Java

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Central and East Java	***R. Anderson Sutton***
Cirebon	***Endo Suanda***
Sunda	***Sean Williams***

Java is part of the chain of active volcanoes that encircles the Pacific Ocean and extends along the Indonesian Archipelago. A long, narrow island, it has steep, terraced mountains and broad plains. Its urban centers resemble dense villages, as the cities have spread out and enveloped their suburbs. An intensely fertile rice-growing area, it supports millions of inhabitants.

Java is home to two main ethnic groups: the Javanese (the largest proportion of the Indonesian population), and the Sundanese, who occupy large parts of the western portion of the island. In addition, Java has the nation's capital, Jakarta, on the northwest coast. Jakarta is the national melting pot, where hundreds of thousands of migrants from other areas of Indonesia and outside the country have established a base. Indonesians of Chinese descent, a large minority in each of Java's urban areas, maintain cultural traditions separate from those of the Sundanese and the Javanese.

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

The island has three provinces (West Java, Central Java, East Java) and two special regions (Yogyakarta and Jakarta), distinguished from the others because of their function as cultural and political centers. Each province is locally perceived as different from the others, and within each province, certain localities maintain separate cultural identities. Close to the border between West and Central Java are two culturally distinct areas: Cirebon (on the north coast of West Java) and Banyumas (close to the south coast of West Central Java). Each exhibits a Sundanese-Javanese blend of language and musical culture. East Java includes both the eastern portion of Java and Madura, a linguistically and culturally distinct island. The culture of East Java shows influence from the Hindu island of Bali and its minority population, descended from Indian immigrants.

The coastal and central traditions of Java differ in many ways; because coastal culture inherently looks outward, it has absorbed many more off-island influences. Java is now a primarily Muslim island, but Islam entered via the coastal cities. Crucial aspects of regional divisions within Java are (1) that centers are more important than

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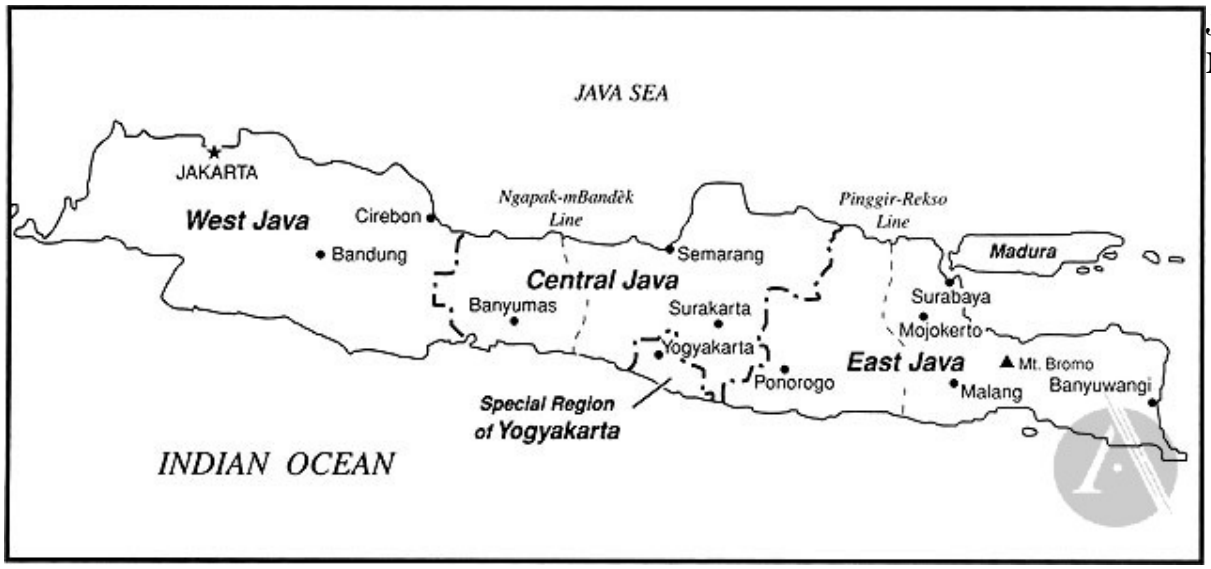

Java
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peripheries, and (2) that spheres of influence overlap and intersect with others. These aspects make the delineation of Java's internal musical boundaries a difficult enterprise.

The primary vehicle for musical expression in Java is the gamelan, a gong-chime ensemble that includes large hanging gongs, rows of small kettle-gongs and gong chimes, metallophones, barrel-shaped drums, and sometimes a bamboo flute, a plucked zither, or a bowed spike lute. The ensemble performs for a variety of events, including instrumental music or the instrumental accompaniment of voice, dance, or theater. These performances may occur as part of a ritual or sacred calendrical event, or as part of a governmental function or commercial venture. Each performance reflects features of a particular genre or trait. In the following sections, the authors highlight musical features important to each area.

CENTRAL AND EAST JAVA

The island of Java has an exceedingly rich musical heritage, representing several major cultural groups and regional traditions. With roughly 100 million people on an island of less than about 130,000 square kilometers, *Java* is also one of the most densely populated areas of the world. The urban sprawl that characterizes some of Java's largest cities is rapidly encroaching on the countryside, but large portions of Java include expansive areas of rice fields, and the island is home to numerous active volcanoes. Though the term Java denotes the entire island, the eastern two-thirds of the island is the culturally Javanese region. The western third, Sunda, is the home of the Sundanese, whose language, music, and culture differ from those of the Javanese (see "Cirebon" and "Sunda," below).

The Javanese language has multiple honorific levels for many items of vocabulary: vernacular "Low Javanese," used by persons of higher status speaking to those of lower status, and by intimate friends; and one or several levels of "High Javanese," used by persons of lower status speaking to those of higher status, and by those of more or less equal status who are not on intimate terms. Use of the higher honorific levels is most characteristic of areas near the central Javanese courts, but manipulation

Page Image of linguistic levels is essential to dialects of Javanese from Banyumas (west-central Java) to Blambangan (eastern tip of Java).

Various indigenously rooted musical traditions thrive in Java alongside an array of popular, mostly Western-influenced genres. This article presents an overview of the indigenous traditions of the

Javanese, focusing on the music of ensembles known as gamelan [see also P OPULAR M usic AND C ULTURAL P OLITICS].

The Javanese have the longest recorded history of any of the peoples of Indonesia, dating back nearly two thousand years. Major influences have come from India, China, West Asia, Europe, and the Americas. The earliest evidence of musical activity in Java consists of the remnants of several large bronze kettledrums, thought to have been introduced from the Đông Son culture of mainland Southeast Asia and southern China. Indian influence in Java dates back at least to the fifth century. Bas-reliefs on Hindu temples and Buddhist structures in Java depict a variety of instruments, mostly derived from India, that were once probably in use, at least within the royal courts. Small Hindu temples on the Dieng plateau in central Java about A.D. 750 depict small bells, small cymbals, a three-stringed lute, and a bar zither (Kunst 1973:107). The reliefs on the Borobudur, the monumental Buddhist stupa built in south-central Java in the 800s, present a vast array of musical instruments, including shell and straight trumpets, side-blown flutes, end-blown flutes (or double-reed aerophones),mouth organs, lutes, bar zithers, arched harps, double-headed drums, a xylophone, bells, and a knobbed kettle-gong (Kunst 1973:107). Similar instruments are also represented in the reliefs of the tenth-century Hindu temple complex Laro Jonggrang, at Prambanan.

During the early Hindu-Javanese period (fifth through eleventh centuries), courtly centers of power were located in central Java, especially in the area of Mataram, south-central Java, near the present-day city of Yogyakarta. Rule then shifted to east Java, with courts located near the present-day cities of Kediri and Singosari. The Hindu-Javanese period culminated with the Majapahit Empire, centered near present-day Mojokerto in east Java, and lasted from about the 1200s until the end of the 1400s. East Javanese temple reliefs give evidence of additional kinds of instruments, including the banana-shaped *kemanak*, a dumbbell-shaped *réyong* (still occasionally used in Balinese *gamelan angklung*), and a multistringed zither (like the present-day *siter* or *celempung*; see below).

Evidence of musical and theatrical activity in Hindu-Javanese times is found not only in the temple reliefs, but also in literature written in Kawi (Old Javanese), a language whose script and vocabulary are closely related to Sanskrit. From this literature we learn of noisy percussive ensembles used in battles, wind and stringed instruments accompanying female dancers at court, and the existence of masked dance and shadow puppetry—all of which were to undergo substantial transformation, but not eradication, with the rise of Islam and the coming of Western colonials.

Muslim traders introduced Islam to Java over the course of several centuries, primarily along the north coast. By about 1500, the strength of Islam in Java had apparently forced the Hindu courtiers to disperse, mostly to the island of Bali, or to remote areas of east Java: Mount Bromo (east of Malang, home of the present-day Tengger Javanese) and Blambangan (the eastern tip of Java, home of the present-day Osing Javanese). A series of Muslim courts rose and fell, first in areas near the north coast east of Semarang (Demak, Kudus) and then in the south-central Javanese region of Mataram. The immediate musical ramifications are not clear; the instrument most closely associated with Islam in Java today— *terbang*, a frame drum—had already been mentioned in *Smaradhana*, a twelfth-century literary work. The adoption of Islam does not seem to have radically altered musical practices. The rendering of poetry in song (*tembang*), the playing of ensembles of predominantly percussive

Page Image instruments (*tetabuhan*), and various combinations of these two seem to have been practiced at all levels, from court to remote hamlet, for many centuries down to the present.

In the early 1500s, visitors from Europe first made their appearance in Java. A century later, they had established what was the beginning of three centuries of colonial rule. Before reaching eastern Indonesia, Portuguese seafarers had arrived, introducing plucked lutes and a vocal style whose

influence can still be heard in Indonesian *kroncong* [see P OPULAR M USIC AND C ULTURAL P OLITICS]. From the first arrival of the Dutch East-India Company (1596) until the government of the Netherlands took over the company (1800), this private company, with substantial military force at its disposal, took ever greater control of the island of Java. Pitting rival Javanese rulers against one another, it radically transformed the political and cultural map. A dispute over succession between members of the central Javanese royal family, manipulated by the Dutch, resulted in 1755 in the division of Javanese royal power into two rival courts in south-central Java, only 60 kilometers from one another: Surakarta (also called Solo) and Yogyakarta (also called Yogya). Further rivalries a few years later (1757) and again during the period of British rule (1811-1816) produced further divisions with the addition of two lesser courts, the Mangkunegaran in Surakarta and the Pakualaman in Yogyakarta.

Despite the growing presence of European music, from military marching bands to various kinds of entertainment music (see Notosudirdjo 1990), indigenous musical practice appears to have had little European influence, at least with regard to musical instruments, scales, or style of performance. Rather, conceptions about music—even the idea of music as an art, separate from other categories of human expression—seem to have been the most substantial form of Western influence until the 1980s. Nevertheless Javanese rulers came to value Western music with indigenous ensemble music as part of their regalia. And during the twentieth century, particularly with the advent of mass media (radio and recordings), various forms of Western and Western-influenced music have become widely known by the Javanese, from urban elite to peasant farmers.

The occupation of Java by Japanese troops (1942-1945) was followed by the Indonesian revolution (1945-1949) and the final expulsion of the Dutch. Throughout these upheavals and the subsequent era of independence, indigenous musical traditions of Java have persisted, undergoing varying degrees of change in function, substance, and meaning.

Cultural geography

Though one can speak of Javanese music in reference to instruments, genres, repertoire, and performance style, many aspects of it are widely acknowledged to have originated in one region or at one court, and to represent the aesthetic sensibilities of one subcultural or social group.

The predominant tradition of gamelan music throughout all of Java is the courtderived tradition of Surakarta (or Solonese style), in the province of Central Java. (In the present article, *Central Java*, with uppercase *C*, refers to the province, and *central Java* to the broad cultural region, including Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and other areas culturally central Javanese.) Through radio, recordings on cassette, and live performance, this music is now heard frequently in areas as remote from Surakarta as Banyuwangi (at the eastern tip of Java), and elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago where Javanese have migrated. It is sometimes simply called Javanese or central Javanese, but musicians and informed listeners continue to identify it as Solonese style (*gaya Solo*). It consists of a vast repertoire of pieces, most of which emphasize

Page Image intricate and florid vocal and instrumental lines. It is quintessentially *alus*—a term implying refinement, subtlety, and smoothness.

Within the heartland of south central Java, the Yogyanese cultural tradition contrasts with that of Surakarta. Music in Yogyanese style can be heard throughout much of the Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (Special Region of Yogyakarta), a small area with the status of a province within the Republic of Indonesia and governed by the sultan of Yogyakarta. However, this music is nurtured most consistently by the musicians of the Yogyakarta court (*kraton*) and among the elite. Other musicians in the Special Region of Yogyakarta tend to prefer Solonese style or to mix styles and

repertoires.

Though based on many of the same principles and drawing on similar repertoire,Yogyanese music tends to be more *gagab* 'strong, robust' and *prasaja* 'forthright, austere'. Yogyanese and Solonese agree that for the most part Yogyanese style represents older practice associated with the Mataram court before the division of Java. Yet whereas Yogyanese argue that their tradition is therefore more legitimate, Solonese argue that Yogyanese music is more archaic and Solonese more progressive. Indeed, certain stylistic elements in Yogyanese practice suggest it is an older tradition; but because the two courts have sought to define themselves in opposition to one another, both traditions have undergone substantial change.

Moving away from these two central Javanese courts, one encounters differing degrees of regional variation. Many names can be found for particular genres—combinations of voices, instruments, dance, or theater—that may be known in only one small town. Some of these are described by Kunst (1973 [1934]) and by Pigeaud (1938), others by Javanese students in their undergraduate and graduate theses at the schools and colleges of performing arts. It would be inappropriate even to try to list all of these in this context, but Javanese identify substantial regional subcultural areas whose local traditions of music and performance are readily distinguishable from those of the court centers.

The north-coastal region of Central Java, known as *pasisir*, is the site of a stronger Muslim tradition than found elsewhere in Java. There, ensembles combining voices with the accompaniment of *terbang* are prominent, with popular genres, such as *qasidah*, that draw heavily on Arabic musical style. In addition, a few gamelan pieces and a unique local style in Semarang suggest a distinctive Semarang gamelan tradition may once have thrived, though Solonese influence has been strong there since the 1920s. Several vocal pieces from this area employ a unique scale, closer to a Western diatonic scale than to Javanese scalar systems. These are sometimes heard accompanied by gamelan instruments—in which case the vocal part stands out by its maintenance of the nongamelan scale.

In the southwestern region of the province of Central Java, inhabitants of the former residency (a Dutch administrative unit) of Banyumas support a variety of local genres that make up a thriving local tradition. These include not only gamelan music, but several small bamboo ensembles (*calung, angklung*), vocal music (*macapat*),

Page Image trance-dance (*èbèg*) music, and vocal imitation of gamelan (*jemblung*) (see Lysloff 1990b; Sutton 1985b, 1986a, 1986b). Banyumas lies west of the *Ngapak-mBandhèk* line, a cultural boundary that runs from east of Tegal on the north coast of Java, south through Banjarnegara to the south coast. The boundary is defined by many traits, including artistic practice, food, dress, and dialect. Banyumas dialect is distinguished from other forms of Javanese, not only by words and phrases unique to the region, but also by pronunciation of words it shares in common with other Javanese dialects. Banyumas music tends to be lively and spirited, often with a strong element of humor. During the 1970s and 1980s, the gamelan music of Banyumas gained popularity among musicians in other parts of Java.

The province of East Java is culturally more complex than either Central Java or the Special Region of Yogyakarta. In cultural orientation, the portion west of the Brantas River—the cultural boundary often called *pinggir-rekso* 'guarded edge, guarded border', a line dating back to the eleventh-century rule of King Airlangga—is mostly central Javanese. East of it, in the middle portion of the province (areas around Surabaya, Malang, and Mojokerto) are the east Javanese (*arèk* Javanese), including the Tengger. (In the present article this area is called eastern Java, in contrast to the province of East Java.) The island of Madura, part of East Java, is home to the Madurese. Extensive contact with the Javanese over many centuries notwithstanding, the Madurese speak a separate language and maintain arts and culture that differ substantially from any of the Javanese subgroups. Over the past

several centuries, Madurese have migrated in large numbers to the eastern portion of the island of Java, where they have maintained a distinctive identity. At the easternmost tip of the island are Osing Javanese of Banyuwangi and rural Blambangan, who speak a dialect of Javanese and practice a range of characteristic performing arts bearing resemblances to several Balinese genres.

Residents of East Java tend to see themselves, and to be judged by others, as more *kasar* 'coarse, rough, opposite of *alus'* than central Javanese; musical traditions throughout the province reflect this contrast. The drumming, for example, in various ensembles among the *arèk* Javanese, the Madurese, and the Osing Javanese, can be loud and syncopated—often complex, seldom subtle. Especially among the *arèk* Javanese (and the central Javanese of this province), the music of the mainstream Solonese tradition has gained increasing prominence, providing a refined alternative to local practice without eradicating it. Nevertheless, strong central Javanese influence has caused concern among some musicians and local officials. To define this province culturally, official governmental directives have encouraged the support of certain genres and practices that contrast most clearly with the Solonese tradition of Central Java, giving greater legitimacy to arts indigenous to East Java and inspiring new combinations of repertoire and style from diverse groups within the province.

Through the mass media, in particular among the several star individuals and performing groups most frequently represented on commercial cassettes, borrowing and blending across subcultural boundaries has become increasingly popular. But even as this blending produces a measure of homogenization, it highlights regional differences. Java's cultural geography is in flux but remains diverse, making it necessary to avoid broad generalizations about Javanese music.

Review of the scholarly literature

References to music appear in Old Javanese literature dating back a thousand years and in early accounts by Chinese and Western visitors. Musical scholarship by Javanese and Western writers began during the 1800s and has intensified through the 1900s. The encyclopedic poem *Serat Centhini*, documented in its most often cited recension during the early 1800s at the court of Surakarta, contains lists of pieces and

Page Image descriptions of music, dancing, and theatrical performances witnessed during the wanderings of several young men (Paku Buwana V 1986-1991; Soeradipura et al. 1912-1915). In a two-volume compendium on Javanese culture, Thomas Stamford Raffles (1817) offers descriptions of musical instruments and practices in a manner more thorough than any offered by Dutch writers previously. Several decades later, writings by Cornets de Groot, Dutch administrator of Gresik, East Java, were published; he described musical ensembles, including an eastern Javanese *gamelan surabayan*, and listed repertoire and performance context (Cornets de Groot 1852). The Yogyanese *Pakem Wirama*, a prose manuscript begun in 1889, with accretions probably through the 1920s, contains not only lists of instruments and extensive description of musical practice but represents in notation several instrumental parts for more than seven hundred pieces in the Yogyanese repertoire (Kertanegara et al. 1889-?). Portions of this work, translated by Hardja Susilo, appear in Hood 1984. The Dutch scholar Groneman (1890) contributed the first published book on Javanese music, describing musical practice at the Yogyakarta and Pakualaman courts and providing examples of indigenous notation, with a score in Western notation.

During the early 1900s, Djakoeb and Wignjaroemeksa published two volumes: one a description of gamelan music and its contexts of performance (1913), the other containing the main instrumental part for 128 Solonese *gendhing* (gamelan pieces) in cipher notation (1919). Other books of notation were published (Komisi Pasinaon Nabuh Gamelan 1924, 1925), with articles pertaining to gamelan. During the 1920s, with the establishment of the Java Instituut and its journal *Djawa* (that is, Java), scholarly publications grew substantially. J. S. Brandts Buys (often with his wife, A. Brandts Buys—

Van Zijp) wrote extensively, not only about gamelan (1921, 1929) but also about musical instruments and practices away from the courts—in rural areas of central Java (1925), and in Banyuwangi (1926) and Madura (1928).

The most prolific scholar on Javanese music between 1900 and 1950 was Jaap Kunst. His study of musical instruments during the Hindu-Javanese period (1968 [1927]) is the most authoritative source on early Javanese music, based on extensive reference to temple reliefs, archaeological evidence, and literary citations. His monumental work *De Toonkunst van Java*, translated and revised as *Music in Java: Its History, Its Theory, and Its Technique* (1973 [1934]), is a comprehensive scholarly study that remains the major resource on Javanese music, emphasizing the major court traditions of Yogya and Solo, but covering many varieties of Javanese music. Careful and detailed description and copious illustrations represent exemplary ethnographic work, now of great historical value. Kunst's attempt in it to fit Javanese instrumental tunings with Hornbostel's theory of overblown fifths was inconclusive and has long since been dismissed, but his other theoretical inquiries into such Javanese concepts as *pathet* (modal classification) have proven insightful, often serving as a springboard of inspiration for future scholars.

Among other Dutch works, Pigeaud's *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* (1938) stands out as an encyclopedic source devoted primarily to dance and drama, but with valuable data on musical accompaniment for many genres throughout Java. Complementing the Dutch sources is Warsadiningrat's history, rich in anecdotes, of the Solonese musical tradition (completed in 1944, published in 1972 and in English in 1987).

Following the Indonesian Revolution, scholarly studies of Javanese music have proliferated. Two substantial studies by Javanese scholars teaching at formal music schools in Surakarta—formerly KONSER and ASKI, now SMKI and STSI (Indonesian University of the Arts), respectively—have provided a widely cited canon. Sindoesawarno's *Ilmu Karawitan* (1987 [1955]) presents systematic discussion of basic Javanese musical concepts including tunings, formal structure of gamelan

Page Image pieces, tempo and subdivision levels (*irama*), modal classifications (*pathet*), and instrumental variations (*cèngkok / garapan*). In a more comprehensive, two-volume study, *Catatan-catatan Pengetahuan Karawitan* (1984 [1969, 1972a]), Martopangrawit offers a general explanation of formal structures, melodic phrasing, and the techniques and aesthetics of variation; a complex theory of *pathet* (based primarily on performances on the multi-octave metallophone *gendèr*); a detailed discussion of the various pentatonic orientations within the seven-tone *pélog* scale; and remarks on singing. Martopangrawit also wrote and edited numerous books of musical notation (notably 1972b, 1973, 1975, 1976), used as standard references by students in Solo and elsewhere.

Western scholars and some younger Javanese scholars in recent decades have tended to focus on particular Javanese musico-theoretical questions, or on cultural contextual issues. Foremost among these has been the issue of the nature and determinants of *pathet*. Mantle Hood's dissertation (1954) argues that *pathet* classification is based on the main melodic theme, especially its cadential patterns, played on single-octave metallophones (*saron*). To address this question, Judith Becker's dissertation (1980 [1972]), though primarily concerned with musical change, draws on a larger corpus of pieces than Hood, and on the theoretical writings of Sindoesawarno and Martopangrawit. Though limiting her inquiry to the part played by the *saron*, she bases her theory on a multi-octave conception of melodic contour, proposing that contours, levels of pitch, and positions within the rhythmic framework of a piece combine to determine its *pathet*.

Drawing on the work of Martopangrawit and on Sumarsam's knowledge of performance practice, a brief study by McDermott and Sumarsam (1975) goes beyond the *saron* part, in either its single-

octave form or multi-octave conception, to identify *pathet* in *gendèr* patterns (*cèngkok*) and to show *pathet* change (or modulation) within certain pieces. In a master's thesis (1987 [1973]), Susan Walton proposes two systems of *pathet*, one relating to instrumental pieces, the other to vocal and vocally oriented parts within pieces that combine instruments and song. Referring to these and other sources, Harold Powers (1980) offers a neat summary of the complexities of the *pathet* question. In a comprehensive analysis of *pathet* in the *pélog* system, Sri Hastanto (1985) goes beyond previous theorists.

The absence of an absolute standard for determining intervals in the tuning of Javanese instruments has intrigued scholars since Alexander J. Ellis (1884) studied the issue. Trying to support Hornbostel's theory of overblown fifths, Kunst (1973 [1934]) measured intervals on many gamelans, but he limited his measurements to one octave. With tone-measurement data from several Javanese gamelans in California, Hood (1966) proposed a new understanding of Javanese scalar systems, demonstrating patterns of stretched and compressed octaves over the seven-octave range of a full gamelan. A team of researchers at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, conducted a statistical study (Surjodiningrat et al. 1972) measuring intervals in fifty-eight gamelans in the royal courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, arriving at a more complex view than that proposed by Hood. In a dissertation, Martin Hatch (1980) analyzed interval structure and tuning from the perspective of vocal music, suggesting relationships between the size of intervals and *pathet*. Roger Vetter (1989) offers a retrospective on these and other studies on tunings, including early works.

Another topic attracting scholarly interest has been Javanese performance. Heins has written on tempo and subdivision in performance (1969), on music in the context of courtly dances (1967), and on cueing in shadow-puppet performances (1970). Susilo (1984) and Sumarsam (1984a) have described musical practice in dance-drama (*wayang wong*) and shadow puppetry, respectively.

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Numerous works have addressed variation and improvisation in instrumental and vocal performance (*garapan* 'treatment', 'working out'). Hood (1971, 1988) writes of "group improvisation" constrained by a list of identifiable factors, including *pathet*, formal structure, and context. In a dissertation, R. Anderson Sutton (1982, revision published 1993) argues that Javanese musical practice should be understood as variation—in the relation between parts heard simultaneously (heterophony), in the repetition of parts over time, and even in the process of composition. Javanese studies of *garapan* include not only various books of notation, but Rahayu Supanggah's dissertation (1985) on performance in the Solonese gamelan tradition. Relating to *garapan* is the multi-octave, vocally oriented melodic construct that Sumarsam (1975a, 1984b) and others have called inner melody (*lagu batin*). A similar concept, more instrumentally oriented, is discussed by Sutton (1979).

The issue of formal structure in gamelan pieces—patterns of cyclic repetition and rhythmic coincidence—is mentioned at least briefly in many studies but has been covered most insightfully by Hoffman (1978), J. Becker (1979a), and Becker and Becker (1981), each of whom relates Javanese musical structures to Javanese concepts of time and history. Other studies devoted to analysis of musical structures include linguistic approaches applied to *garapan* (Sutton 1978) and to the genre *srepegan* and related pieces (Becker and Becker 1983 [1979], critiqued in Perlman 1983; and Hughes 1988).

Several important studies have been devoted to vocal music. Margaret Kartomi's dissertation (1973a [1968]) applies extant theories, including Hood's identification of *pathet*-based cadential formulas, to repertoires of Javanese song (*tembang macapat*). Rüdiger Schumacher (1980) notates, translates, and analyzes the songs of the Javanese puppeteer-narrator (*dhalang*). Hatch (1980) offers a wide-ranging study of Javanese singing in relation to literature, history, and Javanese aesthetics, including

a lengthy chapter on a famous singer, Nyi Bei Mardusari. Walton's study (1987 [1973]) also emphasizes vocal music, analyzing female singers' melodic formulas. Sutton (1984a, revised version 1989) focuses on female singers' social roles in present and historical contexts.

Major scholars have addressed questions of ancient history and recent change. In 1970, Hood, drawing on Javanese legends and photographic evidence of bronze drum-chime performances in southern China, theorized that Javanese gongs and gong-chime ensembles originated in bronze drums. The first of his trilogy on Javanese gamelan music is largely a historical novel elaborating this theory (1980). With focus on two twentieth-century composers (Ki Wasitodiningrat and Ki Nartosabdho), Judith Becker (1980) shows how gamelan music, in response to political and social upheaval, has undergone substantial changes, particularly since national independence. Becker's concern with historical change is also reflected in her work on cyclic structure and rhythmic coincidence (1979a; Becker and Becker 1981), her study of music of the 1970s (1979b), and her interpretive article on gamelan, metal-working,

Page Image and the Javanese worldview (1988). Hatch proposes greater attention by scholars to Javanese musical history (1979) and addresses changes in vocal music and its contexts (1976). In a richly detailed study, Jennifer Lindsay (1985, Indonesian translation published in 1991) offers considerable historical depth and analysis of musical and cultural change in Yogyakarta.

Lindsay's work is also one of several studies devoted to music within a particular regional or local tradition. Others focusing on Yogyakarta are Vetter (1986) on court music and Sutton (1984b) on the tension between court and regional culture. Margaret Kartomi has written important articles on music in rural Java: on ceremonies involving trance in the Banyumas and Semarang areas of Central Java (1973b), and on the processional genre *réyog* of Ponorogo, East Java (1976). Sutton (1985a, 1991a) has addressed issues of regionalism in musical traditions throughout the central and eastern Javanese areas. Philip Yampolsky's discography of the national recording company (1987) identifies many genres and trends by region. Works by René Lysloff (1990a, 1990b) and other works by Sutton (1985b, 1986a, 1986b) cover Banyumas in detail. Crawford (1980) provides a brief but valuable overview of traditions in East Java Province. Paul Arthur Wolbers offers historical background and description of several genres in Banyuwangi (1986, 1987, 1989).

Most of the works mentioned above contribute to an understanding of Javanese musical aesthetics. The works of J. Becker (1979a, 1980), Becker and Becker (1981), Hatch (1980), and Sutton (1982, 1993) in particular propose interpretations relating music to other realms of Javanese experience. Ward Keeler also presents compelling interpretive work on aesthetics in several studies (1975, 1987).

