970s, minor-key, Malaysian film song (*Gayong*).

The markers of Malay-ness in these tunes include (for *Gayong*) references to fertile rice fields in the mythical birthplace of Melayu in Palembang, Sumatra; service and devotion to the rulers; spiritual purity; heeding the admonishments of the forbears; the *keris* dagger and the warrior's act of drawing it out from its sheath; Malacca and the acquisition of the Javanese *keris*, Taming Sari; and legendary Malaccan warrior Hang Tuah's oath, “*tidak Melayu hilang di dunia*,” that “Malays will not disappear from the face of the earth” (*Sajak dan Lagu Gayong*, n.d.). For *Cekak*, themes include preservation of Malay heritage, service and cooperation, respect for teachers and knowledge, and to struggle to defend “religion, race, and nation” (*Pantun*, n.d.).

### **Silat and Electoral Politics**

*Silat Gayong, Cekak, and Lincah* would unite under the aegis of a national *silat* council, the idea of which was first mooted during the *Nasrul Haq* period, and finally came into being in 1983, taking its current name, the National Federation of Malaysian *Silat* (PESAKA), in 1986. PESAKA produces standards governing *silat* and *gendang silat* competitions from local to national levels, affecting movement, form, musical accompaniment, and attire, and became a channel through which the federal government could exercise control over *silat* by certifying teachers and integrating *silat* and *gendang silat* into the educational system.

Concurrent with those developments in the 1980s, the BN government targeted marginal, occult-based *silat* groups through religious edicts and police actions. But the largest threat to their entrenched interests was coming from Islamic religious movements. Whereas the growth of national *silat* during the 1970s took place in an environment of Malay ethnic nationalism, in the 1980s, the central political struggle among Malays was between Malay nationalists of UMNO and internationalist religious scholars of the opposition Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS). This conflict led to what Farish Noor describes as “fighting Islam with Islam,” where the two parties were locked in a constant struggle to show they were more Islamic than the other (Noor, 2003, p. 205).

PAS' fortunes had been rising and falling for decades, and their ideologies had metamorphosed from nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s, to ethnic chauvinism in the 1970s, to espousing a more doctrinaire and austere form of Islam that has been spreading through transnational missionary movements since the 1980s. This latter trend helped shift Malaysian electoral politics toward the right, and at times leading the BN government, with its virtual monopoly over public and

private media, to demonize PAS as extremist (outdone only by the often-disquieting words and actions of PAS themselves).

In 1998, a *reformasi* “reformation” movement produced a serious challenge to UMNO as a large-scale exodus led many party members to join PAS. In the year 2000, amid political instability, a curious incident occurred in which a small and obscure occult *silat* group called *Al-Ma'unah* raided weapons from a remote army camp, prompting a high-profile crackdown by the government on so-called radical deviationist groups. Around this time, well-known writer and opposition iconoclast, Raja Petra Kamarudin, was among several detained without trial and interrogated about *silat* fighters said to have been imported along with arms and munitions from Indonesia to fight alongside the *reformasi* movement (Kamaruddin, 2012). Prime Minister Mahathir, speaking specifically in regard to *silat* groups, stated his government’s policy at the time as thus: “*silat* groups that only wish to learn self-defense; this is not wrong, but if they have other aims, that is indeed wrong and we will act against them,” adding ominously, “but we have to know their deepest intentions” (Utusan Online, 2000). Considering the peculiar circumstances of *Al-Ma'unah*, many believe the government to have fabricated the incident. However, the linking *silat* and deviationist occultists to PAS was successful in changing public opinion among moderate Malays and non-Muslim Malaysians who deserted PAS in the subsequent federal elections of 2004.

Electoral politics shifted once again in 2008 when opposition groups made their strongest gains, percentage-wise, in parliamentary elections since 1969. In contrast to the ruling coalition, they had a multi-racial character, and perhaps no better reflections of this were the non-Muslim PAS Supporters’ Clubs that appeared around the country during and after the election, as well as the spirit of inter-ethnic cooperation that pervaded the opposition’s campaign. At this time PAS began providing *silat* training sessions, such as one I participated in a small town in mostly rural Kedah State. These sessions began or ended with an hour-long *ceramah* “religious lecture”, and included other manners of reinforcing solidarity and community (and PAS’ ideological world view and grass-roots political strategy) among participants such as overnight outings and team competitions.