Since colonial times, not much work has been done on rural traditions, particularly those showing little relationship to gamelan. Nor has attention been given to the growing presence of Western music in Java, with the exception of Notosudirdjo's master's thesis (1990) on Western music in nineteenth-century Java.

Musical instruments

Javanese culture emphasizes percussive ensembles, usually incorporating one or more knobbed gongs and drums. The larger of these ensembles are usually called gamelans, sets of instruments unified by shared tuning, and often by decorative carvings and paintings. Gamelans exist in multiple configurations at the courts and throughout Java. This section offers, first, a description of the instruments that make up the large, court-derived gamelans of central Java, with comments on differences between Yogyanese and Solonese variants. Coverage of regional variants, instrumental construction, symbolic significance, special ritual ensembles, and other instruments follows.

A large central Javanese gamelan consists mostly of knobbed gongs and metalslab percussive

instruments augmented by several drums and other instruments (figures 1 and 2). Instruments are tuned either to a version of the *sléndro* scale (five tones with nearly equidistant intervals, usually notated 1-2-3-5-6) or to a version of the *pélog* scale (seven tones with large and small intervals, usually notated 1-2-3-4-5-6-7). Large gamelans (*gamelan seprangkat* or *gamelan sléndro-pélog*) include a complete set of instruments in both scalar systems, but a gamelan can be considered complete with sufficient instruments of one or the other system. Gamelan pieces (*gendhing*) are either in *sléndro* or in *pélog;* the two systems are used together only rarely—in one ritual piece, and in some late-twentieth-century experimental works.

The Javanese categorize instruments in several ways—by shape and construction of the sounding part of the instrument, by shape and construction of the resonator or suspending device, by placement in relation to other instruments (front and back),

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FIGU
The
knob
gong
meta
instruments of a central Javanese court gamelan (Surakarta style). Photo by R. Anderson Sutton

by association with instrumental or vocal music (loud and soft), by performance technique (one-handed or two-handed), and by musical function (melodic, rhythmic, and so on). The definitions below are grouped by the first of these systems. On the classification of Javanese instruments, see also Kartomi (1990).

Knobbed gongs **(pencon)**

Gong ageng, largest hanging gong, suspended vertically by rope from a wooden rack (*gayor*); usually one or two per gamelan; in low Javanese *gong gedhé*, often called simply gong.

Siyem, medium hanging gong, suspended vertically by rope from a wooden rack; usually one to four per gamelan; also called *gong suwukan*.

Kempul, small hanging gong, suspended vertically by rope from a wooden rack; usually from three to five in *sléndro* and three to six in *pélog*.

FIGU
Fema
singe
pesindhèn) and hanging gongs of a central Javanese gamelan (Yogyakarta style). The writing ins
the hanging gongs indicates the degree of pitch and the name of the gamelan (the *pélog* ensembl
Kyahi Sirat Madu and the *sléndro* ensemble Kyahi Madu Kéntir). Photo by R. Anderson Sutton.

Page Image

Kenong, large, deep-rimmed kettle-gong, resting horizontally on rope or string in a wooden frame (*rancakan*); usually five in *sléndro* and six in *pélog* (omitting pitch 4).

Kethuk, small kettle-gong, resting horizontally on string in wooden frame; one for each scale.

Kempyang, pair of small kettle-gongs, resting horizontally on string in wooden frame; for *pélog* only.

Bonang barung, set of ten, twelve, or fourteen kettle-gongs resting horizontally on strings in a wooden frame in two parallel rows; one for each scale; often called simply *bonang*, in eastern Java known as *bonang babok*.

Bonang panerus, like *bonang barung*, but an octave higher; one for each scale.

Of the knobbed gong instruments, the *gong ageng, siyem*, and *kempul* are struck with a rounded, padded beater; the others with stick beaters padded with wound string.

***Keyed instruments* (wilahan)**

Saron demung, largest and lowest-register member of the *saron* family; six or seven thick metal keys resting over a trough resonator (*rancakan*) or, in some areas, a box resonator (*kijingan*); usually one or two in each scalar system; usually called *demung*.

Saron barung, middle-sized member of the *saron* family, like *demung*, but one octave higher;

usually two to four in each scale; also called *saron ricik*, or simply *saron*.

Saron peking, smallest-sized member of the *saron* family, like *saron barung*, but one octave higher; one, or occasionally two, for each scale; also called *saron panerus*, or simply *peking*.

Gendèr slenthem, six or seven broad, thin metal keys, each suspended by string over individual bamboo or metal tuned resonators (*bumbung*) in a wooden frame (*rancakan*); one for each scale; also called *gendèr panembung*, more often simply *slenthem*.

Gendèr barung, like *gendèr slenthem*, but with twelve to fourteen narrow, thin metal keys; one for *sléndro*, two for *pélog*: one in pentatonic *bem* scale (tones 1, 2, 3, 5, 6); and one in pentatonic *barang* scale (2, 3, 5, 6, 7); often referred to simply as *gendèr*, in eastern Java known as *gendèr babok*.

Gendèr panerus, like *gendèr barung*, but one octave higher: one for *sléndro*, two for *pélog*; one in *bem*, one in *barang*.

Gambang kayu, xylophone with seventeen to twenty-three wooden keys resting over a wooden box resonator (*grobogan*); one for *sléndro*, one or two for *pélog*: if two, one in *bem*, one in *barang*, like *gendèr*, if only one, keys tuned to tone 1 (for *bem*) and tone 7 (for *barang*) are used interchangeably (and called *sorogan* 'exchange'), depending on the piece; usually referred to simply as *gambang*.

Of the keyed instruments, the *saron* instruments are struck with bare wooden mallets, the *gendèr* instruments and *gambang* with softly padded disc beaters.

Other melodic instruments

Celempung 'zither', supported at about a thirty-degree angle on four legs, with twenty to twenty-six metal strings arranged in ten to thirteen double courses; plucked with the thumbnails of both hands and damped with the fingers; one for *sléndro*, one or two for *pélog*: if two, one tuned to *bem*, the other to *barang* (compare *gendèr*); otherwise, tuned to one or the other, depending on the piece (compare *gambang*).

Siter, small zither, resting on the floor or in a wooden frame, with ten to twenty-six metal strings in single or double courses; same technique of playing as *celempung*; one for *sléndro*, one or two for *pélog*.

Page Image

Suling, end-blown bamboo notched ring flute; one for *sléndro*, one or two for *pélog*.

Rebab, spike fiddle, with one string wrapped around a peg at the lower end, providing two playing filaments, tuned about a fifth apart, and with a small wooden resonator covered by a membrane; one or two per gamelan.

Percussion instruments

Kendhang gendhing, largest hand-played drum, with two heads laced onto a barrel-shaped shell; one per gamelan; also called *kendhang bem* and *kendhang gedhé*.

Kendhang ciblon, middle-sized hand-played drum, same construction as *kend-hang gendhing*, but smaller; also called *kendhang batangan*, or simply *ciblon* and *batangan*.

Kendhang ketipung, smallest hand-played drum, same construction as *kendhang ciblon*, but smaller; also called *kendhang penunthung*, or simply *ketipung*.

Bedhug, large stick-beaten barrel drum, with two heads tacked onto a cylindrical shell, suspended in a wooden rack; one per gamelan.

Other instruments frequently encountered in gamelan performance are the *keprak*, a wooden box

used to accompany dancing, and the instruments played by the puppeteer-narrator (*dhalang*) in shadow-puppet performances: metal plaques (*kecrèk*) and the large wooden chest in which puppets are stored, both struck by a wooden knocker (*cempala*). (The puppeteer-narrator also strikes the *kecrèk* with his toes when both hands are occupied.) Rarer, but essential for certain pieces, is the pair of banana-shaped metal idiophones known as *kemanak*.

In performance, no ensemble is complete without female solo singers (*pesindhèn*) and a male chorus (*gérong*); however, some pieces or sections of pieces are strictly instrumental, employing only the instruments of the loud-playing (*soran*) ensemble: *gong ageng, siyem, kempul, kenong, kethuk, kempyang, engkuk-kemong, bonang* family, *saron* family, *gendèr slenthem, kendhang* family, *bedhug*.

Pieces or sections with vocalists feature the soft-playing (*lirihan*) ensemble, though usually with all or most of the loud-playing ensemble being played softly: *gendèr barung, gendèr panerus, gambang kayu, celempung* and/or *siter, suling*, rebab, vocalists (*pesindhèn* and *gérong*).

Soft-playing instruments are usually in the front of the ensemble, nearest to the audience, with the largest gong instruments in the back and the *saron* family in the middle. Instruments are usually arranged either parallel or at right angles to one another, suggesting coordination with cardinal directions; otherwise, the precise arrangement is not standardized.

Regional variation in instrumentation

Though gamelans throughout Java are quite similar to one another in many respects, slight differences in instrumentation, range, appearance, and timbre distinguish them

Page Image by region. Many of the finest ensembles of Yogyakarta use an additional set of *bonang*, known as *bonang panembung* and tuned an octave lower than *bonang barung*. Solonese gamelans often include *engkuk-kemong*, a pair of kettle-gongs either suspended vertically or resting horizontally in a frame, used only for *sléndro*. Solonese gamelans accompanying *wayang kulit* usually contain one, or occasionally two, nine-keyed *saron*, in addition to or instead of the saron barung; these are called either *saron sanga* (from *sanga* 'nine') or *saron wayang*. Solonese wayang accompaniment is likely to use in place of the *ciblon* a slightly larger drum, the *kendhang wayang*.

In the region of Banyumas, large gamelans contain all or most of the instruments listed above (except *bedhug*) and with a small *ketipung* set up on its end, rather than resting in a stand or lying on the floor (compare Sundanese *kulanter*). Eastern Javanese gamelans are characterized by the presence of a heavy-shelled, thick-skinned drum known as *gambyak*, capable of producing a loud, crackling sound, one of the most outstanding features of eastern Javanese ensemble music. Another gamelan instrument typical of eastern Java is the *ponggang*, a set of medium-sized kettle-gongs somewhat smaller than *kenong* and tuned an octave lower. The instrument known as *slenthem* in east Java is often not a *gendèr* type (with keys suspended over tube resonators), but essentially a low-pitched *saron* with knobbed keys, struck with a padded beater rather than a bare wooden mallet (found in some older central Javanese ensembles with the name *slentho*).

Yogyanese instruments tend to be larger and louder, especially the *bonang* and *saron* families, than those of other regions. Solonese carving and ornamentation of instrument cases tends toward the most filigree and greatest use of motifs of a mythical snake (*naga*). The curls at each end of the wooden resonator on Yogyanese *saron* tilt upward, in contrast to those of the Solonese, which curl downward. Eastern Javanese *saron* resonators, in contrast to either, are often made in *kijingan* style (planks of wood, rather than carved from a single log).

The construction of gamelan instruments

The metal gamelan instruments are manufactured from bronze (*gangsa*), brass (*kuningan*), or iron (*wesi*), with strong preference for bronze, the most sonorous, the most durable, and the most expensive. Bronze instruments are mostly forged, or sometimes cast in rough form and then forged. The varieties of knobbed-gong instruments are usually entirely forged in a lengthy and difficult process that may take as long as one month in the case of the *gong ageng*. Gongsmiths shape the molten bronze through repeated hammering and heating, forming first the flat face of the gong, then the shoulders, and finally the knob (Jacobson and van Hasselt 1975 [1907]).

Bronze gongs and keys take twenty to thirty years before their pitch is completely settled. New instruments may undergo radical change in pitch—a minor third, or even more—during the first several years after their manufacture. They require frequent retuning, a demanding process: keys are filed (in the center to lower pitch, at the edges to raise it). Gongs may be filed for fine adjustments, but must be hammered into a slightly different shape to change the pitch markedly. Javanese often express a preference for older instruments, partly because of the impracticality and expense of retuning. It is also said that the mixture of copper and tin in the older bronze was better than in the bronze used currently, and the sound of the older instruments is sweeter, richer, less harsh.

Metalworkers in some societies occupy a low social rank, but in Java those who make bronze gamelan instruments and the fine laminated daggers (*kris*) for which Java is also famous are honored. The process of transforming molten metal into sonorous objects or weapons is believed to be fraught with danger from the spiritual

Page Image world, and the resulting gongs or krises are often imbued with magical power. Smiths undergo ritual preparation, fasting, and abstinence from sexual intercourse, and may assume mythical identities during the actual forging of these objects, with the head smith becoming the Javanese mythical prince Panji and the others becoming Panji's family and servants (Kunst 1973[1934]:138). Not all gamelan instruments are believed to be spiritually powerful, but many sets and even individual instruments are venerated with honorific names, and are periodically given offerings of incense and food. The names range from those suggesting stately power, such as Kyahi "Harja Negara" (Venerable "Prosperous Realm") to more whimsical titles, such as Kyahi "Kanyut Mèsem" (Venerable "Tempted to Smile"). The name, with the carving, the painting, and the tuning, make each gamelan a unique entity whose instruments belong together as a set, altogether different in ethos from a Western ensemble (orchestra, quartet, and so on).

Ceremonial gamelans

In addition to large gamelans (*gamelan gedhé, gamelan lengkap*) are several varieties of ceremonial gamelan, old ensembles whose use has been restricted to rituals among royalty and nobility. Considered the most ancient is the type known as *gamelan munggang*, still used to accompany solemn processions and formerly accompanying a range of courtly activities and public tournaments. A three-toned ensemble, it consists mostly of large kettle-gongs: large three-kettled *bonang*, several *penontong* (like *kenong*, usually suspended), and one *kethuk*. Two *gong ageng*, a large *kendhang gendhing* and *ketipung*, and a pair of cymbals (*rojèh*) complete the ensemble.

Another three-toned ensemble, often played with a *gendèr* (Solonese) or several *saron* (Yogyanese), is *gamelan kodhok ngorèk* 'croaking frog'. It is similar to the *gamelan munggang*, but with smaller *bonang* kettles (six or eight per instrument) and, in some versions, bell trees (known variously as *gentha, klinthing, byong*, or *kembang delima*) and/or small cymbals (*kecicèr*). This ensemble accompanies rites of passage, such as weddings and circumcisions, and formerly accompanied public spectacles in which a tiger was speared or matched to fight a water buffalo.

Also used for festive occasions and associated primarily with royalty and high-ranking officials is the

gamelan cara balèn (*cara* 'way', 'manner'; *balèn* can mean 'return', 'repeat', but also 'as in Bali'), which, like the *munggang* and the *kodhok ngorèk*, consists predominantly of large knobbed-gong instruments, but tuned to either four or six tones in *pélog*. These include large single-rowed *bonang* (the lower-pitched female set called *gambyong*, the higher male set called *klènang*), *gong ageng*, one or two large *kenong*, one or two large *penontong*, and two *kendhang*. The name of the ensemble is believed to derive either from its resemblance to Balinese gamelans, or to its short, repeating ostinatos. For certain pieces, these ensembles were formerly played with larger *pélog* ensembles.

Most imposing of the ceremonial gamelans are several *gamelan sekat*i, which play during much of the Muslim holy week (sixth through twelfth of the Javanese month of Mulud, corresponding with the Islamic month of Rabi 1). These are *pélog* ensembles, consisting of large *saron*, two *gong ageng, kempyang*, a *bedhug* (no *kendhang*), and one double-rowed *bonang*, played by two players, one of whom is flanked by two additional kettles. (The high, male row serves as *kenong*.) Both the Solo and Yogya courts house two *gamelan sekati*. Carried out of the palace through the large north square (*alun-alun*) to special pavilions on the grounds of the large mosque (located in both Solo and Yogya just west of the *alun-alun*), they play in alternation throughout much of the day and well into the night, drawing spectators from the city and surrounding villages (Kunst 1973; Sumarsam 1981; Toth 1970).

Page Image

FIGU
Singe
danc
accompanied by the Banyumas *calung*; on the right, the audience is partly visible. Photo by R. Anderson Sutton.

Other ensembles and instruments

The number of combinations of instruments in central and eastern Java is extraordinarily large. Many are described briefly by Kunst (1973) and Pigeaud (1938). Here it will suffice to mention several ensembles prominent within a particular region, with several types of ensembles widespread throughout Java.

In central Java, one finds small gamelans. Those consisting mostly of soft-playing instruments, without *bonang* or *saron*, are called *gamelan klenèngan* or *gamelan gadhon*. In place of the *gong ageng*, these often substitute a *gong kemodhong*, consisting of two large keys tuned slightly apart and producing a sound resembling that of the gong. For other knobbed-gong instruments (*kempul, kenong, kethuk, bonang*), some itinerant gamelans (*gamelan thuk-brul, gamelan mondrèng, gamelan ringgeng*, and others) substitute metal-keyed instruments, usually of iron.

In the region of Banyumas, the bamboo-xylophone ensemble *calung* is quite popular. It usually consists of two multi-octave bamboo xylophones (one known variously as *gambang penodhos, gambang penggedhé, gambang pengarep*, or *gambang barung*, the other as *gambang panerus*), two single-octave bamboo xylophones (known as *slenthem* and *kethuk-kenong*), a blown bamboo gong, and two small *kendhang*. This ensemble accompanies one or more singer-dancers known as *lènggèr* (or sometimes *ronggèng*) (figure 3). Closely related but less common are *angklung* ensembles, in which the two multi-octave *gambang* and the *slenthem* are replaced by a single set of fifteen or so shaken bamboo idiophones (*angklung*), played by three musicians.

In Banyuwangi, East Java, one finds two distinctive ensembles: one known as *gandrung* (after the female singer-dancer it accompanies), the other as *angklung* (after one of its main instruments, though markedly different from the Banyumas *angklung*). The *gandrung* consists of two Western violins (*biola*), two *kethuk*, a *kempul*, a small gong, a triangle (*kluncing*), and two *kendhang*. It is played mainly at social occasions at which men in the audience are enticed to dance with one or more *gandrung* (female singer-dancers), the centers of attention. Larger, the *angklung* of Banyuwangi incorporates some of the *gandrung* instruments, with others—mostly percussion idiophones. It takes its name from the *angklung*, which here refers not to a shaken bamboo idiophone, but to a multi-octave bamboo xylophone set in a high frame. The ensemble contains a pair of Banyuwangi *angklung*, with three registers of nine-keyed metallophones (*slenthem, saron barung, saron panerus*, all usually of iron), and occasionally adds a bamboo flute (*suling*) or a double-reed aerophone (*tètèt*). In addition

Page Image to accompanying dance and song, Banyuwangi *angklung* ensembles are now used in remarkable and often fiercely competitive musical contests (*angklung caruk*) (Wolbers 1987).

Throughout central and eastern Java, under various local names (*kuda képang, èbèg, jaranan, jathilan*, and others), one finds hobbyhorse-trance dance troupes, usually accompanied by *kendhang* or several single-headed conical drums (*dhog-dhog*), two small gongs, and one or more other melodic instruments: *saron*, double-reed aerophone, *angklung* (the shaken variety), and even *bonang*. Similar ensembles, featuring a double-reed (*slomprèt*), accompany *réyog Ponorogo*, the best-known variant of the processional genres of dance known as *réyog*. And people in certain parts of East Java, especially the Madurese, use small percussion ensembles (*sronèn*) that feature a similar double reed. More purely drum ensembles also exist, such as the *réyog kendhang* of Tulungagung, East Java, with many *dhog-dhog* and just one small kettle gong. Also widespread, particularly in more devout Muslim circles in rural areas, are *terbangan*, ensembles consisting mostly or sometimes entirely of single-headed frame drums. These accompany groups singing in Javanese or Arabic for numerous genres of music (*genjringan, slawatan, jani-janèn*) related to Islamic themes. In central Java, *terbang* sometimes accompany vocal music in *gérongan* (male-chorus) style, mostly from the standard gamelan repertoire, in a performance genre known as *laras madya* (or *santiswaran*).

Western instruments that now abound in Java, from saxophones to synthesizers, are discussed briefly in the section on popular music below. Despite incongruities in tuning, Western wind instruments and field drums have been used in combination with some of the *pélog* gamelan pieces in the Yogyakarta courtly repertoire. And instruments inspired by Western military music (fifes and

drums) have long been used for Javanese soldiers' music (*prajuritan*), with indigenous gongs (*bendé*) and cymbals (*kecèr*).

Solo instruments are rare in Java. The main one is the slit drum *kenthongan*, primarily a village signaling device. A large rice-pounding block (*lesung*) may serve as such an instrument, played by several players, each pounding a separate rhythm with a large pole, resulting in interlocking timbres.

Music, dance, theater

Musical activity in Java is usually intended in part to entertain its listeners, but this entertainment is often an integral component of ritual ceremony. Other than Western or Western-influenced popular music, the music one is most likely to hear in Java today is that which accompanies dance or theater—many genres of which are themselves most frequently performed for rituals, such as weddings, circumcisions, anniversaries, business openings, and so forth. So-called concerts of music, with an audience intended to listen attentively to a series of musical pieces in the manner of an audience for Western art music, have only recently been staged. One hears gamelan

Page Image music without dance or drama broadcast on radio and television, on commercial cassette recordings, and live only at events called *uyon-uyon* (Yogya) or *klenèngan* (Solo and eastern Java). Some of the repertoire for these events can be heard also in the accompaniment of dance and theater, and even the patterns of drumming often follow the traditional choreographies of an imagined female dancer, the flirtatious *gambyong*.

Relaxed and informal, an *uyon-uyon* or *klenèngan* permits extensive social interaction among the parties present: the host family, the musicians, the invited guests, and the uninvited guests (neighbors and passers-by who wish to stop by to listen). These performances are usually sponsored as part of a rite of passage (a wedding, a circumcision) or an anniversary, and are intended both to entertain and to contribute to the maintenance of balance between the supernatural realm and the human realm. Performing the music is therefore important in its own right, independent from the attention and appreciation by any audience, who may be busy conversing and hearing the performance only as background music.

It is not unusual for the musicians at one of these events to perform through most of a night, beginning shortly after dusk and ending only at three or four in the morning. The hosts normally give the musicians several full meals during the performance, and keep them well supplied with snacks, tea, coffee, and, in some cases, liquor. The invited guests are also served meals and beverages (though liquor is rarely offered to guests) and provided with places to sit—either on mats or in chairs. The uninvited guests, though welcome to listen, are not provided with seats, nor are they served food and beverages. (They might purchase refreshments from stalls set up by people selling drinks, snacks, and cigarettes.) Most of those who attend, whether invited or uninvited, leave long before the event is over. And while they are present, some pay greater attention to the music than do others. Those most interested in the music might offer their praise of a particular player or singer and request a favorite piece. The musicians vary the types of pieces they perform, starting with more subdued and austere pieces and choosing increasingly lively pieces as the evening progresses.

Musicians almost always wear traditional Javanese clothing: batik wraparound skirts for both women and men, patterned blouses (*kebaya*) for women, and long-sleeved jackets (*surjan* or *beskap*) and turban (*blangkon* or *iket*) for men. Invited guests are likely to dress somewhat more formally than they do in daily life, either in modified Western clothing or in traditional dress.

Ceremonial gamelans (*munggang, kodhok ngorèk, cara balèn, sekati*) are exceptional in their use exclusively for the portions of ritual ceremonies that do not involve either dance or drama. Yet the *munggang* and the *kodhok ngorèk* both may accompany some kind of action (procession, meeting of

bride and bridegroom). In recent years, the special styles and repertoires of all these gamelans have inspired dance and theatrical accompaniment in which ceremonial pieces and techniques are transferred to the larger, "standard" gamelans.

For some Javanese, various kinds of chanting and choral singing to the accompaniment of *terbang* serve in a ritual capacity similar to that of gamelan music. *Terbang* music is preferred by those who identify most closely with Islam of a more or less orthodox variety (the *santri* Javanese), rather than its blend with indigenous Javanese and Hindu-Buddhist elements (the *abangan* Javanese); on this distinction, see Geertz (1960). In some genres, *terbang* musicians dance as they play or sing, often in a sitting position, recalling styles of Islamic performance in the Muslim areas of other islands, such as the *saman* of the Gayo in Sumatra.

Itinerant troupes of musicians and dancer-actors are not so numerous today as they were a generation or two ago. Nevertheless, in the 1970s and 1980s one still

Page Image encountered small troupes who would either perform for a particular ritual occasion (hired by a family hosting a wedding or a circumcision ceremony, for example) or simply set up in a public place and request remuneration from those who watch. Several varieties of such troupes have been most prominent. Hobbyhorse trance-dance performers and musicians seem now to be the most common. Some varieties (*barongan*) add the figure of a mythical lion (*barong*), danced usually by two persons. The activity of the entranced dancers, usually accompanied by short interlocking ostinatos in fast tempo, fascinates onlookers and can range from moving like an animal to eating glass. Other related genres—such as *réyog Ponorogo*, which includes masked dancers, one with an extraordinarily large peacock-feather headdress (Kartomi 1976)—may not involve trance.

Singer-dancers

Also widespread until the 1960s were small troupes consisting of several musicians with a reduced set of gamelan instruments (a *saron*, a gong, a *gendèr*, a *kendhang*) and one or more singer-dancers (either female or male in female attire for dancing). The singer-dancers were known variously as *talèdhèk* (central Java), *lènggèr* (Banyumas, also Lumajang area of eastern Java), *ronggèng* (western central Java), *tandhak* (eastern Java, especially Surabaya-Mojokerto), and *andhong* (Malang area of eastern Java). Men would pay the singers for the opportunity of joining them in an erotic social dance.

Nowadays, the practice of men paying to dance with a singer-dancer survives in hosted *tayuban*, parties in which a group of gamelan musicians and several singer-dancers are hired to perform for a village ceremony, such as the annual village cleansing (*bersih désa*) or a family rite of passage (figure 4). Though casual consumption of alcohol is not typical in Java, the *tayuban* is an occasion at which men are expected to consume generous quantities of it. *Tayuban* often begin in the middle of the day, when children and women flock to watch; they usually last until the early hours before dawn, by which time only the male participants and the professional performers remain. Both the drinking and the erotic social dancing have led many strongly Muslim communities and local and regional governmental officials to frown on *tayuban*, though the government does not ban them (Hefner 1987). Formerly widespread

FIGU
Two
singe
danc
the
begir
of a
tayul
surrounded by women and children. Photo by R. Anderson Sutton.

Page Image throughout Java, *tayuban* are now found mostly in eastern Java and certain rural areas of central Java (Gunung Kidul, near Yogyakarta; Sragen, near Surakarta; see Hughes-Freeland 1990).

From the singer-dancer tradition evolved *gambyong*, a more urbane and respectable dance. It stands apart from most other kinds of Javanese dance in the absence of any narrative component; the dancer simply performs a variety of sensuous movements. Many of these occur in other Javanese dances, but usually as the actions of a particular character. Somewhat comparable in its essentially non-narrative quality is *ngrémo*, a popular dance of eastern Java. In its female version, it can be related to the *gambyong*, in its more popular male style, to male bravura and an eastern Javanese stance against colonial oppression during the last years of the Dutch presence in Java.

Court and classical dance

A Javanese dancer usually represents a particular mythological character—either in a dance-drama or in an excerpt presented as a piece (*pethilan, beksan*). Though in the dances most closely related to martial arts (*wirèng* and some *beksan*) the individual dancers may not have the names of characters, they present in their dance some kind of martial event (a drill, a challenge, a fight, and so on), and may include dialogue. Highly refined, the female ensemble dances of the Javanese courts— *bedhaya* (normally with nine dancers) and *srimpi* (normally with four)—appear rather abstract; but these, too, may present particular Indian-derived or indigenous Javanese stories, albeit by stylized means (Brakel-Papenhuijzen 1992). The Yogyanese repertoire of *bedhaya* and *srimpi* are more consistently narrative than the Solonese (Murgiyanto 1991:3-4).

Javanese dance movements represent types of characters that can be grouped under three broad headings: female (*putri*), refined male (*alusan*), and strong male (*gagahan*). Many of the named kinetic patterns are used by all three categories of dancer, but with the female version being the most

contained and intricate, the refined male version smooth and more open, and the strong male version the most bold and angular. Javanese have developed unique kinetic patterns for numerous major characters representative of these categories, plus certain ogres (*buta*), clown-servants (*punakawan*), and disciples (*cantrik*), yielding a rich variety of movements. Javanese audiences widely recognize these movements, with particulars of costuming and style of speaking, as essential markers of a character's identity.

The gamelan accompaniment for Javanese dance, though flexible enough to allow individual interpretation, is highly constrained in several respects. Many dances are set to one piece or a medley of pieces, others to one of several with identical formal structure (see below). Yet new choreographies abound, often drawing on extant pieces that have not formerly been designated for the character or characters being depicted in the dance. The drumming often specifically relates to the dancers' movements, especially when the *ciblon* (*batangan*) or, in eastern Java, *gambyak* is used.

Puppetry

Because much of Javanese dance is narrative, it is scarcely possible to mention dance without mentioning theater. Among Java's theatrical genres, the one that Javanese and outsiders consistently single out as the supreme aesthetic achievement of the Javanese is leather-shadow puppetry (*wayang kulit* 'leather shadow'), in which two-dimensional leather puppets cast shadows on a screen (figure 5).