However, the “feel-good,” multi-racial, inter-ethnic cooperation generated a correspondingly larger voice for sectarian Malay groups in the (state-sanctioned) media, which included some strikingly provocative statements and symbolic acts by several prominent *silat* institutions including PESAKA, *Lincah*, and *Gayong*, and the events mentioned at the outset of this paper. The government reacted to the 2011 *Bersih* protests as it did to other challenges to its hegemony: through arrests, religious edicts, threats, and intimidation, either directly, or through its surrogates. Oardin, who at age seventy offered to personally lead the fight from his wheelchair, acknowledged in no uncertain terms, that the largest national *silat* organization was a de-facto government militia. And elsewhere in the country, small protests by coalitions of *silat* organizations and sectarian Malay groups targeted *Bersih* with police reports and physical threats. The image of fair-election protesters being set upon by *pesilat* in a decidedly non-defensive manner hardly seemed rhetorical. On the advice of Malaysia’s king, *Bersih* organizers decided to move their rally to a stadium – which, ultimately, did not come to be, but gave Oardin space to pull back on his threat. Prime Minister Najib pressed onward though, expressing his confidence to an audience of *pesilat Lincah* that they would “rise up against the evil enemy no matter from within or outside the country because of their loyalty to King and country” (Berita Harian Online, 2011). Despite the concessions, the *Bersih* rally did take place on the streets of the capital; fortunately, a *silat* war neither arose at that time, nor during the subsequent rally that took place this past May, similar threats notwithstanding.

## Conclusions

*Silat* as a vehicle for expressing Malay-ness has mirrored transformations to Malay society in the decades since the appearance of *Tentera Sabilillah*, projecting various identifications with ethnicity, religion, and the state. Looking to the near future and impending elections of 2012 or 2013 and beyond – attention should be given to unfolding events with issues discussed here in mind, particularly in regards to the growing challenge to the BN government by an ethnically plural opposition. Malaysia’s political stability may be just as precarious as the government suggests, and perhaps in no small part due to their active patronage of militant chauvinistic Malay groups for whom *silat* embodies power and ideology, and may be at the vanguard of a reactionary backlash. What is of most concern is a scenario

of *silat*-driven violence such as that which occurred during the interregnum or on May 13, which remains a strong possibility in the event of further opposition gains – or an outright change of government – should politics by other means fail.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, several papers on *silat* published in Mohd Anis Md Nor (Ed.) (2011), and Farrer (2009).

<sup>2</sup> Recent works on Malay identity include Milner (2008) and Kahn (2006). Shamsul (1997), Nagata (1980), and Noor (2003) discuss contemporary Islamic ideology in Malaysia.

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**ABSTRACTS (PRESENTERS WHO DID NOT SUBMIT THEIR PAPERS)**

**RANDAL BAIER (USA)**  
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**MUSIC IN THE TOURIST LANDSCAPE: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SUNDANESE ANGKLUNG ENSEMBLE**

Any landscape, whether pictorial or actual, is transformed by the presence of human beings. What would the presence of musicians imply? Does a landscape, for instance a photograph, become a space for performance by presence of a musical ensemble? How do the assemblage of photographic documentation, tourist photographs, studio portraits, and “snapshots” convey or purposefully create this musical presence? During the Dutch colonial period of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, photographs of the Sundanese *angklung* ensemble appeared as studio postcards, touring book illustrations and exhibition catalogs. These media were used to promote Dutch and foreign tourism both outside and within the Indies, as Indonesia was known at the time. Curiously, analogous patterns of “glocalized” promotion persist in West Java today.

*Angklung*, so named because of its onomatopoeic sound, marks indigenous identity in the Sundanese landscape. Typically troupes of *angklung* players, children as well as adults, performed during ceremonial occasions, and today as in the past, are frequently employed to entertain tourists at hotels and other destinations. Although photography itself moved from the studio into the field during the Dutch colonial period, in certain ways these photographs of musical performance remained posed and static, defying what later became Cartier-Bresson’s modernist dictum of “the decisive moment.” It is my contention that a style of imagery that we might call “ensemble as tableau,” in conjunction with descriptions emphasizing the simplicity and sweetness of *angklung*’s musical sound, combined to create a kind of visual nostalgia in the tourist imaginary of the period. By analogy, these tableaux continue by the manner in which the ensemble is incorporated into contemporary Indonesian media culture. In order to convey these ideas, the presentation will incorporate filed recordings of *angklung* ensembles in addition to photographs from major visual archives in the Netherlands.