Wayang kulit

Wayang kulit is accompanied by a gamelan, formerly somewhat reduced in size from the full gamelan described above (without *bonang, saron demung*, or *saron peking*).

Page Image

FIGU
Dhal
Ki Su

Siswocarito reaches for a shadow puppet; the puppets at the screen are fixed in a banana trunk.

Photo by R. Anderson Sutton.

This is an ancient tradition in Java, one that has developed over the course of more than one thousand years. Several genres of *wayang kulit* are distinguished by name, based on the source of the stories and characters depicted. By far the most popular is *wayang purwa*, whose stories are episodes based on Javanese versions of the Indian epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, or interpolated episodes involving the characters from these epics (see further Anderson 1965; Brandon 1970; Clara van Groenendael 1985; and Sears 1991). The repertoire used for the accompaniment of *wayang purwa* is mostly in the *sléndro* system, though since the 1950s pieces in *pélog* have often been used for variety if the ensemble is *sléndro-pélog*.

Other genres of *wayang kulit*, now rarely seen, include *wayang gedhog*, depicting stories of the east Javanese prince Panji to the accompaniment of music in pélog, and recently invented genres on themes of the revolution, Christianity, and so forth. People in certain parts of central Java, such as Kedhu, prefer *wayang golèk*, a genre employing three-dimensional doll puppets with sléndro gamelan accompaniment. Another obsolescent genre of puppetry is *wayang klithik* (also known as *wayang krucil*), which uses flat wooden puppets to present stories of the eastern Javanese hero Damar Wulan and the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, with music in *sléndro*. A Chinese puppet theater (*wayang potèhi*) is popular in some Chinese communities, where it is accompanied by Chinese instruments (Clara van Groenendael 1990).

Performances of *wayang kulit* are nearly always associated with a ritual celebration. They last from early evening (seven-thirty to nine) until around dawn (five to

Page Image six). Almost as lengthy, but usually performed during daylight hours, is *ruwatan*, intended to protect against spiritual dangers believed to be unleashed by certain circumstances of life, such as combinations of siblings (for example, the birth of twins or of five boys).

Wayang kulit, whether *ruwatan* or not, is a powerful art. It holds strong symbolic significance for many Javanese, young and old, urban and rural. Many see in its stories (*lakon*) a microcosmic representation of divine order, a revelation of archetypal characters and situations lying behind the seeming unpredictability of daily human existence. Javanese frequently interpret current events and everyday human interaction with reference to the plots and characters of the famous wayang stories, and they tend to revere accomplished *dhalang* as spiritually powerful individuals, not merely entertainers. Though cultivated at the royal courts and patronized by wealthy urbanites, *wayang kulit* is widely performed in villages, appreciated by members of all social strata—peasant farmers of rice, urban drivers of pedicabs, and rich businessmen alike.

Though each performance is in some ways unique and new stories are constantly being created, basing most performances on the two main Indian epics means that audiences are familiar with the characters, and in many cases, with the plot. Audiences therefore do not need to pay rapt attention to every portion of the performance. Indeed, much of their behavior at a performance is similar to that described above for audiences at *uyon-uyon* and *klenèngan*—guests eat and drink, converse among themselves, and often leave well before the end of a performance. Uninvited guests are welcome; they may stand or squat, usually on the same side of the screen as the puppeteer and musicians (away from the host's house). Invited guests are provided with seats; more often than not, they view the performance from the side of the shadow.

The performance divides into three or four main sections determined by the modal category (*pathet*) of the music. The following table gives the *pathet* sequence in several traditions (Mojokerto after Crawford 1980:202; Gempol after Timoer 1988:1:139):

- Central Java: Surakarta (and elsewhere)
- *nem*, 9:00 P.M.-1:00 A.M.
- *sanga*, 1:00-3:30 A.M.
- *manyura*, 3:30-5:30 A.M.
- Central Java: Yogyakarta
- *nem*, 9:00 P.M.-1:00 A.M.
- *sanga*, 1:00-3:30 A.M.
- *manyura*, 3:30-5:00 A.M.
- *galong*, 5:00-5:30 A.M.
- East Java: Mojokerto
- *sepuluh*, 7:30-10:00 P.M.
- *wolu*, 10:00 P.M.-1:00 A.M.
- *sanga*, 1:00-3:30 A.M.
- *serang*, 3:30-5:00 A.M.
- East Java: Gempol
- *wolu*, then *sepuluh*, 8:00-9:00 P.M.
- *sepuluh*, then *wolu*, 9:00 P.M.-2:00 A.M.
- *sanga*, 2:00-4:00 A.M.
- *serang*, 4:00-6:00 A.M.

Page Image With few exceptions, one can expect during the first *pathet* section a slow introduction to the story, mixed with philosophical reflections, and rather little action. As the night progresses, extemporaneous humor and entertaining music alternate with more lively dramatic action (during the second *pathet* section). The last several hours (the final one or two *pathet* sections) involve the most highly charged encounters, punctuated by battles, with some form of resolution just before dawn, though often only a temporary resolution within the larger compass of the epic, of which one night's *lakon* is merely an episode.

In *wayang kulit*, all narration (*janturan, cariyos*), dialogue (*antawacana*), manipulation of puppets (*sabetan*), singing of mood songs (*sulukan*), and direction of the musicians is carried out by one individual, the *dhalang*. Though most *dhalang* are male, the profession is not restricted to men. Whether male or female, the *dhalang* must be able to speak in many voices, not only differentiating male and female characters, but between many characters and character types of either sex. So skilled can *dhalang* be at this that *wayang kulit* is widely enjoyed over the radio and on cassette, with audiences able to follow the story and know the characters without even seeing the puppets. Aside from some late-twentieth-century experiments, the *dhalang* does not work from a fixed text. He or she is the consummate oral performer, neither reading lines nor at least after the first scene reciting them from memory. Even if the episode to be presented is a famous one, it will be the *dhalang*'s own version, with ample opportunity for interpolation of topical issues, up-to-date humor, and musical choices.

In performance, the *dhalang* sits close to the screen (*kelir*), to the right of a large wooden chest for puppets (*kothak*). By knocking with a wooden beater (*cempala*) against the chest, and by knocking,

usually with his foot, against metal plaques (*kecrèk, kepyak*) suspended on its side, the *dhalang* signals the musicians, and accentuates certain movements of the puppets. Most of the puppets needed for a performance will be within reach; many of those not to be used will be arrayed on the left and right sides of the screen, implanted in the extremities of soft banana logs, which also hold the on-stage puppets. The shadows are cast by a single source of illumination just over the *dhalang's* head: an oil lamp (*bléncong*, now rare in Java), a compressed-fuel lantern, or, most common since the early 1970s, an electric light. Purists complain that electric lights do not give the shadows the lifelike flickering of the oil lamps; but others, including many *dhalang*, complain of the soot and smoke from the oil lamps (and the hazards from occasional spillage) and the heat from the compressed-fuel lanterns.

Music for *wayang kulit* draws on several repertoires. Matters of choice and sequence are partially constrained by tradition, but allow the *dhalang* considerable flexibility to make spontaneous choices to which the musicians must be prepared to respond. Heard frequently throughout every performance are the theatrical pieces for entrances, exits, journeys, and fights: in central Java, *ayak-ayakan, srepegan, sampak* (in Yogya, also *playon*)—sometimes collectively called *gendhing lampah* 'moving pieces'; in east Java, *ayak, srempeg, krucilan, gedhog* (terms whose use overlaps). These pieces are characterized by dense gong punctuation, short melodic phrases, and special endings, which can be signaled at the end of any phrase, enabling the *dhalang* to tailor the music to dramatic needs. These the *dhalang* requests by a particular combination of knocks (*dhodhogan*) (Heins 1970; Sumarsam 1984a). In fact, several different melodies exist for each of these pieces, one or more for each *pathet*. Thus, for example, in Solonese *wayang kulit*, when the *dhalang* gives a signal for *sampak* during the second main portion of the evening, the musicians know to play *sampak pathet sanga*. Within a given *pathet*, an alternative to the standard version would be chosen to fit a particular character or mood (*srepegan "tlutur"* for sad scenes).

Page Image

Gamelan pieces other than these are also used. The pieces played for the opening scene in any *wayang kulit* performance in central or east Java are multi-sectional, some quite lengthy, with sparse gong punctuation. During the scene dominated by clown-servants, the musicians often perform light, humorous pieces (*lagu dolanan*) often of recent vintage. When tradition does not prescribe the piece, the *dhalang* either requests it by naming its title outright, or by hinting at it (*sasminta*) through a set phrase or a keyword before the end of his narration or dialogue. At many points during a performance, the *dhalang* sings mood songs that establish a particular emotional atmosphere (calmness, sadness, distress, tension, rage, and so on).

The styles of performance used in *wayang kulit* do not differ in fundamental ways from gamelan performance in other contexts. Nevertheless, the music has a distinctive sound to listeners familiar with the range of Javanese music. The tempos tend to be fast, and the drumming is often a highly syncopated and, in Solonese tradition, subtle style (*kosèkan*).

Wayang wong

Much of the music associated fundamentally with *wayang kulit* is heard also in the accompaniment of the various dance-drama traditions that portray episodes based on the same mythological sources. Most closely related is the dance-drama form known as *wayang wong* 'human wayang', in which dancers wear costumes closely imitating the look of the puppets, and often even dance in a quasi-two-dimensional manner resembling the motions of the puppets. With rare exceptions, *wayang wong* presents stories from the repertoire of *purwa*.

Two distinct varieties of *wayang wong* have been known from the late 1800s: an elaborate royal

version practiced in the large pavilions (*pendhapa*) at the main court of Yogyakarta, with related development at the Mangkunegaran in Solo; and a commercial version (*wayang wong panggung*), performed in proscenium theaters in Solo and throughout much of central Java (see further Soedarsono 1984 and Susilo 1984). Earlier in the twentieth century, royal *wayang wong* performances in Yogyakarta's main court sometimes lasted as long as three days, with hundreds of dancers for just one episode. Today, Yogyanese troupes perform shorter versions, lasting from half an hour to several hours. Until the 1970s or 1980s, commercial *wayang wong panggung* companies performed one episode per evening, lasting four hours or longer. They were popular through the 1960s, but have since fallen on hard times, despite efforts to modernize and appeal to trend-conscious young Javanese—efforts that have included shortening the time of performance to about two-and-a-half to three hours. In the 1990s, large companies still perform, albeit to small crowds, and often with governmental subsidies.

Wayang wong, whether court or commercial, uses many of the musical conventions of *wayang kulit*: the same adjustable theatrical pieces (*gendhing lampah*), other *gendhing*, and mood songs; the same sequence of *pathet* (though adjusted for the different span of time involved); and similar drumming and tempo treatment. But instead of a *dhalang* operating puppets and knocking signals on a chest in which they are stored, a narrator (often called *dhalang*) sings mood songs, gives narration, and cues the musicians by knocking on a small wooden slit drum (*keprak*) and, in Solonese style, on metal plaques (though smaller than those used by the *wayang kulit dhalang*).

Wayang topèng

Aside from a few roles in the Yogyanese version, *wayang wong* dancer-actors do not wear masks. In the genre known as *wayang topèng* 'masked wayang', however, all dancers are masked. Though masked dances from this dance-drama are still popular

Page Image as individual items in a dance concert, full-length presentation of narrative episodes through masked dance-drama are rather rare.

Yet in certain areas of rural Java (like Klaten, Central Java; and Malang, East Java) and on the island of Madura, *wayang topèng* troupes remain active. They usually present episodes from the Panji stories, accompanied by pélog gamelan music and mood songs (Onghokham 1972). As with *wayang wong*, a narrator (usually called *dhalang*) sings mood songs, provides narration, and signals musicians. In addition, in some areas (like Madura and Malang), he also speaks the parts of all characters but the clown-servants, whose masks cover their eyes but not their mouths, so they may be heard clearly by the audience as they joke with each other.

Other indigenous theater

During the late 1800s, two genres of dance-drama with sung dialogue arose among the nobility and lesser courts in central Java: *langen driyan* (formerly *langen driya*) and *langen mandra wanara*. Both are thought to have been developed and polished by one highly talented individual, R. M. A. Tandhakusuma, a Solonese master of dance who spent time in Yogyakarta in the late 1800s. In contrast to other genres of drama in Java, these rely on written texts, requiring the singer-dancers to memorize their lines.

Langen driyan (from *langen* 'entertainment' and *driya* 'heart', 'sense') presents episodes from the story of the mythical eastern Javanese hero Damar Wulan. Though known in a musical-narrative version in Yogyakarta (as *langen driya*), it has become the quintessential performance genre at the Mangkunegaran court, where it is normally performed by an all-female cast of dancers singing their lines. In the late twentieth century, men began taking roles in it, and the singing is now often performed by singers sitting with the musicians rather than by the dancers, as was formerly the

norm.

Even in this genre, some of the conventions of *wayang kulit* persist: the use of a mix of *gendhing lampah* and other *gendhing*, and a *dhalang* signaling musicians (as in *wayang wong panggung*) and singing an occasional mood song. But each episode does not proceed through all *pathet*. One of the main kinds of pieces used is *gendhing sekar*—gamelan pieces whose main melodies are based on vocal pieces (*sekar, tembang*) performed with full instrumentation and with singing by the dancers. The other kind is a predominantly vocal genre (*palaran*), in which the dancer sings *macapat*, accompanied by most of the soft instruments (excluding rebab), the *kendhang ciblon*, and the steady punctuation of the *kempul*, the *kenong*, and the *kethuk*, with *siyem* (or occasionally *gong ageng*) marking the ends of major phrases. *Saron, slenthem, bonang*, and rebab are tacit. *Palaran* are essentially *srepegan* pieces, but with the main melody performed by the vocalist, rather than by *saron* and *slenthem*.

A similar genre, utilizing essentially the same types of music, developed in Yogyakarta. Known as *langen mandra wanara* (from *mandra* 'many' and *wanara*

Page Image 'monkey'), it presents episodes from the Ramayana (in which monkeys play an essential role), with dancers who sing and dance while kneeling (Suharto 1979; Vetter 1984). In recent decades, women have taken the few female roles in it. As in langen *driyan*, most of the dialogue is delivered through either *gendhing sekar* or *rambangan*, the Yogyanese versions of *palaran*.

Neither *langen driyan* nor *langen mandra wanara* is performed often, but the music associated with both, particularly the *palaran* and the *rambangan*, is now an essential element in gamelan concerts (*uyon-uyon, klenèngan*), recordings, and many forms of indigenous theater: *wayang kulit, wayang wong panggung*, and *kethoprak*.

Kethoprak *and* ludruk

Kethoprak is one of the most enduringly popular types of indigenous theater in Java (Hatley 1980). It is primarily a genre of spoken drama, drawing on Javanese legendary history for its stories. It involves little dance in some variants, none in others; but music is essential to it. The musical instrumentation has undergone considerable change since its supposed beginnings with rice-block accompaniment. It is now always accompanied by a gamelan, with rhythmic signals to musicians by *keprak*. Variants of the *gendhing lampah* predominate, especially for entrances and exits, *srepegan* or *playon*. *Gendhing sekar* and *palaran* (or *rambangan*) serve to express emotions and sometimes to advance the plot. They are delivered with less restraint than in *langen driyan* or *langen mandrawanara*—often in fast tempos, with loud drumming and explosive bursts from *saron*. Mood songs do not occur in *kethoprak*.

The most famous theatrical genre of eastern Java is *ludruk* (also spelled *ludrug* in Javanese); see Peacock 1968 and Hatley 1971. While *kethoprak* has gained a strong following throughout both central and eastern Java, even in Banyuwangi, *ludruk* is rarely performed outside the province of East Java, and mainly in the *arèk* Javanese area (Surabaya-Mojokerto-Malang and environs). *Ludruk* employs an all-male cast to present stories on contemporary issues or local history, interspersed with comic interludes and songs sung by transvestite singers. As with *kethoprak*, the musical accompaniment is now a gamelan, though *ludruk* employed other instrumentation in the past. Wongsosewojo lists an aerophone (" *trompet*," probably a double-reed instrument), a single-headed drum (*jidhor*), a double-headed drum (*kendhang*), an *angklung*, and sometimes a group of small *terbang* (1930:204). During the 1960s, the gamelan sometimes used central Javanese *gendhing lampah* (especially *srepegan*) for entrances and exits, but the norm, at least since the early 1970s, has been a piece sometimes called *Lancaran "Surabayan"* and sometimes *Jula-juli*.

Ludruk is a distinctively eastern Javanese item, performed with eastern Javanese instrumental techniques, including the loud and syncopated *gambyakan* drumming unique to eastern Java. The vocal interludes are also accompanied by gamelan, though the songs are often chosen from the repertoire of popular songs employing Western tuning.

Like *wayang wong panggung*, both *kethoprak* and *ludruk* are often commercial ventures, set up with a proscenium stage and an audience purchasing tickets to enter. Still, *kethoprak* and *ludruk* troupes may also be hired to perform as part of a wedding or circumcision ceremony, when they are more likely to perform late into the night but not until dawn, as is the norm for *wayang kulit*.

Music in other contexts

In the twentieth century, and particularly in the decades since Indonesian independence, several important developments have provided new contexts for hearing Javanese music in isolation from other performing arts. Most profound has been the widespread use of radio for gamelan-music broadcasts. Since the dawn of the commercial-cassette

Page Image industry (around 1970), recording also has become a significant factor in creating star performers and groups. Government-sponsored contests (*lomba*) have brought performers of numerous kinds of music into competition. Gamelan music is the predominant variety, but the singing of *macapat, calung, gandrung*, and *angklung Banyuwangi*, and rice-block-stamping music, among others, have all been featured in contests.

Most recent are the concerts of new music (unorthodox and experimental pieces) for gamelan and other ensembles of indigenous instruments, with many Western conventions: tickets for admission, short duration (several hours), recognition of the composer, who (like most composers of Western art music) has worked out the details of each part. These are confined to academic institutions, mostly the university-level Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (STSI) in Surakarta, where the director, Dr. Sri Hastanto, and senior members of his staff (Dr. Rahayu Supanggah Al. Suwardi, and others) compose new works and require experimental composition from their students.

Tunings, scalar systems, modes

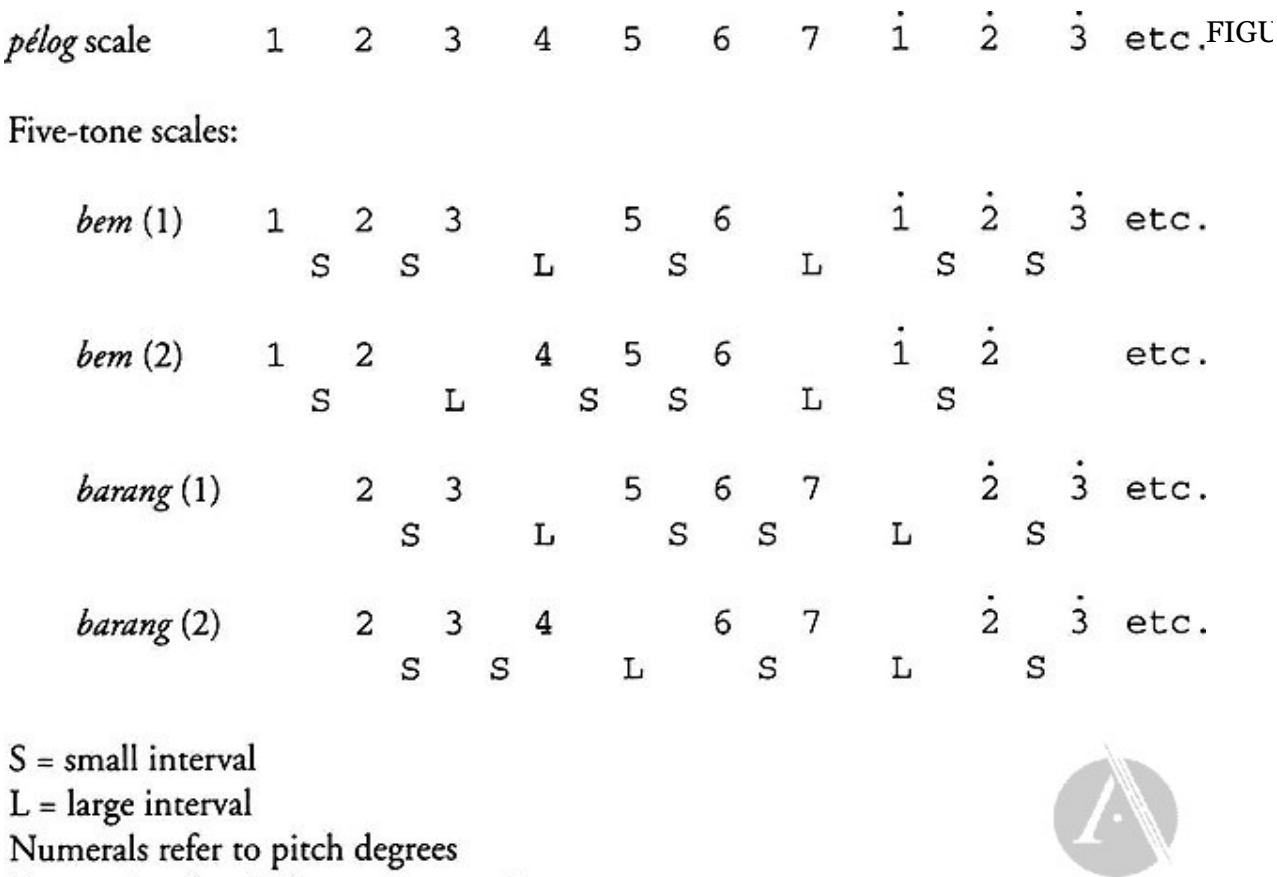
Javanese music employs two scalar systems (*sléndro* and *pélog*), neither of which is standardized with respect to tonal intervals or absolute pitches. The resulting variety is not an accident due to carelessness, but a reflection of keen interest on the part of the Javanese in nuance and subtle variation. Javanese tuners seek not to replicate pre-existing tunings, but to create for each ensemble a unique tuning that remains recognizably *sléndro* or *pélog*—and pleasing (*kepénak*). Indeed, *laras*, the Javanese term for scale and for tuning, can also mean 'harmonious' and 'in agreement'. Rather than matching the pitch of keys and gongs to those of other ensembles or to some independent standard, tuners work intuitively, often tuning one multi-octave instrument (*gendèr* or *bonang*) first in a painstaking process in which the instrument is played, tuned somewhat, played again, and tuned until a desirable scale is obtained. In former times, it was even forbidden to try to copy the tuning of a royal gamelan.

Javanese gamelan music is essentially pentatonic. *Sléndro* consists of five tones per octave, spaced at nearly equidistant intervals. Though one or two intervals are slightly larger than the others, their sizes (as measured in cents) and their placements within the octave vary from one gamelan to another. Music in *sléndro* may avoid or deemphasize one of these (see the discussion of *pathet* below). The tones are still known by the following names, though reference by numeral is most common now: pitch 1 = *barang* 'thing'; pitch 2 = *gulu* (High Javanese *jangga*) 'neck'; pitch 3 = *dhadha* (High Javanese *jaja*) 'chest'; pitch 5 = *lima* (High Javanese *gangsal*) 'five'; pitch 6 = *nem* 'six'.

Pélog is usually described as a seven-tone scalar system with large and small intervals. The names of pitches and the corresponding numerals are: pitch 1 = *penunggul* 'first' or *bem* (no other meaning); pitch 2 = *gulu* (compare *sléndro*); pitch 3 = *dhadha* (compare *sléndro*); pitch 4 = *pélog* (possibly from *pélo* 'unclear pronunciation'); pitch 5 = *lima* (compare *sléndro*); pitch 6 = *nem* (compare *sléndro*); pitch 7 = *barang* (compare *sléndro*, pitch 1)

Though *pélog* is a seven-tone system, no piece of *pélog* music, instrumental or vocal, uses all seven tones in equal or near-equal distribution. Instead, many *pélog* pieces are entirely pentatonic, and the others, using six or even seven tones, are limited within most phrases to five tones at most. The seven-tone *pélog* scale, then, is best understood as an overlay of several pentatonic scales, each of which consists of a pattern of small (S) and large (L) intervals (figure 6). Though pitches 1 and 7 sometimes both appear within the same piece, they are in complementary distribution and do

Page Image



S = small interval
L = large interval
Numerals refer to pitch degrees
Superscript dots indicate upper register
Pentatonic orientation in *pélog* system.

not occur within the same phrase. Similarly, pitch 4 can replace pitch 3 in *bem* and pitch 5 in *barang*.

Closely related to the concept of *laras* is the Javanese modal concept *pathet*. Neither the intuitive understandings of Javanese musicians, nor the writings of Javanese and other scholars concur completely on a comprehensive definition of this concept. It combines elements of tonal hierarchy, range, and intervallic structure with extramusical associations of mood and time of day or night. In each scalar system, Central Javanese identify three main *pathet* (figure 7), which variably emphasize and avoid (or deemphasize by allowing only on weak beats) certain tones.

Hood (1954) demonstrates the prominence of certain cadential formulas in the *saron* melody of each *pathet*. J. Becker argues that listeners recognize *pathet* on the basis of three "factors": the identity of a "melodic pattern, formula, or contour," its level of pitch, and its position within a compositional structure (1980:81). Many melodic patterns occur in all *pathet*, but their level of pitch and distribution within a given piece directly correlate with the designation of *pathet*.

Both Backer's and Hood's studies provide valuable but incomplete analyses. Studies of multi-octave instruments (Martopangrawit 1984 [1972a]; McDermott and Sumarsam 1975) and of vocal music (Hatch 1980; Walton 1987) suggest that *pathet* can be understood as something akin to the Western notion of key, with transpositions between *pathet* (and even modulations between *pathet* in some pieces). For example, melodic patterns (*cèngkoK*) that end on pitch 6 in *sléndro pathet manyura* can be transposed down one tone to end on pitch 5 in *sléndro pathet* sanga. Many

	pathet	Tones emphasized	Tone avoided
sléndro	*nem* 'six'	2, 6, 5	1
	sanga 'nine'	5, 1, (2)	3
	manyura 'peacock'	6, 2, (3)	5
pélog	*lima* 'five'	1, 5	7
	nem 'six'	5, 6	7
	barang 'thing'	6, 2, (3, 5)	1

FIGU
Tona
hiera
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Page Image pieces are performed in both these *pathet*, choice being determined by musical context or, occasionally, a singer's whim. The *manyura* version is simply one tone higher than the *sanga* version. *Sléndro pathet nem* is generally considered to be the lowest of the three *sléndro pathet*, but pieces are only rarely transposed into *pathet nem* from other *pathet*. Instead, some musicians interpret *pathet nem* as consisting largely of an ambiguous mix of *sanga* and *manyura*, with only a few distinctive, low-range patterns in *pathet nem*.

Determining *pathet* in *pélog* is a different matter. *Pathet barang* is easily recognized by the presence of pitch 7 and the absence or near-absence of pitch 1. *Pathet lima* and *pathet nem* are less easily distinguished from one another, as both utilize pitch 1 and avoid pitch 7, and pieces in both may emphasize pitch 5. Within *pathet nem*, musicians often distinguish passages or whole pieces with a seeming *sanga* orientation (emphasizing pitch 5 and avoiding pitch 3) from those with a seeming *manyura* orientation (emphasizing pitch 6 and avoiding pitch 5). Whole pieces of the latter orientation are sometimes labeled as *pélog pathet nyamat mas*, or even as *pélog pathet manyura*. This dual orientation within *pélog pathet nem* suggests something of a parallel with the ambiguity in *sléndro pathet nem*. Yet in *sléndro*, the *pathet nem* pieces are said to represent the calmest and most subdued moods, comparable to the *pélog* pieces in *pathet lima*, rather than *pathet nem*. In fact, in the cases of ambiguity in *pélog*, it is often the criterion of calmness, rather than melodic contour or tonal hierarchy, that musicians cite as determining that a piece is in *pathet lima* rather than *pathet nem*. Nevertheless, some musicians obviate the confusion by grouping these two together as *pathet bem*.

Pathet categories vary slightly within central Java, and extensively between central and eastern Java. Yogyanese recognize a fourth *pathet* (*galong*) as a kind of subcategory of *manyura*, heard only during the last part of the *manyura* period in *wayang kulit* performances. In Banyumas, most of the

older pieces are classified as *pathet sanga* or *pathet manyura*, but some rethinking has introduced *pathet nem* as an acceptable category for pieces outside the wayang repertoire (though the pieces in question are more spirited and lighthearted than would be normal for *pathet nem* in the Yogyanese or the Solonese traditions). Semarang once knew a *pathet sepuluh* (High Javanese *sedasa* 'ten') used for pieces in the opening of a wayang.

The category *sléndro pathet sepuluh* survives in eastern Java, where it is comparable to central Javanese *sléndro pathet nem*, not only in its tonal emphasis, but in its association with calm moods and the first part of the wayang. *Pathet wolu* 'eight' is the eastern Javanese equivalent to central Javanese *pathet sanga*. And eastern Javanese *pathet sanga* is equivalent to central Javanese *pathet manyura*. Primarily for wayang music, eastern Javanese also recognize a fourth *pathet—serang* 'attack', which, like Yogyanese *galong*, resembles *pathet manyura*, though strongly emphasizing tone 3. Terminology for *pélog pathet* in east Java is not uniform, but usually derives from *sléndro*. Musicians in the Malang area, where *pélog* is prominent, treat *pélog* as two

Page Image systems, each with three *pathet: pélog bem* (also called *pélog sorog*), with *pathet sepuluh, wolu*, and *sanga*; and *pélog barang* (also called *pélog miring*), with *pathet wolu, sanga*, and *serang*.

Only since the 1970s have *pathet* categories in eastern Java been widely applied to pieces outside the wayang repertoire—apparently in an effort to provide greater legitimacy for local music through emulation of central Javanese theoretical standards. Sometimes musicians use central Javanese terminology instead of eastern Javanese, or even mixed with it—in which case the designation *pathet sanga* can be confusing.

Repertoires and formal structures

No single term in Javanese covers the range of expression identified in English as 'music'. The term *musik* (from Dutch *muziek*) may sometimes be used in this way among the educated elite, but most Javanese reserve that term for Western or Western-inspired music as distinct from indigenous music. The term used most widely for the latter is *karawitan*, currently applied in official circles to indigenous music throughout Indonesia, but understood by most Javanese as a Javanese term referring to Javanese music. In the latter usage, *karawitan* includes the instrumental music of gamelans and other ensembles employing Javanese scales, the sung poetry known as *tembang* (High Javanese *sekar*), and various combinations of instrumental and vocal music. The root *rawit* means 'intricate', 'complicated', and the word *karawitan* was applied in former times to "intricate" performing arts of all kinds, not just the musical arts, distinguishing certain supposedly crude, village arts from refined, courtly arts. Even today, one would feel more comfortable including the interweaving textures of gamelan music under the heading *karawitan* than the simpler patterns of rice-block-stamping music. As the coverage of all genres of music in Java is beyond both my abilities and the space available, the following section is concerned primarily with gamelan music and *tembang*.

Gendhing formal structures

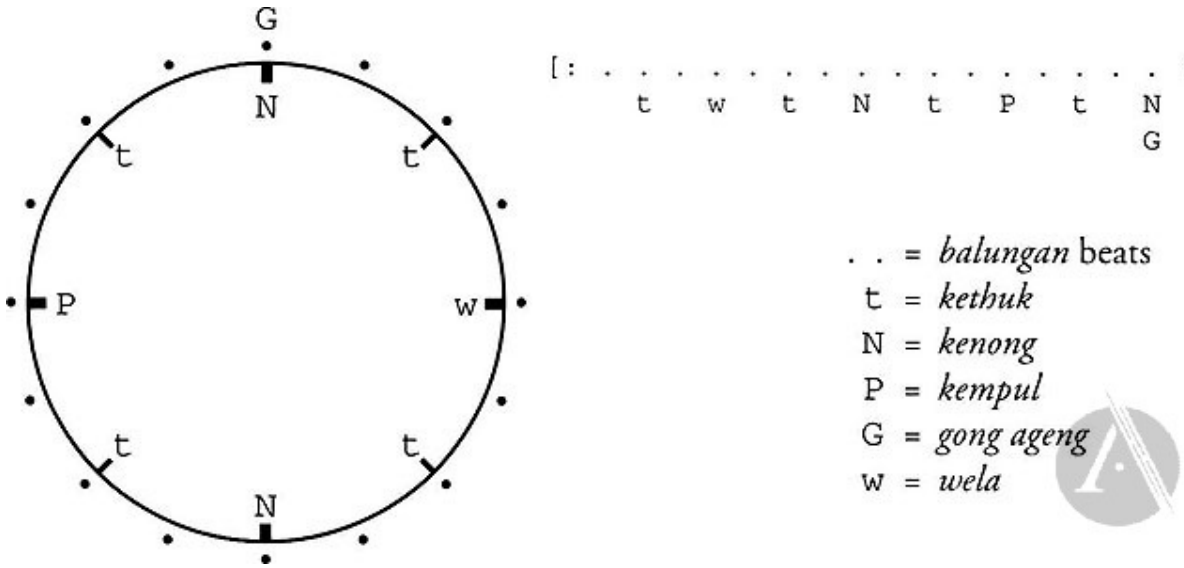
The mainstay of gamelan music is the repertoire of *gendhing*, gamelan pieces with cyclic structures and whose phrases, punctuated by the sound of gongs, repeat until a signal is given to end. The patterns of punctuation are characterized by combinations of interlocking alternation and simultaneities or "coincidences."

Each *gendhing* consists of one or more repeatable *gongan*—phrases marked off by large *gongs, gong* ageng or *siyem*. After a short solo introduction, each *gendhing* begins with the stroke of a gong; each *gendhing* also ends with the stroke of a gong. Each *gongan* is subdivided into shorter phrases

(usually two or four, of equal length) known as *kenongan*, marked off by one of the *kenong*, sounding with the gong stroke and at regular temporal intervals in between. Each *kenongan* is further punctuated by *kethuk*, and longer *kenongan* by *engkuk-kemong* or *kempyang*.

In central Java, *kempul* is omitted from large *gendhing* (those with *kenongan* longer than eight beats), apparently because its use would detract from the subdued, meditative feeling of these pieces. In small *gendhing* (two, four, or eight beats per *kenongan*) and in small and large *gendhing* in eastern Java, the *kempul* alternates with the *kenong*, sounding at the midpoint of the *kenongan*. In Solonese and most Yogyanese small *gendhing*, the *kempul* is not played in the *kenongan* immediately after the gong stroke. (This *kempul* rest is called *wela*). In wayang pieces (*gendhing lampah*),a *kempul* sounds with every other stroke of a *kenong*, occasionally replaced by *siyem* or *gong ageng*. In some eastern Javanese wayang pieces, a *kempul* sounds a steady rapid pulse, with *kenong* played less frequently. In archaic ceremonial ensembles, other instruments may serve as markers, but in these, as in contemporary *gendhing* of all

Page Image



FIGU
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ketawang, in circular and linear presentations.

regional traditions, the principles of cyclic repetition, interlocking punctuation, and coincidence prevail.

The Javanese differentiate many formal structures by the particular interlocking and coinciding patterns of the gong instruments and their rhythmic fit with the steady beat of the main instrumental melody. This melody (*balungan* 'skeleton', 'outline') is usually played on the *saron* and the *slenthem*. By Javanese convention, notation of the *balungan* places the strongest beat at the end of a grouping rather than at the beginning. Thus, the even-numbered beats have the greater rhythmic weight. Where Westerners counting four beats would give primary stress to beat one, secondary stress to beat three, and tertiary stress to beats two and four, Javanese would give primary stress to beat four, secondary stress to beat two, and tertiary stress to beats one and three. As a result, the heaviest of all beats, the one coinciding with the gong stroke, is notated at the end of a line, not the beginning. The names of formal structures differ somewhat from one tradition to another. What is presented below is a discussion of formal structures in Solonese *karawitan*, with comments on significant differences in other traditions.

Javanese normally represent the schemata for formal structures in linear fashion, as this is the most

practical to reproduce. The circular approach developed by J. Becker (1979a) and Hoffman (1978), showing the *gongan* as the face of a clock, is a neat visual analog to the cyclic structure of *gendhing*. Figure 8 shows the structure of a *gongan* in the form known as *ketawang*, a small form with two *kenongan* per *gongan*.

Small gendhing

In performance, a solo introduction (*buka*) leads into the entrance of a full ensemble and the simultaneous sounding of *kenong* and gong, leading without pause into the first *gongan* of a *gendhing*. In some cases, small *gendhing* (such as *ketawang* pieces) are joined directly to other pieces in a medley—in which case no solo introduction would be played.

Ketawang is distinguished from most other small forms by the presence of only two *kenongan* per *gongan*. Three other small forms have four *kenongan* per *gongan* and are distinguished from one another by the number of *balungan* beats per phrase. *Lancaran* form consists of only two beats per *kenongan; lancaran mlaku* (in Yogya, *bubaran*), of four per *kenongan*; and *ladrang*, of eight. Otherwise, the pattern of interlocking among the gong instruments is identical. The spacing of the dots representing the *balungan* is varied in figure 9 merely to fit the necessary information for each form onto one line, and does not reflect the tempo of performance (see the explanation of *irama* on next page).

Page Image

lancaran form

```
[:   .   .   .   .   .   .   .   . :]
   t w t N t P t N t P t N t P t N
                                G*
```

*In *lancaran, gongan* often marked by *siyem* (instead of *gong ageng*).

lancaran mlaku/bubaran form

```
[: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . :]
   t w t N t P t N t P t N t P t N
                                G
```