**JOSÉ BUENCONSEJO (Philippines)**  
University of the Philippines

**FURY IN PARADISE: AN AMERICAN MUSICAL STEREOTYPE OF ZAMBOANGA, PHILIPPINES (1937)**

Since the annexation of the Philippine Islands into the American empire in 1898, Americans viewed the Moslems, a group of non-Christian tributes of “Malay stock” in Mindanao, as civilized yet aggressive. This paper explores the manifestation of the colonialist gaze in the film *Zamboanga* (subtitled in English “Fury in Paradise”), which was co-produced in 1936-1937 by Filipinos and Americans during the Commonwealth period (1935-1941). Directed by Filipino mestizo actor and director Marvin Edward Gardner (screen name Eduardo de Castro [1907-1955]) with a cast of mostly Filipino “natives,” the film is obviously an orientalist spectacle full of local color. The film is a multimedia version of travel writing. It employs the musical score of noted Hollywood film music composer of that period, Dr. Edward Kilenyi (1884-1968). In the musical score, he utilized late-19<sup>th</sup> century romantic music but juxtaposed this with traditional musical sounds, some of which were not from Zamboanga itself, e.g., Hawaiian slack-key guitar and Javanese *pesindhen* signing that accompanies a courtly dance. The film, however, also showed diegetic music of gong music by the Moslems with war dance.

I will argue that the incorporation of these non-Filipino musics into this film, the oldest surviving film produced by Filipinos, was meant to emphasize the colonialist perception of Zamboanga: the Hawaiian sound evoked the trope of “tropical paradise”, the Javanese refined music depicted the Malay civilization, and Moslem aggressivity is portrayed by the indigenous war dances accompanied by gongs-in-a-row *kulintangan*.

**JAMES D. CHOPYAK (USA)**  
California State University at Sacramento

**THE MANY VERSIONS OF THE MALAYSIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM, NEGARA KU, MY COUNTRY**

It has been previously established that the Malaysian National anthem is based on the Perak State anthem and that is based on the song, known and officially banned in Malaysia as *Terang Bulan*. There is also a Hawaiian version of this song called *Mamula Moon* and it is done by Felix Mendelssohn and his Hawaiian Serenaders somewhere in the 1940s. The former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad wanted a faster version of this anthem which has been referred to by Malaysian musicians as the “Circus Band” version of the anthem. Recently there was a rap version done on the World Wide Web. This paper explores all of these origins of the song, which is known today in Malaysia as *Negara Ku, My Country*.

**MA. ALEXANDRA IÑIGO CHUA (Philippines)**  
University of Sto. Tomas

**HISPANIC VILLANCICOS IN 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MANILA: MUSINGS ON REPRESENTATION, APPROPRIATION AND IDENTITY IN MUSIC**

*Villancico*, a localized Iberian musico-poetic form, has been widely cultivated and subsequently transplanted amongst Christianized areas in the Philippines beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Generally, *villancico* refers to a genre of sacred songs that were sung in Spanish or the vernacular. Later in the course of its musical development, it became more popularly known as a Christmas carol.

The re-emergence of the anthology *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad Manila* published in Manila in 1871 can contribute and expand to the existing and limited knowledge of this genre. Included in this collection are nine *villancicos* that are representative of the various styles and forms of this particular musical genus. These compositions have been subjected to a critical, textual and musical analysis, which hopes to address issues of cultural representation in addition to ruminations on musical appropriation. It is from the *villancico* that various Philippine traditional forms such as the *daygon* and *pastores* came about. Local composers composed in the tradition of the *villancico* that contributed to the growth and development of this genre in the country. As an appropriated musical form, the *villancico*, can therefore be viewed to problematize relations in culture, as well as, the concept of power, class, and identity amongst the colonizers and the colonized in an attempt to demonstrate the phenomenon of Hispanism in the distant East.

**SHOU-FAN HSIEH (Taiwan)**  
Tainan National University of the Arts

**MUSIC, MIGRANTS AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES: MUSICAL ACTIVITIES OF INDONESIAN MIGRANTS IN TAIWAN AND THEIR DIASPORIC PHENOMENA**

Indonesian migrants in Taiwan conveyed their national and cultural identity within their scatters. They use collective memory and vision to maintain and restore their cultural ties with their ancestral homeland and try to construct an imagined community. They even integrate Indonesian musical genres with Taiwanese music to create new musical varieties. Consequently, music activities are not only the essence of socio-cultural systematic production, but also the important manner to the innovation of their shared cultural identity system in the dominant cultural environments.