ladrang form

```
[: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . :]
     t   w   t   N   t   P   t   N   t   P   t   N   t   P   t   N
                                                                G
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In *pélog*, a piece in *ladrang* form would normally be played with *kempyang* sounding between the other punctuating gongs—on all the odd-numbered (weak) beats. In some *sléndro* pieces in *ladrang* form, the *engkuk* would sound on the odd-numbered beats, and the *kemong* would sound with the *kethuk* on every other even-numbered beat (that is, second, sixth, tenth, and others).

Large gendhing

After a solo introduction, a large *gendhing* proceeds through a calm section (*mérong*), consisting of one or more *gongan* with the same formal structure. This section repeats until a signal, usually a change of tempo, cues musicians to make a transition (*umpak minggah*) to a second main section (*inggah*, also called *minggah*), which repeats until a cue is given to end or proceed to a different piece. For some large *gendhing*, musicians customarily perform the *mérong* and then proceed either to the

inggah of a different piece or to a small *gendhing* (most often in *ladrang* form).

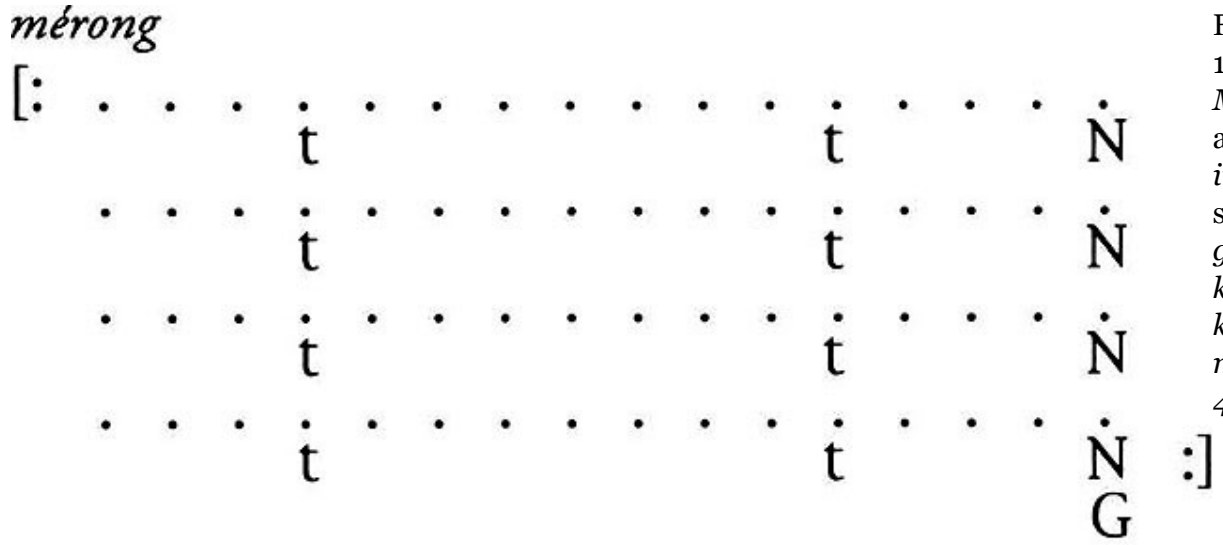
The category of large *gendhing* incorporates a variety of forms distinguished by the number of *kenongan*, the length of *kenongan* phrases (at least sixteen beats), the number of *kethuk* per *kenongan*, and (in the *mérong* section) the density of the playing of the *kethuk*. For example, a *gendhing kethuk 2 kerep, minggah 4* has four *kenongan per gongan*, with two *kethuk* strokes per *kenongan* in the *mérong*, occurring "frequently" (*kerep*)—that is, on the fourth of each group of eight *balungan* beats. In the *inggah* section, the *kethuk* always falls on the second of each group of four *balungan* beats (just as it does in *ladrang* form)—hence, with greater frequency than in the *mérong* (figure 10).

Gendhing lampah

The *gendhing lampah*, or wayang pieces, are characterized by much denser playing of the form-determining instruments. In each of them, the *kenong* plays twice per *kempul* stroke, with *kethuk* strokes between *balungan* beats. The *gong ageng* or *siyem* (both represented below as *G*) replace the *kempul* at the end of melodic phrases that are not uniform in length. The pattern of replacement in some cases, primarily in accompaniment of dancing, is determined only at the moment of performance by a signal from the drummer or the player of the *keprak*. In *ayak-ayakan*, the *kempul* unit consists of four *balungan* beats; in *srepegan*, two beats; in *sampak*, only one (figure 11).

With the exception of *srepegan* and *sampak*, drummed with great variation by *ciblon* (or its slightly larger version, the *kendhang wayang*), each formal structure has one or several associated drum patterns. The patterns for the large *gendhing* are the sparse and calm *kendhang siji* (High Javanese *kendhang setunggal* 'one drum'), patterns played on the *kendhang gendhing*. If a second drummer is present, he will play

Page Image



FIGU
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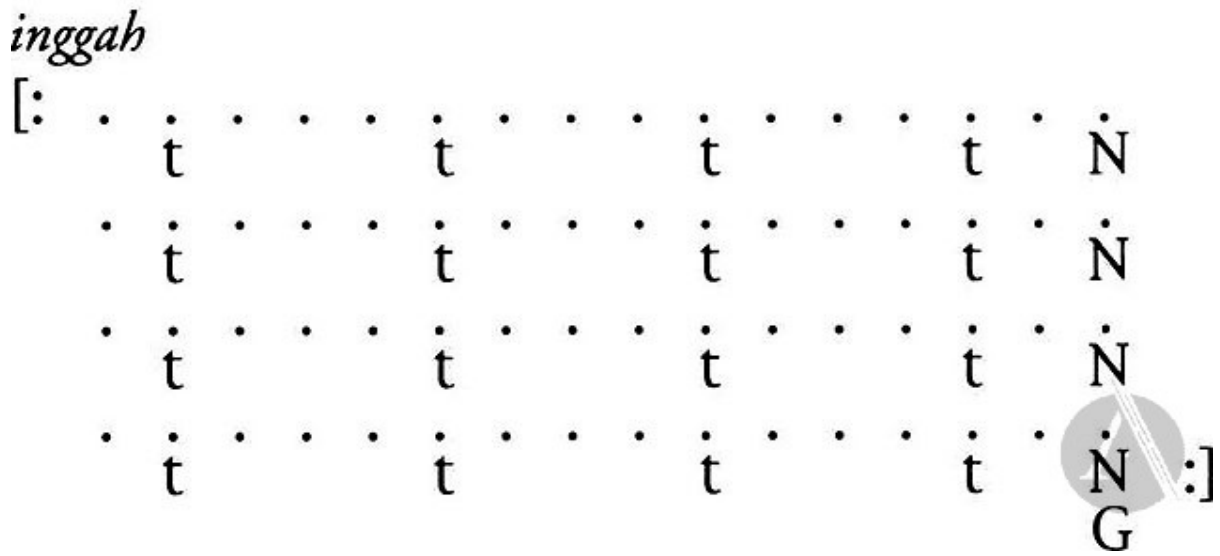

an optional ostinato on the *ketipung*. Some *ladrang* and *ketawang* pieces may be accompanied by *kendhang siji*, but the small *gendhing* more often involve the somewhat livelier *kendhang loro* (High Javanese *kendhang kalih* 'two drums'), patterns that combine *kendhang gendhing* and *ketipung*.

Shown in figure 12 is the *kendhang loro* for a *gongan* in *ladrang* form, at slow tempo (about thirty *balungan* beats per minute). The precise sequence of strokes may vary slightly from one player to another, but this is representative of Solonese tradition. So important is the drum pattern that in Yogyanese tradition, musicians refer not to the *kethuk* structure (*Gendhing "Lambangsari," kethuk 4 kerep, minggah 8*), but to the drum pattern (*Gendhing "Lambangsari," kendhangan jangga*).

Other than by gong structure or *kendhang* pattern, Javanese classifications of *gendhing* draw on several factors, including style and context, predominant instrumentation, and regional association. For instance, the repertoire of *gendhing Banyumas* (a region in west-central Java) is distinguished from *gendhing Jawa timuran* (eastern Javanese). *Gendhing tayub*, pieces associated with *tayuban*, feature spirited playing and short *gongan*. *Gendhing bonang* (or *gendhing bonangan*) are pieces featuring *bonang* and other loud-playing instruments. The Yogyanese term, in fact, is *gendhing*

soran 'pieces in loud style'. The Solonese sometimes distinguish pieces by the instrument that performs the introduction: *gendhing gendèr* or *gendhing rebab*.

Page Image

Schematic formula for structure of *gendhing lampah*:

ayak-ayakan: [: . . . . :] . . . .
t t N t t N (repeat × ?) t t N t t N
P G

srepegan: [: . . :] . .
t N t N (repeat × ?) t N t N
P G

sampak: [: . :] .
N N (repeat × ?) N N
t P t G

Examples of phrases from *gendhing lampah* in *sléndro pathet nem*:

ayak-ayakan:

5 6 5 3 5 6 5 3 2 1 2 6 2 1 2 3
t t N t t N t t N t t N t t N t t N t t N t t N
P P P

5 6 5 3 2 1 3 2 6 5 3 5 etc.
t t N t t N t t N t t N t t N t t N
P P G

srepegan:

6 5 6 5 2 3 5 3
t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N
P P P G

5 3 5 3 5 2 3 5 1 6 5 3 6 5 3 2 etc.
t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N t N
P P P P P P P G

sampak:

5 5 5 5 3 3 3 3
N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N
t P t P t P t P t P t P t P t G

3 3 3 3 5 5 5 5 2 2 2 2 etc.
N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N
t P t P t P t P t P t P t P t P t P t G

comparable to a measure in Western music.

Vocal music

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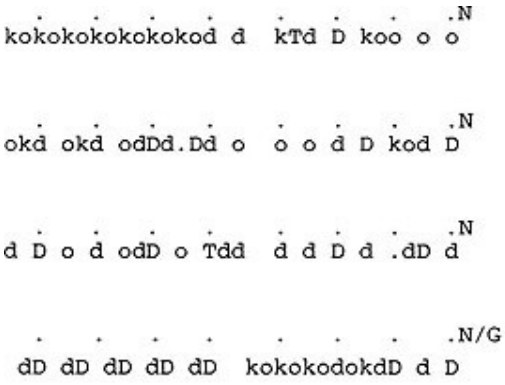
The Javanese maintain several vocal genres, many of which are combined with instrumental playing. One of the most important criteria in distinguishing among repertorial items within a single regional tradition is the kind of interaction between vocal or vocally oriented melody and instrumental playing. The resulting dichotomy is sometimes expressed as *tembang* (High Javanese *sekar* 'sung poetry', 'vocal') and *gendhing* ('cyclic pieces', 'instrumental'). The term *tembang* is also used to denote a subset of songs within the larger category of vocal music.

Musicians usually distinguish three major classes of *tembang: tembang gedhé* (High Javanese *sekar ageng*) 'large', 'great', *tembang tengahan* 'medium', and *tembang*

Page Image



FIGU 12 *Kend* patte for *ladrc kend loro*)

macapat (etymology unclear, but debated; *maca* 'to read', *pat* 'four'). In stanzaic patterns, *tembang gedhé* are closely related to patterns of Indian prosody and are distinguishable by number of syllables per line and per segment (*pedhotan*) within a line. All have four lines per stanza. In contrast, *tembang tengahan* and *macapat*—categories that sometimes overlap—are distinguishable by number of lines, number of syllables per line (*guru wilangan*), and ending vowel of each line (*guru lagu*) (Figure 13).

Each *macapat* meter is associated with a limited range of emotions or appropriate subject. *Dhandhanggula* often serves as the opening meter in a long poem consisting of stanzas in several or many meters. *Sinom* is considered appropriate for didactic poetry, *pucung* for riddles. *Asmarandana, kinanthi*, and *mijil* are used for poetry relating to matters of love; *maskumambang* serves for longing or loneliness. *Pangkur* and *durma* are favored for the more violent emotions and for poetry describing conflict. Yet these associations are not strictly adhered to; didactic passages occur in all these meters.

For each meter, one or more basic melodies are known (*sinom wènikenya, sinom grandèl, sinom parijatha, sinom logondhang*, and so on). These melodies have great variability, even among central Javanese (Hatch 1980:413-472)—much greater than the occasional variation in number of syllables or final vowel. *Tembang* was once quite common in Java, from mothers singing their young ones to sleep, to formal

	Number of lines	Number of syllables and final vowels for each line
asmarandana	7	8i, 8a, 8o (or 8é), 8a, 7a, 8u, 8u
*balabal**	6	12a, 3é, 12a, 3é, 12a, 3é
dhandhanggula	10	10i, 10a, 8é (or 8o), 7u, 9i, 7a, 6u, 8a, 12i, 7a
durma	7	12a, 7i, 6a, 7a, 8i, 5a, 7i
*gambuh**	5	12u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8o
*jurudemung**	7	8a, 8u, 8u, 8a, 8u, 8a, 8u
kinanthi	6	8u, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i
maskumambang	4	12i, 6a, 8i, 8a
*megatruh***	5	12u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8o
mijil	6	10i, 6o, 10é, 10i, 6i, 6u
pangkur	7	8a, 11i, 8u, 7a, 12u, 8a, 8i
pucung	4	12u, 6a, 8i, 12a
sinom	9	8a, 8i, 8a, 8i, 7i, 8u, 7a, 8i, 12a
*wirangrong**	6	8i, 8o, 10u, 6i, 7a, 8a

*tembang tengahan (others are tembang macapat)

**classified as macapat by some, tengahan by others (see Kunst 1973: 125)

FIGU
13
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Page Image gatherings where readers would take turns reading and singing verses from lengthier works interspersed with discussion of textual meanings and implications (Arps 1992). Since the 1970s, however, the purely vocal rendering of *tembang* has been most evident in occasional government-sponsored *macapat* contests.

Vocal-instrumental interrelationships

The greatest legacy of *tembang* songs in Central and East Java is their interaction with the playing of gamelans—in which they serve as introductions to *gendhing*, as predominant melodies in *palaran* (in Yogya, *rambangan*, a vocal-instrumental genre), as bases for the instrumental melodies of some *gendhing*, and as texts for existing *gendhing*. The *tembang gedhé* are most often heard as *bawa*, sung by one singer (usually male) accompanied by only a few tones played on the *gendèr*. As an introduction, a *bawa* leads directly into a *gendhing*. Florid variations of *tembang*, sung by a soloist (male or female), serve as the main melody in *palaran*.

The degree to which vocal music has inspired instrumental composition cannot be fully known, but evidence of vocal models is turning up for more and more pieces (Sumarsam 1992:318-406; Susilo 1989). Widely acknowledged is the basis of *sekar gendhing*—gamelan pieces whose *balungan* follow the basic contour of a *tembang*, and are named after the *tembang* melody (*Ketawang "Kinanthi Sandhung, "Ladrang "Pucung"*). When *tembang* meters are sung with *gendhing* that have not been modeled on a known *tembang*, the metrical form is maintained, while the vocal melody is determined by the main instrumental melody (*balungan*) of the *gendhing*. By far the most common choice is *kinanthi*, with its six lines of uniform length.

Mood songs (sulukan)

Mood songs, sung by *dhalang* in various genres, constitute another major category of vocal

repertoire. Usually known as *pathetan* (in Yogya as *lagon*, in eastern Java as *sendhon*), these set or underscore a calm atmosphere. They are accompanied by soft-playing instruments (rebab, *gendèr, gambang, suling*), with occasional punctuation by hanging gongs and *kenong* (Brinner 1995). In eastern Javanese *wayang kulit*, the *gendèr panerus* joins this ensemble for *sendhon* accompaniment. As their name suggests, *pathetan* also serve to establish *pathet* at the beginning of each period of a wayang performance. In purely instrumental renditions, with a rebab serving as the melodic leader, *pathetan* are almost always played before and after a major piece or sequence of pieces in *klenèngan* concerts.

Agitated-mood songs (*ada-ada*, in eastern Java *greget saut*) indicate anger, danger, impending battle, and other heightened emotions or situations. These are accompanied by *gendèr*, rapid knocking by the *dhalang* on metal plaques and on the chest in which puppets are stored, and occasional punctuation by hanging gongs and *kenong*. Similar to *pathetan* but often omitting the rebab are the Solonese *sendhon*, which also suggest a calm mood. Sadness of a calm variety is suggested by *Sendhon "Tlutur,"* great pathos or anger mixed with sadness by *Ada-ada "Tlutur."* In both kinds of *tlutur*, the *dhalang* sings a melody in *barang miring*, a scale that veers from the fixed *sléndro* instrumental scale on several tonal degrees, depending on the *pathet*.

The sources of text and melody for *sulukan* are diverse; many are difficult to trace (Probohardjono 1984 [1966]). Some draw on the *tembang gedhé* repertoire, and others, particularly those recently created by *dhalang* since, the 1960s, draw on *tembang macapat*. The most famous *sulukan* are those in *sléndro* for *wayang purwa* and related dances. A separate set of *sulukan* exist in *pélog* for *wayang gedhog* plays and their derivatives (Probohardjono 1954). Though not named explicitly (as are the *tembang* models for *sekar gendhing), sulukan* appear to underlie some *gendhing*. At

Page Image least some *gendhing lampah* have melodic contours similar to certain *sulukan*; they may have served as models for the instrumental melodies of these *gendhing* (Susilo 1989).

Other genres of vocal music

Many Javanese children's games involve the singing of songs known as *lagu dolanan*. These are now rare as game-accompanying songs, but are sung to the accompaniment of a gamelan as part of the active vocal-instrumental repertoire known as *lagu dolanan*, mostly with *lancaran* or *srepegan* forms. Inspired by the style of these *lagu dolanan* are numerous compositions by Javanese composers of the postcolonial period. Hardjo Soebroto, Ki Wasitodiningrat, and Ki Nartosabdho are the three most famous composers of such pieces, but others have composed at least a few. Musicians sometimes identify these pieces as new creations (Indonesian *kreasi baru*). This term is not limited to such vocally based works, but most recent compositional activity has been vocally inspired.

Other vocally oriented genres range from *jineman*, which lightheartedly feature a solo *pesindhèn* with gamelan (without rebab), to *gendhing kemanak*, with austere and sacred singing by a female chorus accompanied by gong instruments (*kethuk, kenong, gong ageng*), *kendhang*, and a pair of banana-shaped idiophones (*kemanak*, whose pitches are outside the singers' scale). And much of the vocal music heard in the context of gamelan performance consists of solo *sindhènan* (the singing of the *pesindhèn*) within a *gendhing* for which tradition has not explicitly established a text or a vocal melody. Instead, the singer chooses a text from a large repertoire of poems, most often in the form known as *wangsalan*, consisting usually of two lines of twelve syllables each, divided into two parts (four plus eight syllables). These lines she renders in a series of melodic phrases (*cèngkok*), most of which exist as independent entities that constitute part of her repertoire, rather than as phrases unique to or prescribed for a particular *gendhing*. The realization of each *cèngkok* will differ at least slightly from one individual *pesindhèn* to another, but the repertoire of *cèngkok* is shared, for the most part, at least within a given regional tradition.

Ranging from erotic to didactic, *wangsalan* present their message in the form of a puzzle. The first line does not usually convey the intended message, but suggests the meaning or sound of words or phrases in the second line. Often the first part of the first line relates in this way to the first part of the second line, and likewise for the second parts of the two lines.

Ujung jari, | balung rondhoning kalapa,

Kawengkuwa, | sayekti dadi usada.

Fingertip [= *wengku*], | palm-leaf spine [= *sada*],

To be cared for, | truly causes healing.

Page Image The *pesindhèn* also uses other poetic forms, usually less subtle ones (such as *parikan*), which for coherence rely on rhyme rather than suggested meaning. *Parikan* are often light, humorous, or even risqué in mood.

Regional perspectives on repertoire

While the kinds of instrumental, vocal, and vocal-instrumental pieces described above are found throughout Java, certain regions emphasize certain genres, forms, or scalar systems. In Banyumas, the repertoire is mostly *sléndro*, though some Banyumas *macapat* (*asmarandana* and *pangkur*) use a deviating scale similar to Sundanese *madenda*, and new *lagu dolanan* are often composed in *pélog*. In the area of Malang, *pélog* gamelans, and thus *pélog* music, are predominant, even for *wayang purwa* in some rural districts. The ensemble music of Banyuwangi (*angklung* and *gandrung*) is mostly in a five-tone scale some would identify as *sléndro*.

For Yogyanese and Solonese traditions, because written records date back more than a century, we can identify hundreds of *gendhing*—well over one thousand for Solo, and nearly that many for Yogya. These include not only a great number of *gendhing* in each of the smaller formal structures, but literally hundreds of large *gendhing*. Yet gamelan repertoires, like all active repertoires around the world, frequently change. Many large *gendhing*, associated primarily with the grandeur of the courts, are rarely performed. Instead, new pieces, especially *lagu dolanan* and other pieces in smaller forms, are taking their place.

The gamelan and *calung* repertoire of Banyumas, an area that prides itself on the outgoing nature and humor of its people and music, consists almost entirely of vocally oriented pieces in *lancaran* form. Semarang maintains a distinctive repertoire of *gendhing bonang*, utilizing only loud-playing instruments played in a uniquely Semarang style; it once had a local wayang repertoire, separate from that of other regions. Elsewhere in central Java more obscure local repertoires persist, such as the unique *gendhing lampah* that accompany *wayang golèk* of the Kedhu area, between Yogyakarta and Banyumas.

The eastern Javanese heartland, despite intensive borrowing from central Java, has maintained more than three hundred eastern Javanese *gendhing*. These include some large *gendhing* (with two major sections and *kenongan* of sixteen or more beats) and many pieces whose formal structures are comparable to those of the central Javanese small *gendhing*. Eastern Javanese equivalents to *ketawang, lancaran*, and *ladrang* are in eastern Javanese academic circles now called *cakranegara, giro*, and *luwung*, respectively, with other terms for other formal structures. However, the eastern Javanese more generally classify their repertoire by context and style, as in *gendhing tayub, gendhing wayang*, and so on. For eastern Javanese loud-playing pieces, musicians usually distinguish between *giro* (shorter-phrased, ceremonial pieces, structurally comparable to central Javanese *lancaran*) and *gendhing gagahan* (longer-phrased 'strong pieces'). The eastern Javanese wayang repertoire is quite separate from that of any central Javanese tradition, with uniquely eastern

Javanese melodies, techniques, and forms (Sutton 1991a); nevertheless, like central Javanese pieces, these feature melodic phrases of unequal length, with dense playing of the gong instruments.

Banyuwangi *gandrung* music is essentially vocal, with the violins following the singer-dancer's vocal melody in heterophonic fashion (Brandts Buys 1926; Wolbers 1992). The gong-punctuation patterns differ from those elsewhere in Java, but the phrases between strokes on the largest gong are mostly quite short (comparable to four or eight beats in central Javanese music). To outwit opponents in *angklung caruk* contests, musicians create many *angklung* pieces, at least in part; yet they maintain a repertoire of older pieces, many of which consist of several clearly demarcated sections,

Page Image some in free rhythm. Some of these are based on songs; others, especially the more recent ones, show the influence of Balinese music, particularly the style of *gamelan gong kebyar*.

In Madura, ensembles maintain a variety of uniquely Madurese pieces, with Madurese versions of Solonese pieces apparently introduced into the court of Sumenep because of a series of marriages between members of the Sumenep and Solonese royal families (1800s and early 1900s). More widespread are *sronèn*, ensembles consisting of a double-reed aerophone, drums, gongs, and sometimes other metallophones. From information available, it appears that *sronèn* can both accompany vocal music (often sung in falsetto by a male transvestite) and perform purely instrumental music, though often with the double-reed playing variations based on a song.

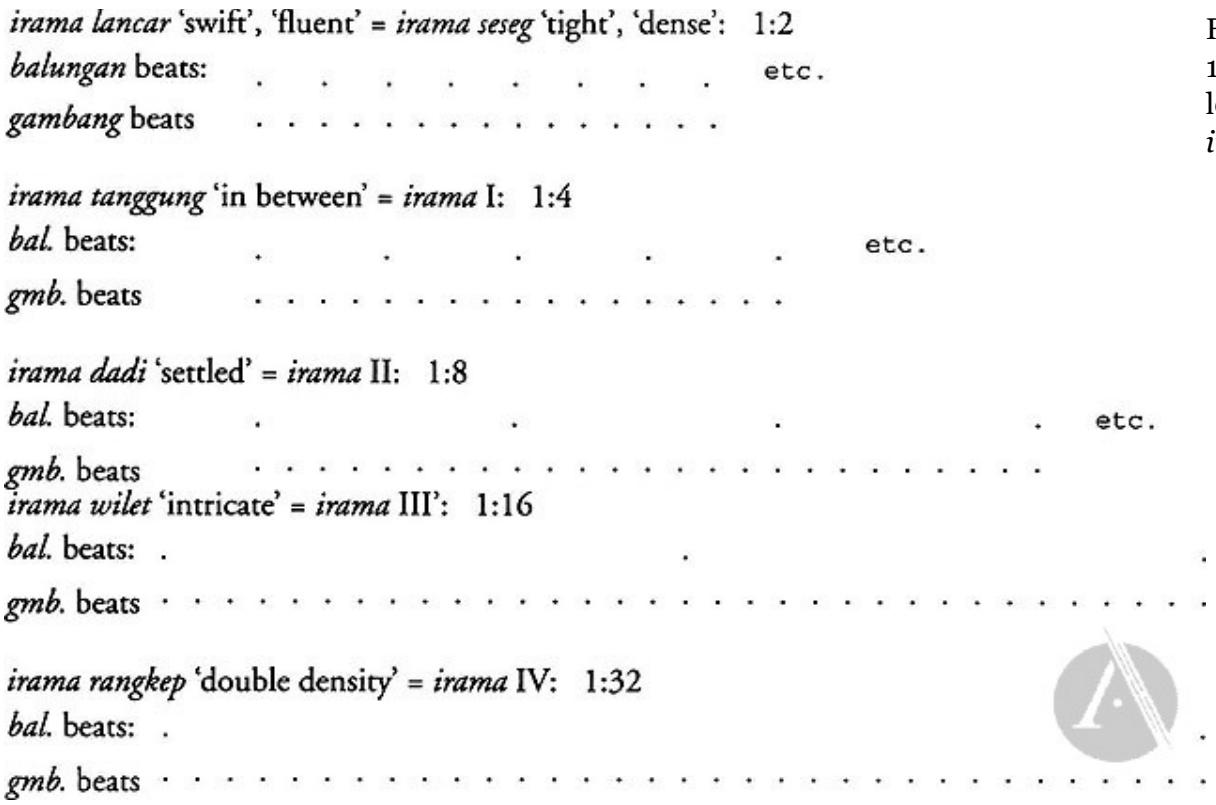
Performance practice

Rhythm and tempo

The rhythmic orientation of Javanese music ranges from steady, even beats in a hierarchy of subdivisions in purely instrumental music to a free-rhythmic, parlando delivery in purely vocal lines. Most of the music combines elements of the two. Binary subdivision characterizes the formal structures discussed above, with the number of beats in full cycles and subsections almost always representing an even multiple of two.

One of the essential elements in the performance of most gamelan pieces, not found in other genres, is the play of *irama*, the level of subdivision of the basic pulse (*thuthukan balungan 'balungan* beat'). Javanese currently recognize five levels of subdivision, determined by the ratio between this beat (often represented by the melody played on the *saron barung* and the *saron demung*) and the parts that evenly subdivide it (played most consistently on the *saron peking*, the *bonang panerus*, the *gambang*, and the *celempung*). Figure 14 portrays the rhythmic relationship between this beat and the fastest pulse, played on the *gambang*.

The term *irama*, sometimes glossed 'tempo', is better understood as the temporal 'space' between beats, measured by the subdividing instruments. The *irama* level, then, is a result of the *balungan* tempo. As the beat slows down, the tempo reaches a



FIGU
14 Fi
level
iram

Page Image point at which the subdividing instruments can double. At this point, the Javanese speak of a change of *irama* level. Within each level, the tempo can vary without bringing about an *irama* change; but in the performance of many pieces, the tempo of the *balungan* gradually slows to one half, and then to one quarter of its initial rate, yielding a change of *irama* during each transition, as the subdividing instruments double their ratio with the *balungan*. As a result, the tempo of the subdividers remains relatively constant from one settled *irama* level to another. The only exception is *irama rangkep*, normally performed with a fast tempo for the subdividing instruments. Keeler (1987:225) aptly compares the process of *irama* change to the shifting of gears by the driver of an automobile. In response to changes of tempo, executing smooth changes in *irama* level is one of the skills Javanese musicians must master. Playing with the expansion and compression of time is fundamental to the aesthetics of gamelan music throughout central and eastern Java.

The regions of Java share similar practices with respect to *irama* levels, binary or parlando rhythmic orientation, and general flow in performance. In each region, pieces tend to start fast and then slow down, with additional changes of tempo likely—either slowing or speeding up. For the most part, tempo (and thus *irama* level) remains constant for substantial periods, sometimes for many minutes at a stretch. Except in especially agitated circumstances in dramatic accompaniments, pieces end with a ritardando and a brief pause before the final gong. In nearly all traditions, the drummer leads the tempo, though a melodic leader (rebab or *bonang barung*) may hint at a tempo change.

Beyond traits shared throughout Java, however, the approaches to tempo represent one important stylistic element that sets one regional tradition off from another. For example, Yogyanese tempos are usually slower than Solonese, especially in the case of dance accompaniment. Gamelan and *calung* performances in Banyumas are sometimes dazzling in their breakneck tempos for the subdividing instruments. In *calung*, these instruments are actually interlocking bamboo xylophones, played in perfect synchronization to reach composite tempos as high as six hundred beats per minute. The small repertoire of Semarang *gendhing* are usually played with a distinctive sequence of

ritardandos that suggest an ending, only to spring back at double tempo for one or more additional statements of the final section. In this case, the subdividing instruments do not change their ratio with the *balungan*, but slow down and speed up with it (in contrast to comparable tempo changes elsewhere in Java). And in the gamelan music of the Surabaya-Mojokerto-Malang area of eastern Java, tempo fluctuates widely within a single *irama* level, particularly in the accompaniment of dance.

Melodic instrumental conventions

Under this heading, rather than attempting a description of the techniques employed in playing Javanese instruments, I offer a description of instrumental conventions in the contemporary performance of central Javanese gamelans, noting some of the most significant divergences among regional traditions.

The loud-playing ensemble

Fundamental to an understanding of instrumental practice is the relationship between the melodic outline (*balungan*) and the treatment (*garapan*) of this outline in the strands of variations that elaborate or abstract it. The *balungan* is almost always realized explicitly on the single-octave *saron barung, saron demung*, and *slenthem*. In Yogyanese tradition, the term formerly referred to a more sparse (and hence more "skeletal") part, played on the large *bonang panembung* in octaves (second and fourth beats of each *gatra* or four-beat *balungan* phrase); nowadays, however, most

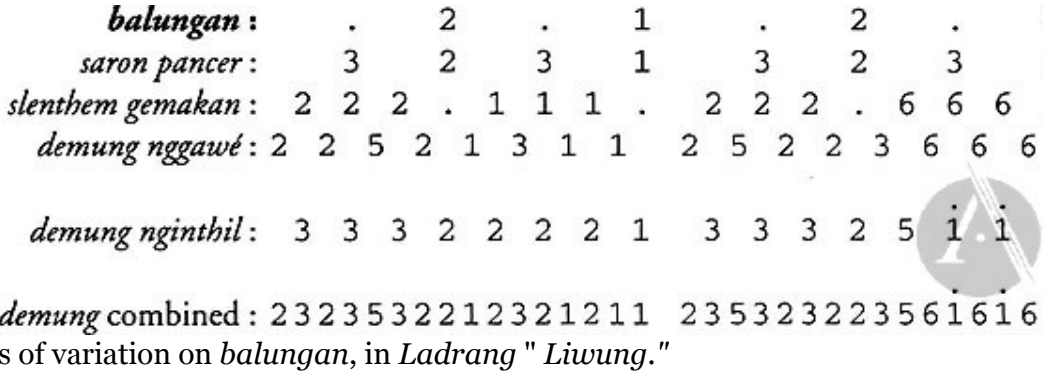
Page Image Yogyanese use the term as other Javanese do, referring to the more rhythmically dense *saron* part, with multi-octave melodic implications.

The *balungan* is the only instrumental part usually played by more than one person simultaneously; it is memorized, though versions of the *balungan* for the same piece vary from region to region, and even from one individual to another within a single locale. Players of the non- *balungan*-carrying instruments are expected to know the *balungan* and to construct their parts in relation to it. Some musicians refer to a multi-octave implicit melody (*lagu batin* 'inner melody'; Sumarsam 1975a and 1984b, Sutton 1979), not sounding on any one instrument but serving as a guide to variations played on other instruments.

The *balungan* part is often a steady progression of tones, one per *balungan* (four per *gatra*, as 2353 2121). Passages are often interspersed with *balungan gantungan* 'hanging *balungan*', in which the same tone is reiterated, often with rests (actually sustaining the previous beat, as 5 5.. 5 5. 6). Some pieces or sections are characterized by a sparser *balungan* part, with only two tones per *gatra* (as. 2. 3. 2. 1) in the style known as *nibani* 'to fall intentionally'. Found in many Yogyanese *gendhing* and other traditions are passages with eight tones per *gatra*, known as *balungan ngracik* (23532121 35321635). Irregular and syncopated patterns also occur, but are rare enough to stand out as clear departures from the widely used patterns.

The instruments that play the *balungan* within their single-octave ranges also perform variations of the *balungan* in certain contexts. In most regional traditions, players insert a single tone between each tone of the *balungan*—a technique known as *pancer*. For example, the *balungan* for *Ladrang* " *Liwung"* (Yogyanese tradition) normally adds a *pancer* tone as soon as the tempo settles. Often this tone for *sléndro gendhing* is high 1; otherwise, as in *Ladrang* " *Liwung*," it is either absent or not prominent in the *balungan*. In Yogyanese tradition, only the *saron barung* play *pancer*. When they do, the *slenthem* anticipates the *balungan* tones, emphasizing the offbeats in a technique known as *gemakan* 'like [the sound of] a quail'. And the *saron demung* vary the *balungan* in this context with paired interlocking tones (*imbal, pinjalan*), one part anticipating and playing in between the beats (*nggawé* 'to do', 'to make'), the other following and playing adjacent tones on and between the saron

beats (*nginthil* to tail', 'to drop like sheep dung') (figure 15).



techniques of variation on *balungan*, in *Ladrang* " *Liwung*."

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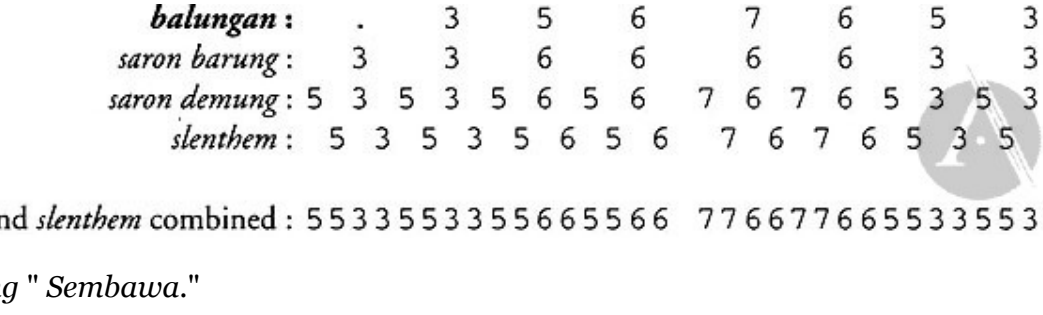

in *Ladrang* " *Sembawa*."

Other techniques of *balungan* variations in Solonese tradition include the playing of *saron barung, saron demung*, and *slenthem* in the combination known as *banyakan* 'like [the sound of] a goose' (figure 16).

In other contexts, particularly in pieces that accompany *wayang kulit* and other dramatic forms, a pair of *saron barung* may perform interlocking variations. And one or two *saron barung* or nine-keyed *saron wayang* may perform wandering variations at twice or four times the tempo of the *balungan*.

The remaining member of the *saron* family, the *saron peking*, plays simple variations of the *balungan* melody, anticipating or echoing the *saron* melody, either tone by tone (*nacah*), or in a simple alternation between two successive tones (*nacah selang-seling*) (figure 17).

In most current practice, the *saron peking* participates in *irama* changes by doubling or halving the ratio of its subdivision with the *saron barung* part, though in some Yogyanese and Semarang practice it does not. Some gamelans have two *saron peking*—in which case two players play interlocking parts, one consistently playing between the beats of the other, and the two parts combining to produce a melody that usually resembles that of Solonese practice illustrated in figure 16. In eastern Javanese traditions, lively pieces or sections of pieces involve an interlocking between the *saron peking* (playing on and between beats) and the *bonang panerus* (playing between the beats of the *saron peking*).

The principal *garapan* instruments of the loud-playing ensemble are the pair of *bonang: barung* and *panerus*. Three basic techniques of variation characterize these instruments. Convention and context determine which of the three is appropriate. The simplest is *gembyangan nyegat* 'cutting in octaves', the anticipation of prominent *balungan* tones with regular offbeat octaves on the *barung*, with something close to triplet subdivision on the *panerus*. This technique is reserved for pieces with short

gongan phrases, either light or swift in mood. It contrasts to a more contemplative and subdued technique, *mipil* 'to pick off one by one' or *mlaku* 'to walk', in which both *bonang barung* and *panerus* vary the *saron* melody, primarily by alternating successive tones, with the *panerus* playing at twice the speed of the *barung*. Passages of *mipil* are often interspersed with the repetition of a tonal degree in groups of three, usually in octaves (*gembyangan* or *duduk*), but in Solonese tradition sometimes only a single low-register tone (*duduk tunggal*). This repetition serves to emphasize a prominent *balungan* tone, often itself reiterated or sustained (*balungan gantungan*). The third technique, called *imbal* or *pinjalan*, is a lively interlocking between *bonang barung* (playing on and between *saron* beats) and *panerus* (playing between *bonang barung* beats). The interlocking on *bonang*—often interspersed with rapid flourishes (*kembangan*), leading to prominent tones of the *saron* melody—is the flashiest, most playful, and most lighthearted of the three *bonang* techniques.

With rare exceptions, the *bonang* participate in the process of change in *irama*

***balungan* (on *saron*) :**	**5**		**6**		**5**		**3**		**2**		**1**		**2**		**6**		
anticipating *nacah* (Yogya and Semarang) :	5	5	6	6	5	5	3	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	6	6	
echoing *nacah* (Solo, *irama tanggung*) :		5	5	6	6	5	5	3	3		2	2	1	1	2	2	6 6
nacah selang-seling (Solo, *irama dadi*):	5	5	6	6	5	5	6	6	5	5	3	3	5	5	3	3	2 2 1 1 2 2 1 1 2 2 6 6 2 2 6 6

FIGU 17

Techniques of *saron peking* variation, in *Ladrang* " *Wilujeng*."

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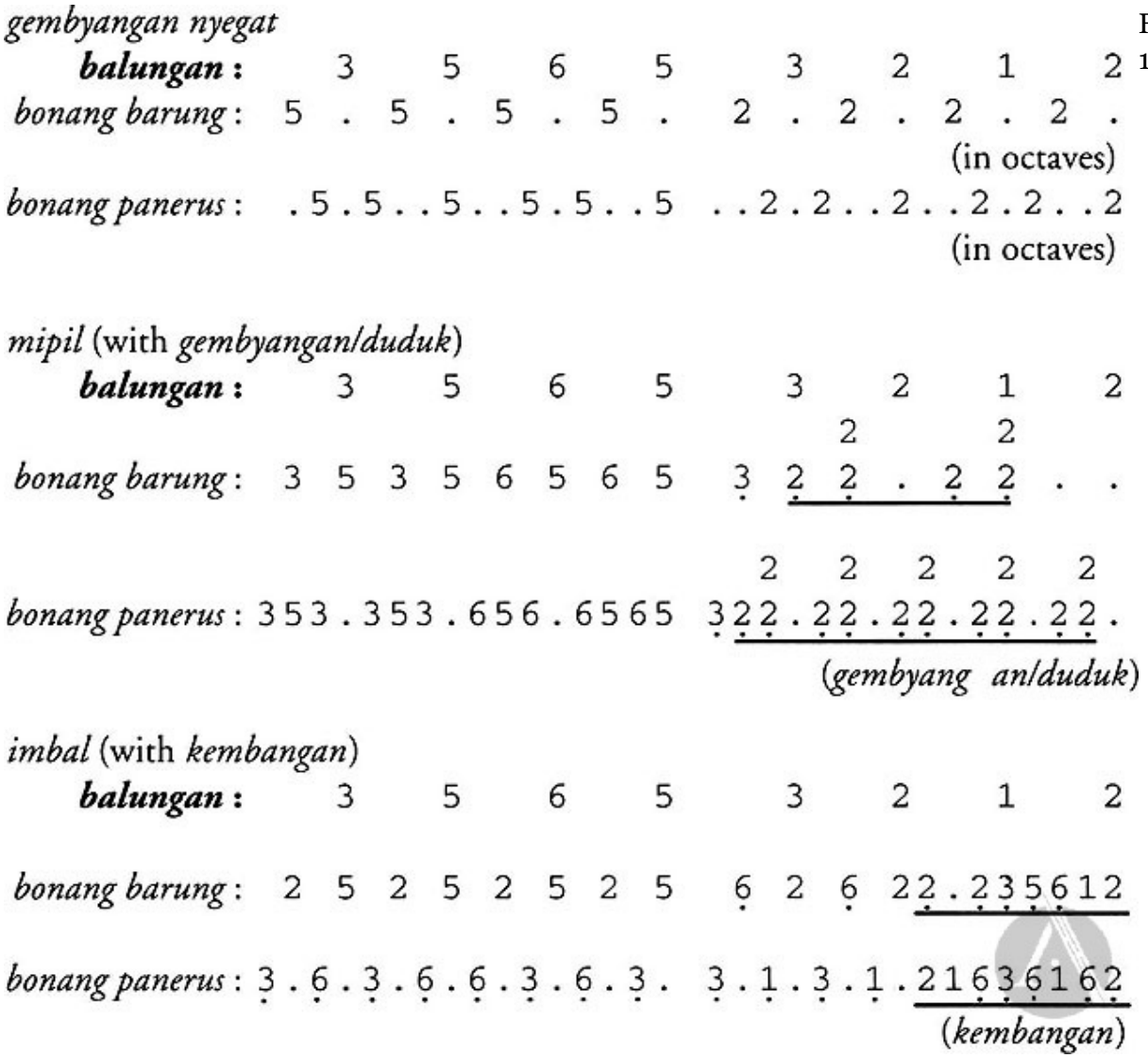

Techniques of *bonang* variation, excerpt from a *srepegan*.

level. The parts given in figure 18 would be played for *irama tanggung*. Were the tempo slowed and *irama* changed to *irama dadi*, the *bonang* parts would double, with some variation, and what now fills one *gatra* would fill half a *gatra*. The *bonang barung* would essentially play the *panerus* part in figure 18, and the *panerus* would play at twice that density: 353.3535 would become 353·353·353·3535·

The *bonang* is often identified as the melodic leader of the loud ensemble. The *bonang*'s anticipation of the tones of the melody played on the *saron*, particularly in the *mipil* technique, can actually spell out the melody well enough that an adept player, with no reference to notation, can perform a piece he has not memorized.

The soft-playing ensemble

From steady, rapid beats on the *gambang*, to florid melodies of *pesindhèn*, to subtle but commanding strains of a rebab, the soft-playing ensemble is the heart of contemporary *garapan*. The soft-playing percussion instruments— *gambang, celempung* (and *siter*), *gender panerus, gender barung*—resemble those of the loud-playing ensemble in their adherence to a subdividing rhythmic paradigm, some more strictly than others. Of these, the *gendèr barung* part is rhythmically and

melodically the most complex. Playing mostly in a two-part counterpoint, it is the most revered of the soft-playing subdividers. Rhythmically more subtle are the rebab (which may contribute to the subdivision, but often plays in syncopation with the main beat) and the *suling*, many of whose melodic patterns are independent of the predominant instrumental beat.

Players of the soft-playing instruments build their parts mostly by drawing on a vocabulary of melodic elaborations (*cèngkok*), whose precise realizations (called *wiletan* by some) are closely related, though in small ways distinguishable from those of other players. A flexible but limited relationship exists between the *cèngkok* and the melodic contexts that comprise the *gendhing* in various repertories. A single *cèngkok* can serve appropriately for a variety of musical contexts, but for some *gatra*, more than one *cèngkok* can be played. A player makes choices based on response to those he or she hears other players using as they perform together, and on his or her own preferences at the moment, including a desire for variation for its own sake.

Page Image

For an example of soft-playing *garapan*, we can consider a transcription of rebab, *gender barung, gambang*, and vocal parts for a passage from *Gendhing* " *Gambir Sawit*" (figure 19). A more detailed survey of soft-playing instrumental techniques is given in Sutton 1993. See also Hood 1988; Perlman 1993; Sumarsam 1975b, 1984b; and Sutton 1975.

As is typical in most central Javanese practice, the *gérong* (male chorus) part adheres both to the regular pulse of the percussion instruments and to the melody of the *balungan*, whereas the *pesindhèn* part floats freely over this pulse, exhibiting considerable rhythmic and melodic independence from the *balungan* and other percussive parts. Like the soft-playing instrumental parts, both these vocal parts are built from *cèngkok*, independent of any particular piece. The *gérong* melody is in unison with the *balungan* at the end of most *gatra*, while the *pesindhèn* melody usually lags behind, arriving at the *gatra* final tone well after the next *gatra* has begun. In eastern Javanese tradition, solo vocal lines comparable to those of the *pesindhèn* here typically reach the goal tone either simultaneously with, or even ahead of, the instruments.

Many *gendhing* performed in soft-playing style will be stopped in mid-phrase by a signal from the drum, at which point the *pesindhèn* (or more rarely a solo male vocalist) is expected to perform a florid solo, accompanied only by occasional referential tones supplied by the *gendèr barung*. At the appropriate moment, the drummer signals the reentry of the other instrumentalists, and the *gendhing* resumes, ending eventually at the sounding of a gong, or proceeding on to another *gendhing*. This stop, known as *andhegan* (*pedhotan* in Banyumas, *pos* in eastern Java), provides an opportunity for focus on the skills of the vocalist.

The rebab part characteristically elaborates and anticipates the *balungan* and other melodic parts. In the first system, the rebab moves to pitch 5 at the end of the first *gatra*, well before the *balungan* or other instruments arrive at this pitch. The *gambang* and the *gendèr*, like other soft-ensemble instruments (*celempung, gendèr panerus*), provide melodic elaboration around the *balungan* melody, coinciding with the *balungan* at the end of most *gatra* and coordinating with the other parts in heterophonic texture.

Some Javanese musicians refer to the practice of *nunggal-misah* 'to join-to separate' underlying good soft-ensemble playing of *garapan*, in which each part joins (in unison) with other parts at moments during the performance of passage, but also exhibits significant independence, particularly between standard points of convergence, such as the final tones of a *gatra*. For the *gendèr*, the left hand's part is heard as fundamental, with the right hand providing a kind of obbligato, such that the dyad 6 (right hand) and 2 (left hand) is a settled conclusion for a passage of *balungan* ending on pitch 2. The

gambang plays mostly in octaves, and covers a wide range, elaborating on the multi-octave flow of melody in soft-ensemble gamelan music.

Rhythmic instrumental conventions

The instruments providing rhythmic direction in gamelan performance are the *kendhang* (drums) and, in dance and dramatic performances, the *keprak* (slit drum) and the *kecrèk* (metal plaques). The *bedhug*, found in some gamelans, serves primarily to accentuate the *dhang* in certain two-drum (*kendhang loro*) patterns; in *gamelan sekati*, it is the only drum, but serves more as a subdivider of phrases (like *kempul*) than as a leader of rhythms.

The playing of *kendhang* in Solonese and Yogyanese traditions ranges from the sparse sounding of large *kendhang gendhing* in the *mérong* of large *gendhing* (and often the *inggah* sections of these *gendhing*) to the rapid and syncopated drumming on *ciblon* typical of the accompaniment of lively male and female dance. *Kendhang*

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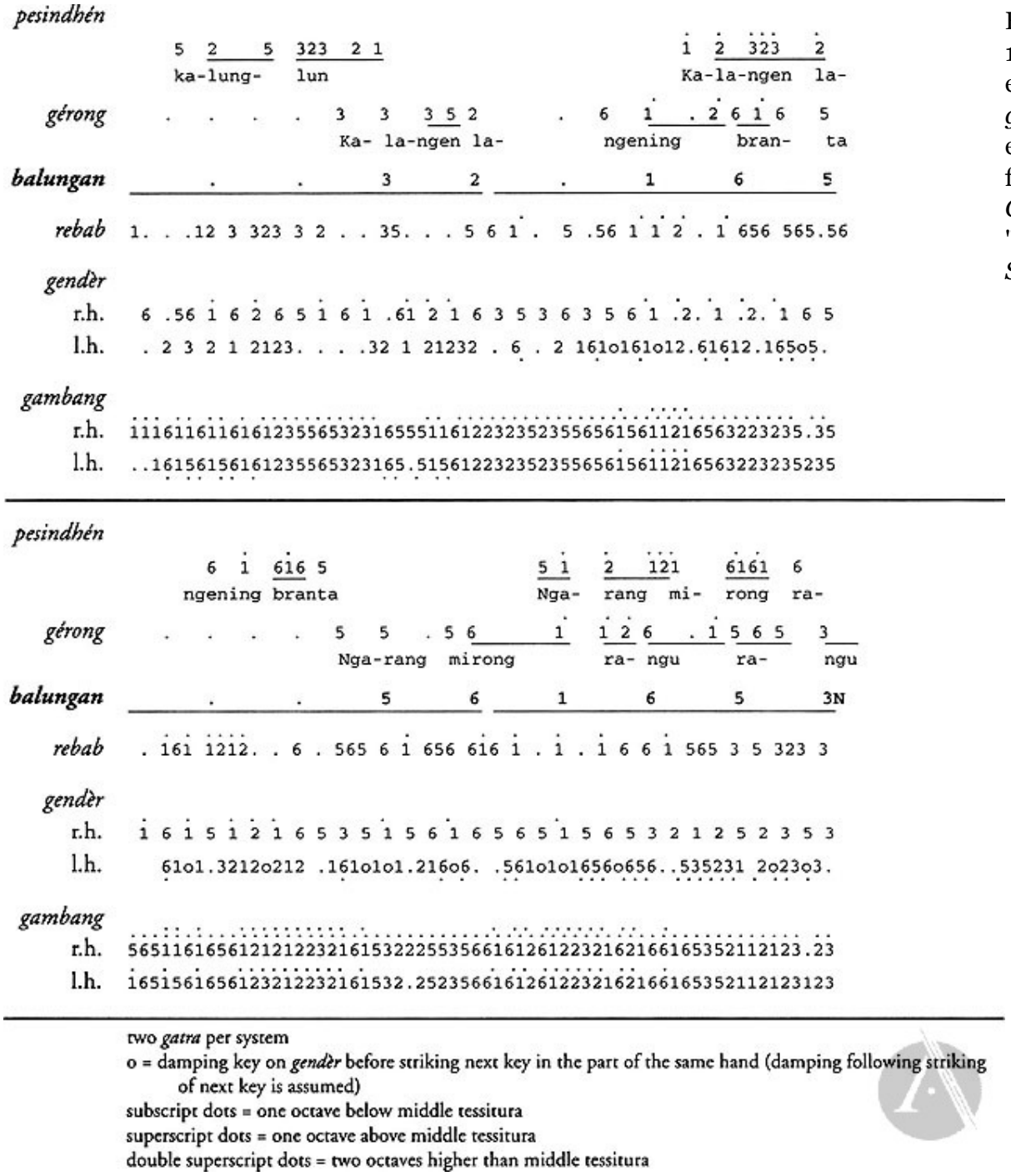

two *gatra* per system
o = damping key on *gendèr* before striking next key in the part of the same hand (damping following striking of next key is assumed)
subscript dots = one octave below middle tessitura
superscript dots = one octave above middle tessitura
double superscript dots = two octaves higher than middle tessitura

FIGU
19 So
ensei
gara
excer
from
Gena
" *Gar*
Sawi

loro, patterns for shorter pieces, though livelier than one-drum patterns (*kendhang siji*), nevertheless fall toward the calm end of the continuum (figure 12).

Solonese tradition also includes *kosèk*, a subtle but animated set of drum patterns (Martopangrawit 1972b). Performed on one drum (*kendhang gendhing, ciblon*, or *kendhang wayang*), these patterns are heard most often in *wayang kulit* accompaniment (especially *kosèk wayangan*). Though reminiscent of drumming on *ciblon* in their syncopation and constant activity, they are usually played more quietly—and

Page Image most important, they do not constitute accompanying patterns for specific dance or dramatic movements. *Ciblon* patterns relate to specific movements; even with no dancer or puppet

present, knowledgeable listeners can follow the choreography of movements implied by drumming on *ciblon*. *Kosèk* may have had its inspiration in the accompaniment of specific movements, but is now a more purely aural form.

Drumming on *ciblon* consists of patterns named for particular movements. These patterns are used in a variety of *gendhing*, large and small. In addition to accompanying dancing, the *ciblon* frequently plays in gamelan concerts (*klenèngan, uyon-uyon*)—in which case it usually plays patterns derived from the accompaniment for *gambyong*, the flirtatious solo female dance (Martopangrawit 1972b; Sumarsam 1987). The patterns are coordinated with the formal structure of the *gendhing*, with certain patterns repeating *gongan* after *gongan* and others changing from one to the next—usually in an alternation between moving patterns (*mlaku*) in one passage and standing patterns (*mandeg* 'stop') in the next.

As drumming directs the performative tempo and flow, the drummer's responsibility is usually to signal the ending of a *gendhing*, with a change from the normally repeating pattern (or, in the case of the playing of *ciblon*, repeating paradigm) to a special ending (*suwuk*). Usually the drummer does this by gradually slowing the tempo, but on hearing the change in drumstrokes, experienced musicians know to end, even with no change of tempo (as occurs in some *gendhing lampah*).

Styles of drumming vary widely from one region to another. In Banyumas, one drummer often plays a small *ciblon* in combination with one or more *ketipung*, each standing vertically on one of its heads. Comparable to the playing of *ciblon* in Solonese traditions, the drumming is usually lively, but with greater abandon and more syncopation. The drumming for the small body of Semarang *gendhing bonang* employs *kendhang gendhing* and *ketipung*, but often with a beater used on the *kendhang gendhing*. The patterns alternate long pauses with lively syncopations and the extensive use of the *dhung* sound of the *ketipung* (Sutton 1991a:113). More subdued loud-playing *gendhing* of the eastern Javanese tradition use a similar combination of two drums, often with a beater, but the hallmark of eastern Javanese drumming is the playing of the *gambyak* drum, which can be animated, even in the *gedhugan* style employed in the calmer section of a large *gendhing* only to let loose with crackling pyrotechnics (*gambyakan*) in the second section.

With a limited vocabulary of rhythms, the percussive knocks on the *keprak*, the *kecrèk*, and the chest in which puppets are stored accentuate dancers' or puppets' movements, signal musicians to begin a *gendhing*, change tempos, or end. Initiated by the master of the dance or the *dhalang*, the signals to the gamelan musicians are confirmed by the *kendhang*. The styles of knocking (*dhodhogan*) for accompanying puppetry vary from one regional tradition to another, both in the configuration of specific signals and in the basic sound. For example, the knocking in Yogyanese *wayang kulit* is typically more rapid than that in Solonese.

Of indigenous instruments other than those heard in gamelans, the most prominent are *terbang* (frame drums), used in various genres throughout central and eastern Java and Madura. Most of these employ several smaller *terbang* playing interlocking polyrhythms, with punctuation provided by one or more large *terbang*. Doublereed instruments (*sronèn*), heard in a variety of ensembles in eastern Java and Madura, perform intricate melodies, alternating sustained tones with rapid figuration, often outside the intervallic structures of either *sléndro* or *pélog* (Kartomi 1976). Rice-block-pounding music, enjoying something of a revival because of government-sponsored contests, involves interlocking patterns of contrasting timbres (and sometimes contrasting pitches), with each of five or six players holding one large pole, pounding one or more surfaces of a large, partially hollowed-out log.

Page Image

Pedagogy and transmission

Before the 1900s, music in Java was learned exclusively through informal transmission, and almost entirely without the use of musical notation. According to accounts by older Javanese, aspiring musicians would simply observe performances as carefully and as often as possible, hoping for a chance to show what they had learned. Mistakes were met with scorn, and verbal explanations were minimal until an aspiring musician had succeeded in demonstrating substantial understanding of the music and its technical demands. Once one had convinced one's elders of seriousness of musical purpose and sufficient level of skill, only then might one gain the privilege of occasional advice and individual teaching, though seldom regularized into a series of lessons. This kind of informal learning continues in Java, but it has mostly been replaced by a system of formal education whose influence has led to explicit instruction, use of notation, and a far less intimidating relationship between expert and learner.

Musical notation

Essential to this change in pedagogy was the development of musical notation for Java's gamelan music. In the latter part of the 1800s, with impetus from Dutch intellectuals interested in preserving Javanese arts, several systems of notation developed. Early use was made of Western notation, particularly for Javanese vocal music, albeit with staves modified to accommodate Javanese tonal systems.

The first known notation of *gendhing* (developed in the 1860s and attributed to Adiwinata, a Yogyanese prince) was a cumbersome writing out in Javanese script of the names of each successive tone of the *saron* melody in vertical columns, with indications of gong punctuation (*kenong, kethuk, kempul*, gong) to the side of the corresponding *saron* tone.

A second notation, *nut ranté* or *titilaras ranté* 'chain notation', came into use around 1870 or shortly thereafter (Perlman 1991). It was an adaptation of Western notation on staffs, with parallel (though not equidistantly spaced) horizontal lines, one line for each scalar degree. The melody was represented by single or double dots placed on the lines (but not spaces between them), joined with a wavy line (or "chain"); its higher-pitched tones often appeared on the lower lines, and its lower-pitched tones on the higher—the reverse of the Western arrangement. In some versions, no horizontal lines appear; instead, melodic tones are represented by Javanese letters placed in relationship to one another on a two-dimensional field, with rhythm represented on the horizontal axis and pitch on the vertical.

A more comprehensive graphic notation, *titilaras andha* 'ladder notation', developed among Yogyanese nobility in the last quarter of the 1800s. With parallel lines representing each tone on the *saron*, each staff ran vertically from top to bottom, with black dots representing the *saron* tones. Horizontal lines marked the *balungan* beat. Appended to this core were signs for gong punctuation, for multi-octave melodic register of *garapan* parts, for drumstrokes (*kendhang gendhing* and *ketipung*, but not *ciblon*), and sometimes for the melodic abstraction known as *balungan*, played by the *bonang panembung* and the *slenthem*.

In the late 1890s, at the *kepatihan* (prime minister's residence) in Surakarta, Javanese musicians developed a cipher notation known as *titilaras angka* 'numerical notation', or simply *titilaras kepatihan*. Now the preferred notation for gamelan and vocal music, it is in common use throughout central and eastern Java, and the other forms of notation are all but forgotten. In contrast to the related cipher system, developed in the era just before independence by the great Javanese educator Ki Hadjar Dewantara (using numerals 1-5 in transposition depending on *pathet*), the *kepatihan* system assigned numerals to each pitch degree with superscript and subscript

Page Image dots to indicate higher and lower registers. It indicates gong punctuation either by a set of diacritical marks placed under, over, or around the numerals (downward arc for kenong tone, upward arc for *kempul*, circle for gong tone, and so on), or by appended letters (the version used throughout this article, with N for *kenong*, P for *kempul*, G for gong, and so on). Illustrations of these systems can be seen in J. Becker 1980:15-18, Dewantara 1964, Groneman 1890 (plaat I and plaat II), and Kunst 1973:2:491-499.

When notation first appeared, it was considered primarily a means to fix a source for reference; should anyone forget a *gendhing*, he or she could check the *saron* part, and sometimes other parts, in notation. Through the end of the colonial era, the only performers who might use notation in performance were the player of the *bonang barung* (the melodic leader) and the drummer (the rhythmic leader). Today, even for long and rarely played pieces, the better musicians still play entirely without the aid of notation, though to refresh their memories they may well consult notation before performance. The use of notation has gained a foothold in teaching and performing, but the music is still fundamentally an oral tradition—formulaic but variable, resistant to complete standardization.

Javanese teachers of music expanded the *kepatihan* system to develop notation for all *garapan* parts (*bonang, gendèr*, rebab, and so on) and vocal parts. As a teaching device, such notation provides a clear example, usually of a simple or simplified version of a *gendhing* or a *cèngkok*, but it is intended only as a beginner's aid, to provide a basis on which aspiring musicians learn through intensive aural exposure to the music. *Gendhing* are almost never written out in score. If players of *garapan* instruments use notation in performance, as they often do in the late twentieth century, they use the *balungan* part to help construct their own parts through a combination of recall and generation based on an aural understanding of the music.

For playing *kendhang*, various notational systems have developed. After *titilaras andha* with modified Javanese letters indicating the sounds of drums, the Solonese experimented with systems utilizing Latin letters, read from left to right across the page. Most *kendhang* notation has been for one-drum and two-drum patterns, and has probably contributed to the near standardization of these patterns. Musicians have also notated the drumming of the *ciblon* in central Java and the *gambyak* in eastern Java, but few musicians rely on notation at any stage in learning to play these drums.

Music education

One of the driving forces in spreading the use of notation and in standardizing theoretical understanding of gamelan music in general has been the growth of formal music education. Court-style gamelan music and dance began to be taught as an adjunct to courtly dance at the Kridha Beksa Wirama school in Yogyakarta in 1918. At about the same time in Surakarta, gamelan instruction began to be offered at several institutions, including the court-sponsored museum, Radya Pustaka, and by private organizations such as Pananta Dibya (founded in 1914). Until the end of the colonial era, formal schooling in Javanese music was limited to institutions and clubs outside the main school system.

In 1950, less than a year after the Dutch had been driven out of the country, the Indonesian government established in Surakarta the Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia (Indonesian Conservatory of Traditional Arts), a high school for performing arts. Intended as a locus for combining regional traditions and creating new national arts, this institution has focused almost exclusively on traditional Javanese performing arts, with a faculty mostly of accomplished Solonese musicians, dancers, and puppeteers. In later years, comparable institutions were founded in Yogyakarta

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Banyumas, 1986. Photo by R. Anderson Sutton.

(Konservatori Tari Indonesia, Indonesian Conservatory of Dance, 1961), in Surabaya (Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia, 1973), and in Banyumas (Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia, Secondary School of Traditional Arts, 1978) (figure 20). Now known officially as Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia, these are designated individually by locale (Solo, Surabaya, and so on).

Postsecondary institutions were founded during the 1960s and 1970s: Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia (Indonesian Academy of Traditional Arts, ASKI) in Surakarta, 1964; Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia (Indonesian Academy of Dance, ASTI) in Yogyakarta, 1964; and Sekolah Tinggi Kesenian Wilwatikta (Wilwatikta University of the Arts, STKW) in Surabaya, in the mid-1970s. In the late 1980s, ASKI was renamed Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (Indonesian University of the Arts, STSI); and ASTI combined with other arts colleges in Yogyakarta under the umbrella of Institut Seni Indonesia (Indonesian Arts Institute, ISI). Each of these institutions has emphasized gamelan music inherited from previous generations, but creative innovations have been strongly encouraged at the postsecondary level, particularly since 1978.

Each institution emphasizes the tradition of the immediate region. For example, SMKI Surabaya offers courses in eastern Javanese gamelan, dance, and wayang; and ISI offers courses in Yogyanese arts. Solonese tradition is well represented at all these institutions, but other cross-regional offerings are less regular. The central Javanese institutions offer no regular instruction in eastern Javanese arts. Banyumas tradition is taught at STSI, but otherwise only at SMKI Banyumas. However, classes in music

Page Image and dance of the major traditions from neighboring cultural areas, Sunda and Bali, form part of the regular curriculum at most of these institutions. The result has been both a heightened

awareness of cultural boundaries and a growth in experimental artistic cross-fertilization.

Many amateur groups study gamelan music with teachers either trained at these institutions or directly influenced by their methods. Local, provincial, and national levels of government sponsor contests and festivals in which these groups compete. Musical contests (*lomba*) abound in contemporary Java, contributing to a degree of standardization as groups are required to perform particular pieces conforming to certain guidelines determined by contest committees. In addition to gamelan contests, contests cover a variety of folkloristic arts (*kesenian rakyat*) that involve music, including various forms of dance-drama, *calung-lènggèr*, rice-block-pounding music, *terbang* music, *réyog*, and other processional genres. In a conscious effort by government officials to revive "endangered" artistic forms, contests may even feature obscure genres. In Banyuwangi, in addition to contests of local genres such as *gandrung*, a musical competition between rival *angklung Banyuwangi* known as *angklung caruk* may be so spirited as to erupt into a brawl (Wolbers 1987).

Music and the mass media

The mass media, particularly radio and commercial recordings, have played a central role in the dissemination of music in Java. Phonograph recordings have been made in Indonesia since the first decade of the twentieth century, but it was radio, introduced in the 1920s, that had the greater impact on indigenous music until the rise of commercial recordings on cassettes in the 1970s. Cheaper than phonographs, radios could provide aural access to a changing variety of performances.

In the Java of the late 1990s, mass-media technology is widespread. Most urban households have radios and cassette players, many have television sets, and a rapidly increasing minority have VCRs and satellite dishes. Even before villages had lines for electric power, it was not uncommon to find radios, cassette players, and televisions powered by car batteries. Now most Javanese villages have electricity, making such items easier and cheaper to use. Although individuals may tune in to a particular show on radio or television, it is not unusual to find either (or both) turned on and serving as background for socializing, eating, or doing housework. Musicians often listen to the radio to hear new pieces and new renditions of older pieces. For many musicians, radio serves as the primary source for learning new repertoire, as well as current norms and variants in the treatment or interpretation of older pieces. Musicians also learn from cassettes that they purchase themselves or borrow from friends or neighbors.

Some radio broadcasts are live, but there has been a trend toward the use of commercially produced recordings on cassettes or recordings of sessions by professional or amateur musicians in a radio studio, with multiple takes if necessary. At public institutions and in private lessons, recordings on cassettes (commercially available or privately recorded) routinely serve as standard accompaniments for instruction in dancing. In some contexts, public performances of dance are accompanied by cassette rather than live musicians, but this situation is still unusual.

Radio

The first radio station in Indonesia was BRV (Batavia Radio Vereniging), founded in the early 1920s. It was followed in the late 1920s by NIROM (Nederlands-Indische Radio Omroep Maatschappij) and VADERA, both of which were operated directly by the Dutch colonial government and broadcast some Javanese music. Early stations devoting extensive airtime to indigenous music were MAVRO in Yogyakarta and

Page Image SRV and SRI in Surakarta. These stations routinely broadcast directly from the courts, providing a relatively limited number of radio owners with unprecedented access to the repertoires and styles regarded as the supreme achievements of Javanese music. In addition, MAVRO maintained its own group of gamelan musicians, many of whom were court musicians—from the

sultan's court, the *kepatihan* (the prime minister's residence), and the *pura Pakualaman* (lesser court of Prince Paku Alam). The lack of competition on the airwaves enabled listeners to receive clear radio signals from distant stations. Musicians far from the court cities, then, could listen frequently to the court music of both Solo and Yogya, modifying their own performances in response.

In eastern Java, music associated with the Surabaya area was broadcast during the 1930s by CIRVO (Centraal Indonesische Radio Vereniging Omroep) and NIROM stations in Surabaya. These broadcasts helped spread knowledge of Surabaya gamelan traditions, including the use of Surabaya *gendhing* for *klenèngan* as pioneered by Wongsokadi (see below).

During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), much musical activity was curtailed, but live gamelan music continued to be broadcast on Japanese-controlled Radio Hosokyoku, with studios in central and eastern Java. The national radio station (Radio Republik Indonesia, RRI) was established in September 1945, only a month after the declaration of independence. It currently maintains studios throughout the archipelago, including the following cities in central and eastern Java: Malang, Purwokerto, Semarang, Surabaya, Surakarta, and Yogyakarta. Each of the Javanese branches of RRI devotes considerable time to broadcasting gamelan music and related dramatic genres (including *wayang kulit, wayang wong, kethoprak*, and in eastern Java, *ludruk*). With the exception of RRI Malang, each supports a group of studio gamelan musicians who perform for live broadcasts (or sessions prerecorded for later broadcast) at least once a week. Since the early 1980s these musicians have held formal status as civil servants.

The airwaves in Java are crowded with many private radio stations broadcasting a dizzying variety of music, drama, news, and information. Although Indonesian and Javanese pop music predominate, many stations devote at least some of their schedule to gamelan music and traditional drama. On almost any night, one can choose among Javanese *klenèngan, kethoprak*, and a complete *wayang kulit* (broadcast from about 9:00 P.M. until dawn); most of these are broadcasts not of live performances but of commercial recordings.

Television

Since the introduction of television (1962), the government-controlled television stations in Indonesia have devoted little attention to traditional performing arts. Nevertheless, *kethoprak* performances are broadcast regularly, with other indigenous dramatic genres, such as *wayang kulit* and *wayang wong*, presented occasionally.

Gamelan performances are broadcast occasionally, but are usually of amateur groups, rather than the skilled professionals of the radio stations, courts, or puppeteer troupes. Musicians may be entertained by some of these broadcasts, but the forum for important new repertoire and innovative treatment of traditional *gendhing* is widely acknowledged to be radio—and since the early 1970s, the commercial cassette industry.

Recording

Javanese were introduced to the technology of recording in the late 1800s, when gramophones were first imported. Foreign recording companies recorded varieties of Javanese music from the beginning of the twentieth century—before and during the