This paper will describe and analyze the host environment of Taiwan that offers Indonesian migrants with novel opportunities to create their new performing styles of traditional Indonesian music and dance with Taiwanese performing elements. Here I would like to propose the cases of Indonesian *dangdut* music and *Kuda-lumping* trance dance in Taiwan. Both have become the music and dance hybridizations that allow the migrants to express specific modes of longing and belonging, as

Indonesian musical diaspora co-opts the dominant cultural forms of Taiwan. For understanding the diasporic phenomena of Indonesian culture in Taiwan, this paper will also illuminate the influence of unique historical, economic and political examination on Indonesian migrants in Taiwan, and how Indonesian migrants formed their cultural identity and consciousness via their musical activities.

**LI JIA (China)**

University of the Philippines

### **GENRE FORMATION OF PINOY POP MUSIC: PERCEPTION DISCREPANCY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY**

As a historically colonized archipelago, Philippines has been at the front in transplanting Western cultures and music from a much opener stance than other ASEAN countries. Filipino rock stars like Bobby Gonzales (1942-2002), Eddie Mesa (1941-present), etc., became popular shortly after the rising of star hood of Elvis Presley in the 1950s. However, this process of music cultural transplantation has intrinsically mingled with the revival of national identity. This mixture churned out such genres as “pinoy rock”, “pinoy reggae”, “pinoy hip hop”, and so on.

This paper relies on both historical and ethnographical data to try to understand how the ideological contextualization (installation of national identity) of music as culture contributes to genre formation and its transformation. Furthermore, it tries to evaluate whether there are discrepancies in the perceptions of pop music genres in the Philippines among the stake holders (mass media, the audience, the musicians and academicians). Towards the end, this paper seeks to come up with recommendations on how to bridge the gap of perception in pop music genres among the stake holders, thus reaching a maximum level of ideological unanimity within the society.

**ANDREW C. MCGRAW (USA)**

University of Richmond

### **THE ETHICAL-AESTHETICS OF I WAYAN SADRA (1953-2011)**

In this paper I outline the ethical-aesthetic philosophy of the Balinese composer I Wayan Sadra. Social transformations in the *reformasi* encouraged Sadra towards a populist mode as compared to his more “avant-garde” works of the 1980s-1990s. Despite this aesthetic evolution, Sadra was consistently concerned with a critique of totalitarianism and class oppression. The experiments through which these ideas were expressed evolved into a philosophy of freeing sound itself from the perceived boundaries of culture and class. During the *reformasi* Sadra articulated two principle concepts of composition: *transmedium*, by which he meant a form of transformative intercultural music transference, and *musik dialektis* in which he reimagined the relationship between the composer, art and society. I argue that while the artistic manifestations of this concepts appeared highly variable and sometimes contradictory – intersecting boundaries of “conceptual art,” “modernist composition,” “jazz,” and “pop” – Sadra’s oeuvre embodies a consistent effort to dissolve the perceived antithesis between several interlocking conceptual binaries: individual and communal, modern and traditional, serious and popular.

These apparent binaries emerge from a conceptual essentialism that suggests neat boundaries between the ethical regimes of autonomy and community. Western ethnographers have tended to figure Indonesians and especially the Balinese (when in their natural, “traditional” state) as narrowly embodying an aesthetics of community. By contrast, the West – and especially America – is imagined to embody an ethics of autonomy. Sadra’s praxis demonstrates that deontological modes co-constitute the subject. Actors live in the constant dynamic tension between duties and obligations to both the individual and the collective.

**NEAL MATHERNE (USA)**  
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**REMEMBERING MACEDA: UGNAYAN AND NATIONAL MEMORY IN THE PHILIPPINES**

On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1974, residents of many metropolitan areas of the Philippines assembled with their transistor radios to participate in *Ugnayan*, a musical work by ethnomusicologist and composer Jose Maceda. *Ugnayan* featured Filipina/s folk instruments on twenty separately recorded audio tracks, intended for broadcast on twenty radio stations. Encouraged by the news of media, local bosses, and Imelda Marcos herself, ordinary citizens joined together at their designated local *Ugnayan* center and tuned their radios to one of the many assigned stations in order to share in a unique musical experience by listening to the sounds of bamboo zithers, buzzers, whistle flutes, and other indigenous Filipino musical instruments. Jose Maceda envisioned *Ugnayan* as a musical experiment in technological, spatial, timbral and social interaction in the early years of the Marcos Martial Law Era.

My paper is an archival and ethnographic investigation of *Ugnayan* and the ways in which both composition and composer have been commemorated. By consulting primary sources at the Jose Maceda Collection (Center for Ethnomusicology), I describe the intentions and media hype that surrounded the first performance. Through interviews with participants and performers of *Ugnayan*, I describe a composition whose attributed meanings have changed over time. I am currently conducting research on music and national memory in the Philippines and exploring the subfield of historical ethnomusicology by borrowing theory and methodology from historical anthropology and memory studies while expanding both fields with a consideration of expressive culture. By considering how *Ugnayan* is remembered and re-figured in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, I discuss the possibility of separating *Ugnayan* from the context of its original performance.

**MI HYUN OH (Philippines)**  
University of the Philippines

**EMOTION AND REPRESENTATION IN *KASFALA* RECONTEXTUALIZATION AMONG THE SARANGANI BLAAN PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN MINDANAO, PHILIPPINES**

Emotion is a process involving a special kind of affective appraisal and cognitive monitoring of certain situation (Robinson, 2005). It is an evaluation of the environment in terms of subjectivity. In this paper, I examine how emotion is represented in a recontextualized *Kasfala*, meaning conflict management, among the Blaan people in Sarangani Province in Southern Mindanao, Philippines. *Kasfala* is an important collective social activity that aims for reconciliation and settlement, fellowship, and development and unity. In *Kasfala*, two kinds of conversational channels are involved. These are *melēm* which is sung narrative and *unsay* which is formal speech.

A musical investigation of *melēm* reveals that emotion is represented in the repetition of minor intervals and pitch segments evoking sadness, quietness, melancholy and isolation. The lament and self-compassion are characterized by general pitch fluctuation featuring a gliding pitch contour, modal structures with flexible tone arrangements, extensive use of minor intervals that continuously repeat in size and preferred pitch level.

**MAYCO A. SANTAELLA (USA)**  
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

**NATIONALIZING KAKULA: THE WORKS OF HASAN BAHASYUAN IN CENTRAL  
SULAWESI**

The archipelago of Indonesia consisting of over 17,000 islands is a nation-state that encompasses both varied and vibrant dominant and marginalized cultures. After the proclamation of independence in 1945 and following the national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (roughly “Unity in Diversity”), the government that has had a continuous role in the construction of a national cultural identity. Following this national project, composers throughout the country began creating new works that included traditional instruments from their region. In Palu, Central Sulawesi, the works of the composer Hasan Bahasyuan have represented the province and instigated the legacy of the new genre of *kreasi baru* (new creation) in the region. This paper analyzes the use of traditional instruments and their tuning systems in the works of Hasan Bahasyuan, and through them the manner in which Central Sulawesi becomes part of Indonesia’s national cultural identity.

In order to analyze the newer compositions, this paper will look at the traditional forms of the gong-row tradition known as *kakula* in Palu. Understanding *kakula* as participatory and *kakula kreasi baru* as presentational this paper analyzes differences in repertoire, style, and function. Rather than conceiving the newer form as an “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm, 1983), it becomes the result of developing the traditional ensemble into the new Indonesian genre of *kreasi baru*. As it is also the case in South Sulawesi (Sutton, 2002), with varying circumstances and contexts, this process is still part of a Dutch colonial rule and later of Indonesian rule with a Javanese-dominated hegemonic culture.



PASEA chair, 2nd Symposium Program Chair and Local Arrangements Chair



2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium Volunteers, from left Cynthia C. Afable, Jose Buenconsejo, Lilymae Montano, Mi Hyun Oh, Felicidad E. Prudente, Christine de Vera, Leo Rempola & Kristina Benitez



Participants of the 2nd Symposium



PASEA Business Meeting



Proceedings and books on sale during the symposium



Panel on Tuning Systems in Southeast Asia: Made Mantle Hood, John Garzoli, Mayco A. Santaella, Kristina Benitez



Discussant Ricardo Trimillos, Presenters Randal Baier, James Chopyak



Panel on Movement Arts and the Southeast Asian Body in a Filipino Context: Discussant Ricardo Trimillos and Presenters Bernard Ellorin, Wayland Quintero, Desiree A. Quintero



Presenters Sarah A. Andrieu, Sumarsam introduced by David Harnish, Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan

Acehnese Sitting-Dance Workshop by Alfira O'Sullivan