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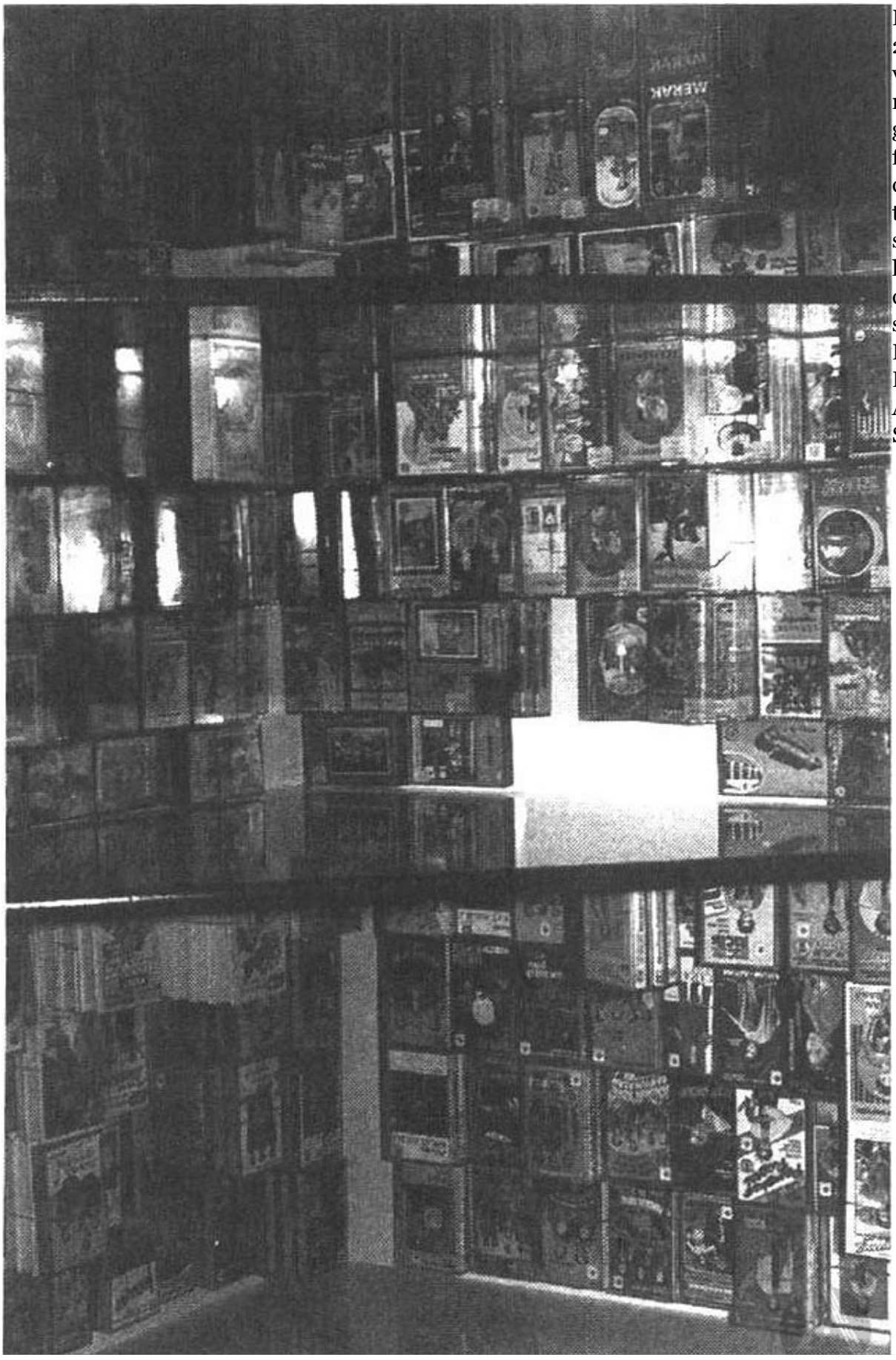

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early days of radio. As late as the 1950s, one could still encounter itinerant disk jockeys toting a phonograph and a collection of disks, which customers could commission to be played for a small fee. Few Javanese were wealthy enough to purchase the disks and the equipment with which to play them.

Commercial disks of Javanese music were produced from the 1950s through the early 1970s by several Indonesian companies, including Aneka Record, Elshinta, Indah Record, Serimpi, and the national recording company Lokananta (formerly Indravox). Among these, Lokananta, based in Surakarta, stood out as exemplary, both in the quality of recording and in the skill and stature of the musicians it recorded (mostly the studio musicians of RRI stations). Though not widely distributed through sales, the recorded music and dramatic arts, particularly on Lokananta, became widely known and highly influential through repeated broadcasts on RRI and other stations. Choice and grouping of repertoire, arrangements, and even details of vocal and instrumental styles on these recordings became authoritative standards, emulated by musicians throughout central and eastern Java.

In 1973, Lokananta ceased producing disks and began devoting its efforts to the medium of cassettes, which several years earlier they and other private companies had begun to produce. In addition to a rapidly evolving, primarily Jakarta-based industry, many companies were established with a focus primarily or exclusively on gamelan music and indigenous theatrical forms, especially *wayang kulit* and *kethoprak* (figure 21). Prominent among these—rivaling Lokananta in breadth of coverage, quality of performance, and sometimes quality of recording—are Ira-Record (Jakarta and Semarang, formerly Wisanda), Fajar (Semarang), Borobudur (Semarang), and Kusuma (Klaten). Most of these offer a range of indigenous musical and dramatic genres from central and eastern Java. Smaller companies have concentrated on particular regional traditions—Hidup Baru and Nusa Indah in Banyumas, CHGB and Nirwana in Surabaya, Bumi Putra / Jayabaya in Malang, Ria in Banyuwangi, and Semar Record in Sumenep.

Having made recorded music accessible to a wide sector of society, the cassette industry has sometimes been regarded as a threat to the continuation of live musical performance. Indeed, Javanese not uncommonly purchase or even rent a recording of an eight-hour *wayang kulit* for playing at a family ritual event (wedding or circumcision). And although live performance does continue, the Javanese strongly prefer to hire star performers (famous puppeteers, gamelan groups, *pesindhèn*) whose fame has been gained largely through their representation on commercial cassettes. The cassette industry has produced a sharp division between performers chosen for recordings, who may earn a substantial living as musicians, and competent but nameless performers, who secure only occasional engagements.

The sheer number of cassette releases—thousands of gamelan music cassettes, hundreds of seven- or eight-hour sets of complete *wayang kulit*, and even close to one hundred cassettes of *calung Banyumas*—is staggering. Because the technology is inexpensive, local genres once thought to be near extinction have enjoyed a resurgence of popularity, as their image has been refurbished by the legitimizing powers of representation on cassettes. The potential for homogenization has been largely blunted by the variety of versions available on cassettes.

Performers and composers

Until the late twentieth century, making music in Java was fundamentally communal, with little public acclaim for players or composers. In villages, many musicians are farmers or petty

tradespeople by day and perform music (*gamelan, slawatan, réyog*, and so on) on an occasional basis. In towns and cities, members of the old nobility and new élites may participate as amateurs in gamelan performances. Yet

Page Image most gamelan music one encounters, whether in live performances or on radiobroadcasts or cassettes, is performed by professional who earn a substantial portion of their income from their activities as musicians.

The profession of music goes back many centuries in Java, with large groups of court musicians fully supported by the royal courts, and itinerant rural musicians hiring themselves out for performances, or even begging from one locale to the next. The status of musician is low in Java, lower than that of dancer or puppeteer. Nevertheless, many musicians earn a meager living from their art, and a few have gained fame and wealth, thanks in large measure to modern mass media.

The division of labor in musical performance remains largely segmented by gender. Professional instrumentalists are nearly always male. In the past, the main exception was the player of the *gendèr* for *wayang kulit*, often the puppeteer's wife. Otherwise, the only professional female musicians were the singers (*pesindhèn*), who before the twentieth century were usually singer-dancers (*talèdhèk, tandhak*, and others), often associated with prostitution. Since the 1960s, with the profession of *pesindhèn* not only gaining in respectability but becoming lucrative, interest in studying singing has grown significantly, particularly among rural girls. Professional female players of *gendèr* are now a rarity, but amateur women's gamelan groups (*ibu-ibu*) have sprung up in great numbers, primarily in the larger towns and cities of central and eastern Java, where they probably outnumber amateur men's.

Musical patronage takes several forms in contemporary Java. Each of the four central Javanese courts maintains a corps of musicians with the official status of court musician (*abdidalem niyaga*) or court singer (*abdidalem pesindhèn*) at various individual ranks; but none of the courts has the financial means to pay even the musical directors a living wage. Musicians still serve the courts, partly out of reverence for royalty, partly for the stature a courtly rank brings to themselves and their families, and partly for the contacts and exposure it provides for other professional musical activities.

Aside from a few famous gamelan music directors and composers (discussed below), those seeking to make a living as gamelan musicians may accompany popular puppeteers (some of whom work nearly every night during certain months of the year), or they may join the ranks of the Indonesian civil service—as musicians affiliated with particular national radio stations (RRI), or as teachers at one of the educational institutions devoted to Java's performing arts. Though the salary is low, the affiliation with one of the RRI stations can win important prestige and invitations for far more remunerative engagements at private events, such as weddings and circumcisions.

Teaching is increasingly the position of choice for Java's young musicians able to secure the necessary formal credentials. Competition for jobs teaching at the arts institutions mentioned above is especially keen. In addition, Javanese gamelan music is taught formally at other institutions offering a broader or differently focused curriculum.

Page Image It is also taught at institutions outside the central and eastern Javanese region, such as SMKI and ASTI in Bandung, and Institut Kesenian Jakarta (IKJ) in the national capital. Another means of support, usually insufficient by itself, is the offering of private and group instruction outside the formal educational system. Most often, professional musicians combine the activities mentioned above in an effort to patch together a livelihood.

Recordings have contributed substantially to the creation of stars among certain gamelan musicians and composers. In former times as well, some musicians won fame for their skills, at least among

fellow musicians and musical enthusiasts. Well known in Surakarta during much of the twentieth century were the court musician K. R. T. Warsadiningrat (1882-1975, formerly known as Prajapangrawit) and others. In Yogyakarta, many residents were familiar with the musicianship of court drummer and occasional composer Ki Laras Sumbaga, and the all-round performer and prolific composer Ki Wasitodiningrat (formerly known as Wasitodipuro and Cokrowasito).

Wasitodiningrat gained fame far beyond his native Yogyakarta, however, mostly from recordings of his compositions and arrangements of traditional *gendhing*. He has now retired from teaching at several American universities; before his work in the United States, he dominated gamelan musical life in Yogyakarta for decades, serving as director of the court musicians at the *pura Pakualaman* and as director of gamelan music at the Yogya studio of RRI. He composed many light, vocally oriented pieces (*lagu dolanan*), some of which entered the standard repertoire and are heard widely throughout central and eastern Java.

Hardjosoebroto (Yogya) and Martopangrawit (Solo) were also famous as innovative composers of light and at times experimental *gendhing*. Martopangrawit, for decades until his death (in 1986), was the supreme authority on Solonese gamelan music. In addition to a large corpus of original compositions and a multitude of talented students, he has to his credit a sizable outpouring of scholarly theoretical works (such as Martopangrawit 1984 [1972a]) and exhaustive books of notation (such as Martopangrawit 1972b, 1973, 1975, 1976). He served as court musician at the main court (*kasunanan*) in Surakarta and as senior teacher at ASKI (now STSI).

The most famous gamelan musician was unquestionably Ki Nartosabdho (1925-1985), who earned a reputation not only as a superb drummer but also as an innovative and sometimes controversial composer and as one of the two or three most sought-after puppeteers in Java. He was born in Wedhi, a town between Yogya and Solo. In 1945, he moved to Semarang as permanent drummer for the Ngesthi Pandhawa *wayang wong* troupe. By the time of his death, he had composed hundreds of new *gendhing*, had reworked vocal parts and arrangements for scores of traditional *gendhing*, had directed music for hundreds of *gamelan* cassettes, and had recorded close to one hundred full-length (eight-hour) performances of *wayang kulit*. During the last years of his life, he maintained a busy schedule of live performances of *wayang kulit*, often receiving the equivalent of thousands of dollars for one evening's performance.

Musicians in other regions have not gained nearly the recognition of Ki Nartosabdho or Ki Wasitodiningrat. Nevertheless, the drummer and composer Rasito and the singer and composer S. Bono are famous in the Banyumas region. Wongsokadi (1869-1954) was widely acclaimed as an innovator in eastern Javanese music, responsible for introducing *sindhènan* into the local repertory and for presenting these *gendhing* for listening pleasure (*klenèngan*), expanding beyond the limits of *tayuban* and *wayang kulit*. He worked for various radio stations: CIRVO and NIROM in the 1930s, Hosokyoku during the Japanese occupation, and RRI Surabaya in the early 1950s (Proyek Penelitian den Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah 1976). Today, because of extensive exposure through radio and commercial cassettes,

Page Image the puppeteer, composer, and gamelan director Suleiman and the former RRI Surabaya gamelan director Diyat Sariredjo are also famous throughout much of eastern Java. In general, however, the top puppeteers enjoy the greatest fame, earning fees that far surpass those of any of the musicians.

Among musicians, despite the greater responsibility of the musical director (usually the drummer), it is the top *pesindhèn* who often command the largest fees. In a world in which men make decisions on hiring, potentially alluring female performers serve as a stronger draw to performances than any but the top male musicians. A sponsor can gain prestige in the local community by hiring one or more

famous *pesindhèn*. Many of the famous ones reside in or near Solo and are called to perform throughout Java. Because of their RRI broadcasts, countless cassette releases, and appearances with top puppeteers, *pesindhèn* such as Prenjak, Sunarti, Supadmi, and Tukinem are known to many. So, too, are Ngatirah (who often sang at RRI Semarang and with Ki Nartosabdho's group, Condhong Raos) and Suryati (who lives in Banyumas, sang with Condhong Raos, and continues to sing with other central Javanese groups and the top local Banyumas puppeteer Ki Sugino). Well known to many Javanese was the legendary Nyi Bei Mardusari, who as a young villager was chosen to become a vocalist and dancer at the Mangkunegaran court. Featured on early recordings, she taught at Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia during the 1950s and early 1960s.

New developments

Javanese music has never been static. Like many primarily oral traditions, it has been based on internal dynamism and variability. During the colonial era, the size of the ensemble grew, many new pieces entered the repertoire, and some new styles of playing and vocal-instrumental combinations came into vogue.

In the era of Indonesian independence, particularly from the late 1950s onward, accomplished musicians composed many new pieces, many of them based on the style of Javanese children's game songs called *lagu dolanan*. These pieces, with more experimental and unusual pieces by Ki Wasitodiningrat and young composers, are usually called *kreasi baru* 'new creations'. Many of them emphasize the vocal line, often delivered by male and female singers in unison. In a few instances, two vocal lines move in counterpoint—almost certainly a response to Western musical influence, without precedent in the *karawitan* tradition.

Several composers have written pieces employing triple meter, which presents considerable challenge to musicians accustomed to using standard four- and eight-beat patterns (*cèngkok*) to create their parts.

Since the early 1980s, the composition of *kreasi baru* has grown tremendously, with an enormous increase in both the number of pieces composed and the number of musicians composing them. Many of these imitate or adopt Indonesian popular tunes in *dangdut* style [see POPULAR MUSIC AND CULTURAL POLITICS]; others employ the infectious rhythms of the popular Sundanese *jaipongan*.

Outside the realm of pop styles, the focal point for the most innovative work in recent years has been the postsecondary institution STSI in Surakarta. Before the early 1980s, students were required to demonstrate mastery of the *karawitan* tradition by composing *agendhing* in traditional style. Since that time, however, due in large measure to the directives of Gendon Humardani, head of ASKI until his death (1983), students have been required to compose a modern piece demonstrating creativity and originality. The resulting pieces usually employ standard gamelan instruments, though they may use nongamelan instruments, even newly invented ones.

Al. Suwardi, a faculty member at STSI and widely recognized as one of the most

Page Image innovative composers, has used a gigantic log xylophone and an electrically operated vibraphone, both of which he constructed himself. He and others have applied unusual techniques to playing standard gamelan instruments. In one piece by Suwardi, kettle-gongs (*bonang*) are turned upside down and partially filled with water. Each of several players holds an inverted kettle in one hand and rotates it in the air as he strikes the knob with a beater. The shifting water alters the pitch, rendering each kettle the source of a wide spread of pitches, sounded with eerie glissandi caused by the changing angle of the water inside the kettle. Less radical techniques involve the playing of *saron* with several beaters simultaneously, performing rapid glissandi on *saron* and metallophones, and the

simultaneous playing of *sléndro* and *pélog* instruments or rapid alternation between them.

Some of the experimental compositions incorporate substantial passages from extant traditional pieces and employ standard techniques. Others draw on performance styles from the neighboring traditions of Sunda and Bali, but apply them to Javanese instruments in unusual juxtapositions. Nontraditional uses of extant traditional passages and techniques can be just as surprising as the radical techniques mentioned above. They give the compositions a high degree of unpredictability, requiring different attitudes and responses from an audience than do older pieces. They are presented in concerts lasting only a few hours, with small audiences sitting quietly and listening attentively.

The new compositions by faculty and students at STSI, with comparable works being produced at other institutions, have been largely experimental, conceived as artistic and intellectually challenging, rather than as accessible and entertaining. As a result, one finds little awareness of these pieces outside the confines of STSI and other similar institutions. Few are available on commercial recordings or broadcast on the radio. Most professional gamelan groups, such as those in the employ of popular puppeteers and those affiliated with RRI stations, do not learn this repertoire. Nevertheless, pieces once thought too radical—the *kreasi baru* of the 1950s and 1960s, with more recent pieces in this style—are now standard fare in gamelan performances throughout Java.

It is too early to predict what wider effects experimental compositions will have in Java, but they are bound to influence the history of *karawitan*, which has always evolved in response to changing social conditions and aesthetic sensibilities. The continued vitality of Javanese music is due not only to its basic internal dynamism and tolerance for individual creativity but also to Javanese openness to change.

CIREBON

The region of Cirebon, located at the approximate cultural boundary between the Sundanese and the Javanese, encompasses aspects of both cultures. Whether culturally it is more similar to the Sundanese of West Java or to the central and east Javanese (hereafter, Javanese) is uncertain, but its location has deeply affected the mixture of cultures that produce Cirebonese music.

Besides the locally dominant ethnic groups (Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese), other ethnically distinct marginal groups (*suku sisipan*) have occupied Cirebon and surrounding regions. The 1400s and 1500s saw large migrations from different places, such as Sunda, Java, China, and mainland Southeast Asia. Today, Cirebon has evolved its own unique culture. Linguistically and in some forms of art (such as shadow plays and woodcarving) it is closer to the Javanese than to the Sundanese; in other cultural aspects (such as music and dance) it is closer to the Sundanese.

Cirebonese culture is supposedly a mixture of the two more dominant cultures: Sundanese to the west, and central Javanese to the east. Indeed, Caruban, an early

Page Image name for Cirebon, is often glossed 'mixed' (Carbon 1972). In reality, however, the situation is more complicated. Cirebonese influences on the Sundanese in music and dance are actually greater than vice versa. In the 1500s, Cirebon developed into an Islamic kingdom. Before then, its area had been part of both Galuh and Pajajaran, Sundanese Hindu kingdoms. Central Javanese cultural influences during the Mataram Period (in the 1600s and the 1700s) are great, but some Cirebonese cultural aspects are older. Architecture, woodcarving, and musical expression are similar to fourteenth-century east Javanese Hindu culture, as well as to Balinese cultures of today (Wagner 1959; Wright 1978). Even now, the musical practices and terminologies in Cirebonese gamelans have more similarities to those of the east Javanese than to those of the central Javanese.

The development of Cirebonese culture is linked closely to the emergence of the so-called northern coastal culture (*kebudayaan pasisir*) during the rise of the Javanese-Islamic period, which superseded the existing Java-Hindu culture. The Cirebonese kingdom, one of the largest Islamic kingdoms in Java, was founded by Sunan Gunung Jati, one of nine famous Islamic saints (*Wali Sanga*) and the only one to become a king (Siddique 1977). As the northern coastal culture adopted most aspects of the Java-Hindu culture (with modifications to suit their indigenous philosophy), some of the fourteenth-century Majapahit culture survives in Cirebon.

This link is strengthened by the belief that traditional arts are the saints' creation, especially Sunan Kalijaga, and therefore, have symbolic Islamic significance. Further, Cirebonese professional artists believe they are descendants of one of the saints, either Pangeran Panggung or Sunan Kalijaga. Most artists, besides priding themselves on their blood, strongly believe that, as descendants of Pangeran Panggung, only they can perform the traditional arts correctly. Many keep oral and written records of their genealogies, and they tend to marry endogamously so that they will have genetically pure artistic descendants. Though Cirebonese artists are not usually members of the upper social strata, they are proud of being born with a guaranteed profession (Suanda 1981).

Since 1677, the Cirebonese kingdom has been divided into two kingdoms, Kasepuhan ("The Old") and Kanoman ("The Young"), each with its court (*kraton*). A third court, that of the Kacirebonan principality, was established in 1807 (Sunardjo 1983). An even smaller court, Kaprabonan, was established before World War II. These divisions were initially the result of political tension, but the courts also function as religious centers. Even now, when none of the courts has political power, they retain strong religious functions. The kings and their descendants are believed to have spiritual power. Villagers, farmers, merchants and artists come individually or communally to the king (*sultan, pangéran*) or princes (*élang*) to ask for blessings or to be cured of spiritual and physical illnesses.

The city of Cirebon is now one of Indonesia's medium-sized cities. Almost everything is available in the city, from pedicabs to airplanes, from inexpensive lodg-ing

Page Image to international hotels, from *sintren* groups (see below) to bands that play rock. The population of municipal Cirebon (37 square kilometers) was about 255,000 in 1990-1991, but the Cirebon cultural area includes the regencies (*kabupaten*) of Cirebon (988 square kilometers, 1.6 million people) and Indramayu (2,000 square kilometers, 1.4 million people), parts of the regencies of Majaléngka, Kuningan, Subang, Karawang, Tangerang, and Sérang, and even some areas in the Brebes and Tegal (central Java) regencies. Roughly, it involves the Cirebonese-speaking areas, which include no fewer than 5 million people (about 2.75 percent of Indonesia's population).

The Cirebonese language may be said to be a dialect of Javanese. About 80 to 90 percent of its words can be easily understood by Javanese listeners, whereas only about 10 to 20 percent can be understood by Sundanese. The Cirebonese script is exactly like the Javanese, but the Sundanese script, which also came from central Java, has some modifications, and not all letters are compatible. The pronunciation, however, is similar to that of the Sundanese. The open syllable, written *a*, is pronounced /a'/ in Cirebonese and Sundanese, though it is pronounced /o/ in Javanese. The word *rama* (in Javanese and Sundanese script), for example, is pronounced /rama'/ in Cirebonese and Sundanese, and /romo/ in Javanese. Though Cirebonese people call themselves Javanese (*wong Jawa*) and call Javanese the eastern people (*wong wetan*), some of their cultural expressions are similar to those of the Sundanese.

Islam and music

Most Cirebonese are Muslims. Consequently, their culture has strong Islamic elements. As in most

parts of Java, however, there is little Arabic musical influence. The scalar, modal, and musical influences reflect the regional culture, rather than West Asian musical culture just as Javanese-Hindu music contains few Indian music elements. In the past, the melody of the call to prayer (*adzan*) and the reciting of the Qur'ān in many villages were in *sléndro* or *pélog* scale, rather than in a West Asian scale, as heard today.

Some Cirebonese musical instruments—like frame drums, variously called *trebang* (or *terbang*), *genjring* (with metal jingles) *gembyung*, and *brai*—are believed to have come from West Asia. Drums, the only musical instruments found in mosques, include a slit drum, a large double-headed drum used to signal the time of prayer, and the possible addition of one or more kinds of frame drums. Few musical ensembles with these frame drums, however, are still associated with the mosque. The acrobatic performance of *sidapurna*, which often includes magical elements and has nothing to do with Islam, is accompanied by an ensemble of *genjring*. The *randu kentir*, a folk-dance group in Indramayu, uses these frame drums to function as *ketuk* and *gong*.

Because Islam came to Indonesia through Sufism, it blended easily with the local religion and culture. Indigenous Javanese (Hindu) artistic traditions were adopted by Islam, and were transformed to include Islamic symbolic teaching. Shadow plays, gamelans, and other forms of art are traditionally believed to be the creation of the nine Islamic saints, who invented them to help spread Islam (Ricklefs 1981). The *gamelan sekati*, which does not sound at all like West Asian music, is considered the most Islamic (see the discussion of *gamelan sekati* in "Central and East Java," above). This type of gamelan is still played in the court compounds only for the celebration of Muhammad's birthday (at Kanoman) and major Islamic holidays, Idul-fitri and Idul-'adha (at Kasepuhan). Even though the shadow-puppet theater (*wayang kulit*) is forbidden by fundamentalist Muslims, some people still believe that by understanding the philosophical symbols found in a box of puppets, one can learn as much of

Page Image Islam as by reading the Qur'ān. Even the monster play (*berokan*) and the *ronggeng* (professional female dancer-singer, often associated with prostitution) are believed to embody elements of Islamic philosophy (Sutton 1989) [see W AVES OF C ULTURAL I NFLUENCE: Islam].

Islamic fundamentalism, however, has grown since the 1800s, as direct contact with West Asia has become more accessible through pilgrimages, Islamic universities (which include the study of Arabic), publications, and other mass media, such as radio, television, and especially the cassette industry. In most parts of Java, every neighborhood has several mosques, whence, through raised loudspeakers, one can hear Qur'ānic recitation and the call to prayer five times daily—all in a West Asian melodic style.

Contexts involving musical performance

Traditional Cirebonese music is rarely performed in concert halls. Indonesia does, however, support several concert halls, which are concentrated in the large cities (for example, Jakarta and Surabaya), and are normally reserved for Western or classical music. Though in the late twentieth century some regional music schools have arisen, the most common setting for learning music is still in the actual performances (Suanda 1986). Performances are associated with one or more kinds of individual or communal ceremonies. Except ceremonies in villages and courts, performances occur on a temporary stage built in the yard or on the street in front of the house of the person who commissioned them.

The function of the arts is still closely connected to village rituals involving initiation, rice, the sea, and ancestors. Though most artists are not farmers, they not only know much about farming, but in many ways are responsible for its ritual process. Farming rice, the primary and most spiritualized crop, and initiations are the best examples of how traditional performing arts are intrinsic to the

entire cultural, spiritual, and ecological setting. Annual village rituals vary from one village to another, but most villages have five annual ceremonies: *sidekah bumi, ngunjung, kasinoman, mapag tamba*, and *mapag Sri*. Another ceremony, *nadran*, is for fishermen in the coastal villages.

The *sidekah bumi* 'earth blessing' is held before the farmers start working in the fields, usually in the months of September through December, as a blessing or offering to the earth, appealing for good luck in the next rice planting. The *ngunjung*, a ceremony of thanksgiving, is offered to the ancestral spirits and performed at the graveyard of the village founder or a powerful religious figure, to thank God for a good harvest, and to hope for better ones. *Ngunjung* is often held at the same time as *sidekah bumi*. *Kasinoman* 'youth', in some areas called *ngarot*, is a ritual party for the young people, for their work contributes to the success of their parents' rice fields; it may also be a ceremony for boys to court girls.

Mapag tamba 'picking up the remedy' is the ceremony after the planting and weeding of the rice field, around January and February. In it, celebrants pick up holy water from a sacred place (usually one of the palaces in Cirebon, or from the graveyard of the king, Sunan Gunung Jati) to be spread out in people's rice fields as a treatment against rice-specific disease. The *mapag Sri* 'welcoming Sri' is held before harvesttime, around March and April, to celebrate the coming of the goddess of rice, Dewi Sri. In the *nadran* or *pesta laut* (sea ceremony), celebrating or honoring the god of the sea or the god of fish, fishermen thank God and pray for better luck. Another ceremony that is performed less and less is the communal exorcism (*baritan* or *barikan*), held at a crossroads, in a graveyard, or in the middle of a rice field.

For all these ceremonies, all kinds of groups perform predominantly theatrical genres, such as *wayang kulit* 'shadow-puppet theater', *wayang golèk* 'rod-puppet theater',

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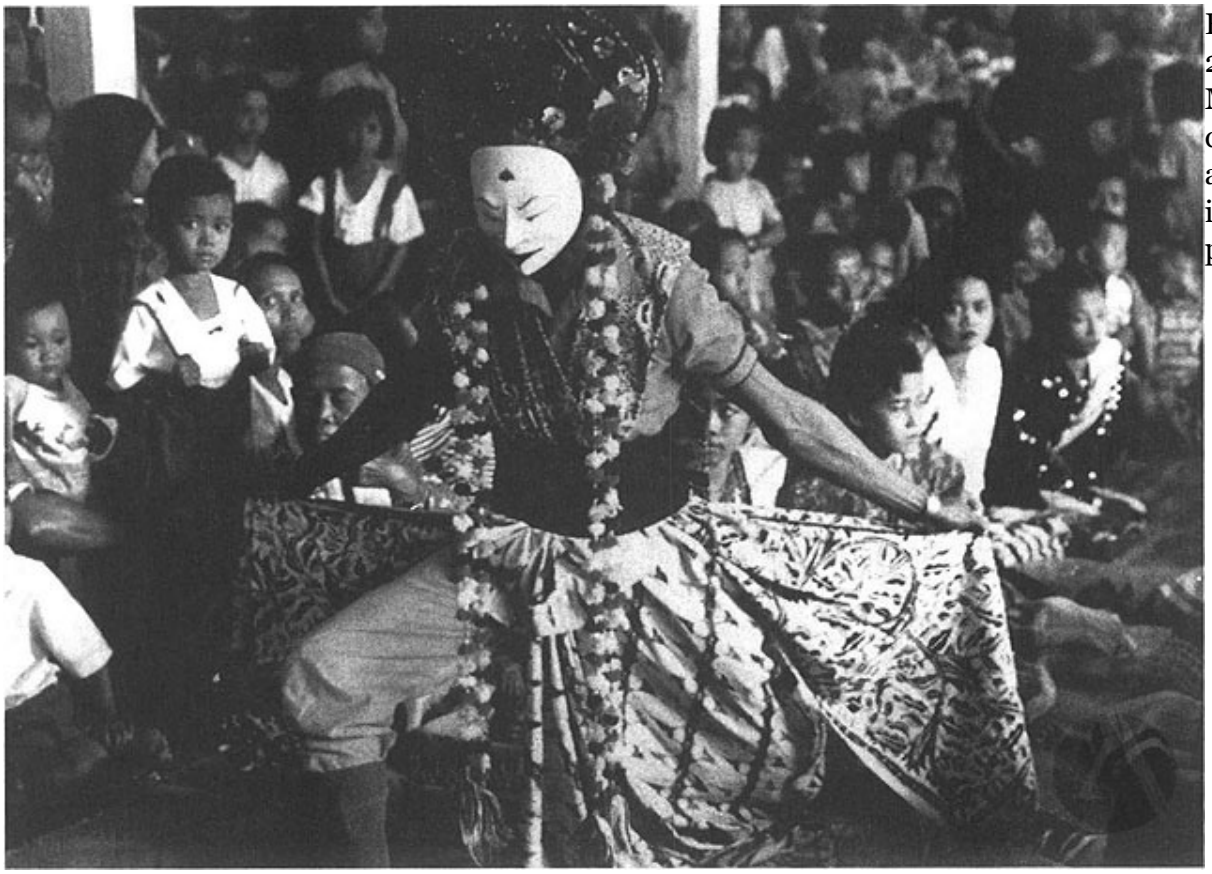

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kasinoman ceremony. Photo by Endo Suanda.

and *wayang topèng* 'masked-dance theater' (Foley 1984, 1986, 1990; Rogers-Aguiniga 1986; Suanda 1986, 1988). For *sidekah bumi, mapag Sri*, and *nadran*, special shadow-puppet stories must be performed: Bumi Loka, Sri-Sadana, and Budug Basu, respectively. For *kasinoman* (figure 22), groups perform the masked dance *tayuban* or the social dance *ketuk telu* or *dangdut*, Indonesia's pop of the late twentieth century (Hatch 1985; Yampolsky 1989). *Ngunjung*, usually the most exciting event, involves a great parade by most of the villagers and performances by several groups. The biggest ceremonies are held in the villages of Trusmi and Astana, which have the graves of the founders of the city and kingdom of Cirebon. In these villages, tens of thousands of people from all over the Cirebon and Indramayu regions may be involved in the parade, with all kinds of artistic, allegorical, or symbolic performances. Dozens of artistic groups perform for several nights in the graveyards. Their performances are offerings to their ancestors, with the hope of good luck and the maintenance or increase of their social popularity.

The most frequent events involving music, however, are weddings and circumcisions, making up about 60 percent of all such events. The remainder are for other types of life-cycle ceremonies, such as the seventh month of pregnancy (as in several other areas of Indonesia), exorcism (*ruwatan*), execution of a vow or oath when one recovers from illness or has good luck (often held with weddings and circumcisions), the artists' *buka panggung* (opening of the stage), *atur-atur* ('esteem' from the artists to ancestors), independence-day celebrations, street performances (*babarang*, for *sintren* and *topèng* groups), and festivals. Therefore, the villages, not the courts or the cities, are the center of traditional Cirebonese performances.

Musical systems

Like other parts of Java, Cirebon has musical forms that can be categorized into gamelans and other

ensembles.

Gamelans

Cirebon has several types of gamelan, more in the tradition of the folk than that of the courts. Like shadow-puppet theater, the gamelans' refinement and sophistication have less to do with patronage than with professionalism and the family system. Cirebonese artists are exclusively professionals.

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Cirebonese (and Sundanese) village ensemble. Photo by Endo Suanda.

Court gamelans

All the court gamelans are similar in that all have a one-row gong chime (*bonang*) like the Balinese *réyong* and *trompong*, as opposed to the two-row *bonang* of the modern Javanese gamelan. Furthermore, they are all in *pélog*-like tuning, and musically refrain from developing or changing to suit modern tastes. The exclusive court gamelan are the *gamelan sekati* (also *gamelan sukati*) and the *gamelan denggung*. The former is found in both the Kasepuhan and Kanoman courts. In Kanoman, as in other Javanese courts, this gamelan is played only for Mulud, Muhammad's birthday; but in Kasepuhan it is played on Idul-fitri (the holiday following Ramadan) and Idul'adha (the traditional pilgrims' holiday).

The older *gamelan denggung*—perhaps three centuries old or older, and found in the Kasepuhan court but no longer played—resembles the Sundanese *gamelan degung* of today (see below). This

means that it could be originally from Sunda (North 1988), or conversely, that the Sundanese *degung* ensemble originated in Cirebon. Regarding the one at the court of Kacirebonan, now rarely played, only one piece (*lagu*) is known, entitled " *Lagu Denggung*" and performed to make rain. The other court gamelan is the *gamelan balé bandung*, basically the same as the *gamelan rénténg*, a village ensemble also found in parts of Sunda (figure 23).

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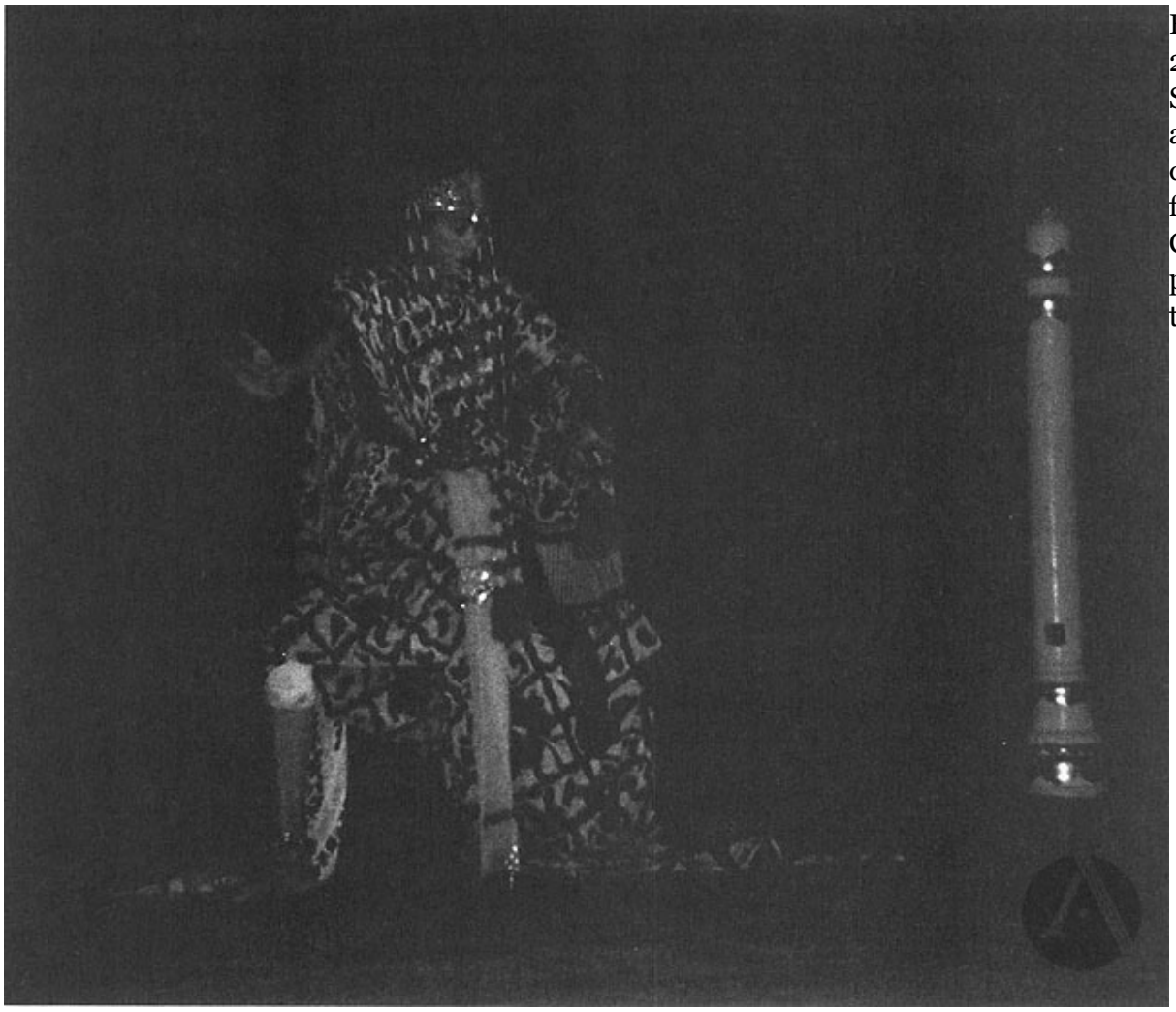

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premasking section of a *wayang topèng* dance. Photo by Sean Williams, 1988.

Modern gamelans

Most widely used, the modern gamelan clearly exhibits not only musical theory, tuning, modal, and compositional systems, but also the relationship between music and cultural settings, both traditional and modern. As in most parts of Java and Bali, music is rooted in two systems of tuning, *pélog* and *sléndro*. Hood (1972) calls these systems the deep structure of Javanese and Balinese music.

Cirebon has two kinds of modern gamelan: *gamelan prawa* and *gamelan pélog*. *Prawa* is basically a high-pitched *sléndro*. Compared with Sundanese *saléndro* and Javanese *sléndro*, it may be one or two keys (150 to 400 cents) higher. The two are never combined to create one set having both *pélog* and *prawa*, as in Javanese gamelan. Those that have both sets, as in the courts, are kept separate, and their functions differ. The *gamelan prawa* accompanies *wayang topèng* (figure 24), and

gamelan pélog accompanies *tayuban*; however, the *gamelan pélog* is now more and more widely used for both *wayang* and *topeng*, especially in the southern part of Cirebon.

The composition of instruments in either ensemble is similar. A complete set of *gamelan prawa* for *wayang* accompaniment consists of these:

Two sets of *saron*, medium-pitched metallophones, seven to nine keys each

Titil, high-pitched metallophones, eight to eleven keys

Gendèr, metallophones with individual resonator tubes, ten or eleven keys

Bonang, gong-chimes, twelve keys or pots, usually played by two people facing each other

Kenong, large horizontal kettle-gongs, five pots

Jenglong, five pots, one octave lower than *kenong*

Ketuk and *kebluk*, small and large kettle-gongs

Klènang, a pair of *bonang*-size kettles

Kemanak, buffalo-ear-shaped concussion idiophones

Bèrt, round metal rattles; *gambang*, xylophones, sixteen to eighteen keys

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Suling, end-blown bamboo flute

A set of *kendang*, large *kendang ged* and two small drums, *ketipung; bedug*, large double-headed barrel drum

A set of three hanging gongs, *kiwul* (smallest), *gong sabet* (midsized), and *gong ageng* (largest) (figure 25).

The *pélog* set has nearly the same instruments, except that most *gamelan pélog* have an additional, high-pitched set of *bonang* (called *kemyang*), while few *gamelan prawa* have it (figure 26). *Gamelan pélog* also includes the *suling miring*, a side-blown bamboo flute with a vibrating membrane. The melodic instruments use more keys than those in the *prawa* set. A unique feature of *pélog* tuning is that for some of the metallophones and the *gambang*, not all the keys are arranged in their cases. In *patut sepuluh* mode, for example, the *bungur* and *barang* keys are placed at the side of the rack, or even on the floor. When the *patut* changes, the key arrangement changes. No *gamelan pélog* ensemble has *gendér* because a *gendér* does not have easily removable keys.

The individual pitches of *prawa* and *pélog* are indicated in figure 27, with comparison to Sundanese and Javanese. None of these systems is compatible with those of Western diatonic scales, but the diatonic tones are included for a rough comparison. The Sundanese and Javanese pitches vary considerably. Their names are important because gamelan music has clear modal systems, *patut*. Understanding *patut*

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distinguish *gamelan pélog* from *gamelan prawa*; the difference in tuning is another. Photo by F
Suanda.

(Javanese *pathet*) can be one of the most complicated issues in gamelan musical systems, but several studies by Javanese gamelan scholars (Hastanto 1985; Hood 1954) have shown that, in principle, *patut* can translate into 'mode' or 'key' in Western music. The change of *patut* can mean the change of the level and hierarchical relationship of pitches and the change of mode or scale—that is, intervallic structure.

In *prawa*, where intervals are more or less equidistant, the scales of all five *patut* are virtually

identical, but in *pélog*, the patut is much more complicated. Though *pélog* has seven tones, in each *patut* there are only five main tones. If in *prawa* there are only five *patut*, since there are only five keys, in *pélog* there are many more than seven *patut*, as shown in figure 27, where IV in each *patut* is the gong, or strongest tone, and becomes the name of the *patut*; I, its fifth; II, the second "gong" tone; III and V, the "weakest" tones.

A piece named " *Barlen*," for example, can be performed in all the *patut* above by changing the pitch hierarchy without changing the name of the piece (as happens in Sunda). Unlike in Java or Sunda, in Cirebon there are *prawa*-like scales in the *pélog*

Cirebonese	*Western*	*Sundanese*	*Javanese*
prawa:	(approximate)	*saléndro:*	*sléndro:*
laras 'tone'	(A)	*barang*	*nem* 'six'
miring 'tilted'	(B)	*loloran*	*lima* 'five'
sanga 'nine'	(F#)	*panelu* 'third'	*dada* 'chest'
sepuluh 'ten'	(E)	*bem/galimer*	*gulu* 'neck'
panjang 'long'	(D)	*singgul*	*penunggul*
pélog:	[Western]	*pélog:*	*pélog:*
laras 'tone'	(A#)	*barang*	*nem* 'six'
miring 'tilted'	(A)	*loloran*	*lima* 'five'
bungur	(G)	*liwung/bungur*	*pélog*
sanga 'nine'	(F)	*panelu* 'third'	*dada* 'chest'
sepuluh 'ten'	(D#)	*bem/galimer*	*gulu* 'neck'
blong	(D)	*singgul*	*penunggul*
barang 'thing'	(C)	*sorog*	*barang*

FIGU
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Cirebonese *prawa* and pélog, Sundanese *saléndro* and *pélog*, and Javanese *sléndro* and *pélog*, v
tempered tones for comparison.

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Patut* in *prawa:

laras	*miring*	*sanga*	*sepuluh*	*panjang*	*Patut* name
I	II	III	IV	V	*sepuluh*
V	I	II	III	IV	*panjang*
II	III	IV	V	I	*sanga*
IV	V	I	II	III	*laras*
III	IV	V	I	II	*miring*

Patut* in *pélog:

barang	*laras*	*miring*	*bungur*	*sanga*	*sepuluh*	*blong*	*Patut* name
	I	II		III	IV	V	*sepuluh*
	V	I		II	III	IV	*blong*
	V	I	II		III	IV	*blong-bungur*
	I	II	III		IV	V	*sepuluh-bungur*
	IV	V		I	II	III	*laras*
III	IV		V	I	II		*laras-prawa*
I	II		III	IV		V	*sanga-prawa*
I		II	III	IV		V	*san-pra/miring*
IV	V		I	II		III	*barang* (with *blong*)
II	III		IV	V		I	*bungur*
IV		V	I	II	III		*barang*
II		III	IV	V		I	*bungur/Nylendro*
	III	IV		V	I	II	*miring*

set (see the *patut "Laras-Prawa"* and " *Sanga-Prawa*" in the *pélog* chart of figure 28). The singing would be in a "true" *prawa* scale, but the instruments would be in *pélog prawa*, a *pélog* scale that resembles *prawa*, causing slight differences between the two.

Gamelan pieces are cyclic. A large gong marks the ending of each cycle, and other gongs and kettle pots outline the form in a colotomic or punctuating manner. Form is determined by the colotomic instruments and the drums, and the piece adheres to the form. However, one piece may include one or more gong cycles, and one cycle may be subdivided in a variety of ways. In gamelan, a piece is almost always performed repetitively, though it is never repeated in exactly the same way. The composition might also be a suite consisting of several pieces (*lagu*). The piece is divided into smaller units or phrases by *kenong* strokes. The most common piece is in the *renggong* form, which has four *kenong* and five *kiwul* strokes in one cycle, precisely as in the Sundanese gamelan tradition.

Figure 29 shows this structure with other colotomic instruments (nonmelodic ones or those that mark time). In performance, this piece can be played in many different tempos. Doubling in density when slower, and halving in density when faster, are common practices, not only in almost all Indonesian gamelan playing, but also in the mainland Southeast Asian gong ensembles (J. Becker 1980). Therefore, one *kenong* phrase above, for example, could be expanded from two to four, or eight, or sixteen, or thirty-two beats of the *saron*. Changes in density and tempo are among the important aesthetic elements in the playing of gamelans.

Other compositional forms include some irregular *kenong* structures. One stroke of a gong may cover two, three, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, sixteen, or thirty-two *kenong*. Those with fewer than eight in

one gong are categorized as small pieces (*lagu alit* or *lagu cilik*); others are categorized as large pieces (*lagu ageng* or *lagu gedé*). A unique piece, *lagu Tratagan*, has three or four gong notes, with two, three, and four *kenong* in one gong cycle (see examples in Wright 1978).

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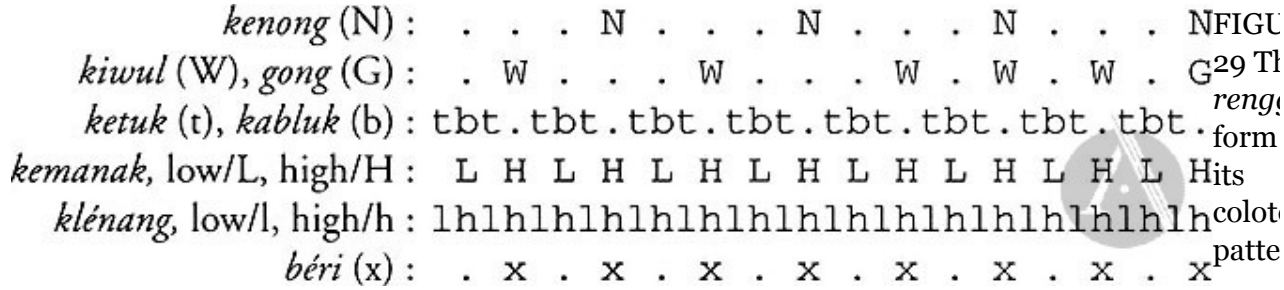

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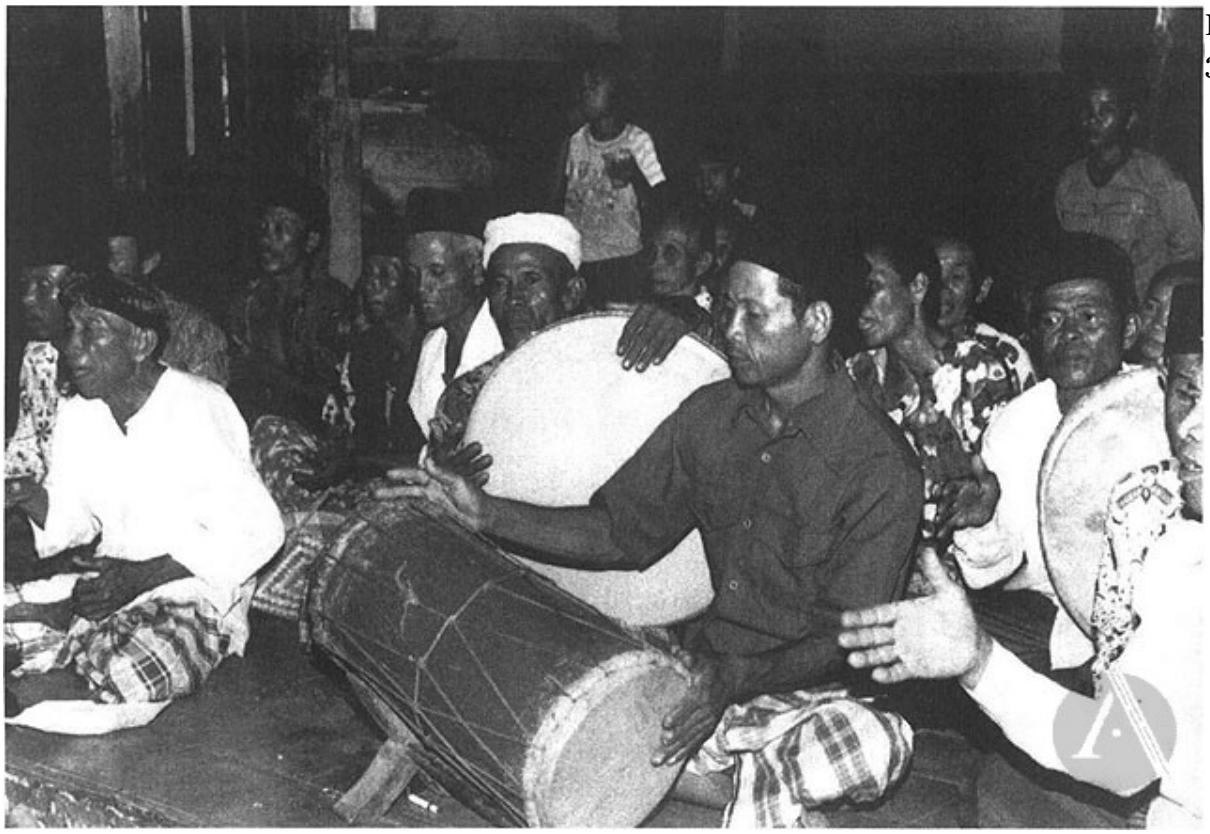
Other ensembles

Other ensembles of Cirebon are small groups of six or fewer instruments. The framedrum ensemble, under a variety of names, is widespread. The *genjring* ensemble includes four or more frame drums, which play interlocking rhythms ornamented by strong strokes on a *bedug*. *Genjring* drums (figure 30) have three pairs of metal rattles attached to them (*genjring* is onomatopoeic, *jring* being the sound of drum and the rattle), and play loud, exciting music. The vocal parts are mostly in Arabic, especially when the *genjring* accompanies the *rudat*, a devotional dance performed in a mosque. But in the *sidapurna*, an acrobatic show, the text is mixed with local poems in the Cirebonese dialect.

The other frame drums (*gembyung* and *brai*) are usually larger than the *genjring*, and they lack metal attachments, so they sound softer and lower, and utilize less variation in rhythm. Responsorial singing—a solo leader and a chorus (*jawab* 'answer')—is more prominent than the playing drums. Until the 1950s, most mosques had some kind of ensemble. Now only a few retain any instruments, and few of them are playable. The mosque in Astana (next to the graveyard of Sunan Gunung Jati) has an ensemble that is played at least once a year during the *sidekah bumi* (and *nadran*) ceremony by a group from Bayalangu Village. Another common performance setting for this ensemble is in the mosque, at Mulud, and also around rituals relating to birth, such as the seventh month of pregnancy and name-giving ceremonies. The text is from Arabic, but most of the melodies are in *sléndro*. Even so, the melody would easily be recognized as an Islamic one by people all over Java.

The music of *brai* (from *birai, birahi* 'love') from Bayalangu, though not associated with ensembles in mosques, mostly consists of the responsorial or antiphonal singing of prayers (*dikir*) using the Qur'ānic phrase of *la illaha ilallah Muhammad* [*u*]



FIGU
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onomatopoeic *genjring* frame drums (background) provide a ringing accompaniment to the *bed*
Photo by Endo Suanda.

Page Image*rasulullah*, mixed with the Cirebonese language. The group is more a devotional sect than a performing ensemble. They still regularly perform about fifteen times altogether for their own annual rituals, which mostly occur in cemeteries. The group consists more of women than men; there are two solo leaders, one male and one female. These traits all reflect the strong Sufistic root in Cirebonese musical traditions.

Trebang randu kentir is unique to the Indramayu region. Though it has two *trebang* (the smaller functioning as *ketuk*, and the larger as a gong), and though artists believe it was created by one of the nine famous Islamic saints, it is not associated with mosque music. Instead, it is more like *topèng* but without melodic instruments, and is also used to accompany nonmasked dance resembling *topèng*.

Ketuk telu 'three *ketuk*', another small ensemble, resembles Sundanese *ketuk tilu* (see below), but it incorporates Cirebonese songs. The *ketuk* is a horizontal kettlegong in a wooden frame; three of them form the centerpiece of a *ketuk tilu* ensemble. In Sunda, the *ketuk tilu* in its traditional setting is practically obsolete; in Cirebon, there are still a few ensembles, often performing at the *kasinoman* or *ngarot* ceremony in Indramayu. Today, however, the ensemble also presents traditional pop (*pop Sunda* or *pop Cirebonan*), including *dangdut* and modern music resembling *tarling*, a light form of pop using guitar and *suling*. The current ensemble includes an electric guitar, violin, a pair of gongs, a pair of *klènang*, three *ketuk*, and a set of *kendang*, all of which accompany dancing female vocalists and male instrumentalist-singers (figure 31).

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Bamboo musical instruments (*angklung* and *calung*), single-headed drums (*dog-dog*), zither (*kacapi*), and bowed lutes (rebab or *tarawangsa*), though widespread in Sunda, are seldom found in Cirebon. The *angklung* ensemble of shaken bamboo rattles is found only in the village of Bungko, where it still performs in village rituals. The *dog-dog* is found only in a few areas, and the *kacapi* and *tarawangsa* or rebab are not found at all. The rebab, sometimes played in court gamelans, is usually imported from Kuningan, a Sundanese-speaking region, as is its player.

Sintren, another small ensemble, is popular in Cirebon and Indramayu. Its special feature is to use earthenware and bamboo musical instruments. Two ceramic pots, each covered by a rubber membrane made from the inner tube of a tire, are tuned differently (with different tension or sizes) and played as drums. Two other small bamboo tubes for stamping, tuned about a minor third apart and called *ting-tung*, are played as keepers of the beat, like *ketuk*, and a big tube for stamping or large ceramic pot serves as a gong. This ensemble accompanies choral singing in a semi-magical performance, the *sintren* calling the goddess Dewi Sri to enable a bound girl to untie and dress herself inside a covered cage for roosters (Ardiwijaya 1978; Foley 1985).

New developments

The city of Cirebon has no significant Western-style musical bands (such as Indonesian bands that play rock or jazz), for most such groups prefer to live in bigger cities, like Bandung or Jakarta. However, many *dangdut* bands throughout the Cirebon regions often combine with modern *tarling* (Wright 1988). Indeed, they are often named *tarling dangdut*, and are found even in small towns.

The large groups, popular and therefore wealthy, may also have electric guitars (playing melody and bass), synthesizer, set of drums, tambourine, flute, and violin, along with the traditional *suling, kendang*, gongs, *ketuk-kebluk*, and *kecrèk*. Many have powerful outdoor sound systems, with dozens

of microphones and two large walls of speakers. Abdul Ajib's *tarling*, one of the top groups, often comes to the stage with a truck-mounted satellite antenna. The group presents foreign television programs to attract people's attention before the performance, instead of the traditional instrumental introductory section (*talu*).

The influence of urban (and Western) musical culture on the average Cirebonese village, therefore, comes, not from the city of Cirebon, but from Jakarta and Bandung, both for live performances and especially for radio and television broadcasting and cassettes. *Pop Sunda*, heavily broadcast on Bandung television stations, deeply influences young village artists and results in Cirebonese pop music. The arrangement of Bandung's *gamelan wanda anyar* 'fresh-breeze gamelan', pioneered by the late Mang Koko Koswara and further developed by Nano Suratno and other Bandung Conservatory graduates, is now being adopted by Cirebonese gamelans.

The most significant Sundanese musical influence on Cirebon is the *jaipongan* style of drumming. Because the old drummers have neither the energy nor the dexterity to perform in its style, they have all now retired from drumming to play other instruments. Therefore, if in earlier times the *wayang kulit* drummers were always the more senior musicians, now all of the groups have young drummers (in their teens or early twenties). The drums themselves have changed in shape from conical to barrel-shaped drums, complete with loops for toes to manipulate the lower pitch of the biggest drumhead, as in Sundanese drumming. These drummers maintain Cirebonese traits of drumming generally, but the overall sound of the drums differs from that of the early 1980s.

Another recent phenomenon is that the older, extended gamelan pieces are beginning to disappear. One reason for this is shrinking time for performance; another

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Suan

is the growing tendency among Cirebonese audiences to pay attention only to the voice of the female singer (*sindén*). Finally, most young drummers are unable to lead the ensemble in the performance of complicated pieces.

Nevertheless, the influences between modern and traditional music seem to go both ways: traditional groups are adopting urban styles (including Westernization), while urban groups are adopting local and village repertoires. In addition, some musical blending between Chinese and local styles occurs (figure 32). Gamelan groups are incorporating diatonic melodies, notably from *dangdut* (when melodic instruments cannot follow the vocal melodies, they become nonmelodic instruments or simply cease playing), and a few gamelans have started using violin (*biola*). However, it is popular for modern Indonesian bands that play rock to adopt traditional repertoires and instruments. Even the *sintren* melodies have been discotized and dangdutized, and several volumes of cassettes have been released.

The impact of the Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, or ASTI (the music, dance, and theater academy) of Bandung is becoming obvious, especially in elite, urban society. Pring Gading, a troupe led by Handoyo, who trained at ASTI in Bandung and at Bagong Kusudiardjo's school in Yogyakarta, has produced colossal new dance-dramas (involving up to three hundred artists), performed at a new open-air stage in Cirebon, on stage in Jakarta, and on the national television station in Jakarta. These productions, and several other neotraditional art performances, were sponsored by a new social association—Yayasan Sunyaragi, formed by wealthy élite Cirebonese living in the cities of Cirebon, Bandung, and Jakarta—eager to revive Cirebon's cultural identity.

Graduates of national performing arts academies in Bandung and Surakarta are increasing. Some come from the families of professional artists, who formerly seldom went beyond elementary school. In fact, the Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia (SMKI), a high school for the performing arts, was founded in 1991 at the Kasepuhan court center. Systems of notation, other musical traditions, and new compositional approaches are taught by outsider (mostly ASTI graduates from Sundanese regions). This will unquestionably contribute to narrowing the gap between village and urban music, and among Cirebonese, Sundanese, and other styles of Indonesian

Page Image music. In terms of the regeneration of traditional arts, however, so far there does not appear to be a problem, since there are still many young musicians and puppeteers throughout Cirebon. Among traditional artist families, more than 80 percent of their descendants become artists who realize more than 90 percent of the village performances.

SUNDA

The Sundanese, numbering approximately 30 million people, are Indonesia's second largest ethnic group. They live in the province of West Java (often called Sunda by foreigners), encompassing the interior highlands, the coastal areas, and Cirebon, a culturally distinct region. The boundary between West and Central Java lies at the eastern foothills of the Priangan Highlands, and a wide band of west-central Java from north to south incorporates cultural elements from both West and Central Java.

Until the late 1800s, West Java was sparsely populated. Bandung, the provincial capital, one of the largest cities in Indonesia and a major industrial center, is the home of several important educational institutions. Most Sundanese live within the provincial boundaries; some commute to Jakarta for work. Rural areas of West Java are intensively cultivated with rice, coffee, tea, and other crops. The presence of active volcanoes contributes to the fertility of local soil.

Those who consider themselves ethnically and politically Sundanese speak Basa Sunda, which incorporates words from English, Dutch, Javanese, Betawi (Jakarta's dialect), and other languages.

Related to both Javanese and Balinese, Sundanese uses five levels of speech, depending on the status of the speaker(s) and auditor(s). Most Sundanese music includes vocalists, and the language used for songs falls within specific levels, affecting the relative status of the genre.

Most Sundanese are Muslims. Though considered conservative in their faith, they have a broad definition of what constitutes being a Muslim, and they often combine their concepts of Islam with traditional animist beliefs. The Hindu-Buddhist tradition, prevalent in the culture of Central and East Java, is less apparent in Sunda. Sunda has its own history of Hindu-Buddhist influence, but what has remained since the entry of Islam is limited to certain mystic practices, isolated religious sites or statues, and aspects of Sundanese status divisions (Wessing 1978). When Hindu-Buddhist elements appear in the Sundanese performing arts, their presence is often acknowledged as being the result of influence from Central Java.

Though several small kingdoms rose and fell before the 1300s, none was significant in relation to political powers outside of Sunda. In 1333, the kingdom of Pajajaran was founded at Pakuan, near what is now the city of Bogor. The era of Pajajaran represents the Sundanese at their most politically powerful in relation to other Javanese kingdoms. It is considered their most important historical and cultural period. Pajajaran was a pre-Islamic trading kingdom in competition with the East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (A.D. 1293-1530). The area under the control of Pajajaran did not include the Islamized coastal areas of North Java, and its weakness was that it did not fully control the ports through which its commerce passed. In 1579, when the Sultan of Banten had the royal family killed, Pajajaran disappeared. As an important symbol of Sundanese identity, it features frequently in songs and stories.

After the fall of Pajajaran, the entire area of Sunda was subject to annexation by Mataram, an Islamic Central Javanese kingdom. By the mid-1600s, Sunda was under the administration of Central Javanese regents, responsible for the importation of Central Javanese cultural traits that continue to influence the upper levels of Sundanese culture: batik, gamelan music, dance, sung poetry, and wayang (Heins

Page Image 1977). Because of the dispersal of the local population, however, the cultural influence from Central Java among villagers was minimal, and Sundanese musical traditions continued largely unchanged.

In 1677, Mataram relinquished its Sundanese territorial claim to the Dutch East India Company, which then profited from Sundanese cash crops, including coffee and tea. The colonialists expelled the Central Javanese regents from Sunda and replaced them with Sundanese nobles, who, though they answered to Dutch administrators, grew wealthy, and their patronage of the performing arts reached its height during this period. After 1864, the Dutch developed the city of Bandung as the colonial administrative center, and it remains the administrative heart of Sunda.

Sunda is divided into regencies (*kabupaten*), further subdivided into multiple *kacamatan, kalurahan*, and villages (*desa*), the smallest political units. A large bureaucratic structure supports these subdivisions, and the entire province is overseen by the provincial government. The Sundanese are the main ethnic group in West Java, but many Javanese, Chinese, Batak, Minang, Balinese, Ambonese, and other Indonesian peoples live there too, particularly in Bandung and in "Jabotabek" (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi), the area surrounding the capital. Foreign nationals in West Java number in the thousands, particularly in the larger cities, including Bandung and Bogor.

When the Sundanese refer to their performing arts, they are careful to describe what they call *khas Sunda* 'that which is characteristically Sundanese'—a designation that bears a sense of regional identity. A musical genre may be performed all over West Java, but regional variations in style,

context, and instrumentation may inspire the localized terms *Garutan, Cirebonan*, or *Sumedangan* (referring to performance in the styles of Garut, Cirebon, or Sumedang, respectively). This continually shifting concept extends beyond the performing arts to many features of Sundanese culture, including cuisine, plants, clothing, architecture, human physical traits, geographical features, and literature.

The variety of Sundanese performing arts precludes a detailed examination of clothing; however, generalizations may be made. In traditional genres not associated with village life (such as court-derived gamelans), performers wear clothing that duplicates what is worn by the aristocracy. Women wear a tightly fitted, long-sleeved, front-closing blouse (*kabaya*) and a wrapped batik *kain* (a single piece of cloth, pulled tightly around the hips and extending to the floor). Men wear a front-pleated batik sarung (a vertical tube of cloth, tied around the waist) and a type of morning coat (*takwah*) with a tied batik cap (*bendo*). Both male and female outfits, originally derived from Central Javanese formal wear, are considered appropriate Sundanese formal wear. Village performances are considerably less formal: though women may still wear *kabaya* and *kain*, the latter are usually shorter and looser. Men may wear loose black pants and shirts, or a basic plaid *sarung*, a T-shirt, and a black cap (*peci*), usually worn by devout male Muslims. Costumes are specific to each dance.

Page Image

The state of musical research

The literature available in English on Sundanese music was sparse until the 1970s and 1980s. Before then, the bulk of musicological attention had been focused on the music of Central Java and Ball. Sundanese scholars have researched many aspects of modern and early Sundanese music and published their findings in both Indonesian and Sundanese. These works have been a boon to foreign researchers with a grasp of either language. Of works in English, Jaap Kunst's *Music in Java* (1973 [1934]) is the most widely known early publication that includes a section on Sundanese music; however, much of its information is out of date, and is not set in context. Though many Japanese researchers have conducted fieldwork in Sunda, few have published in English.

Recent research has resulted in the production of English-language sources on Sundanese music and culture. Among them are Baier 1986 (*angklung*), Falk 1982 (*tarawangsa*), Foley 1979 (*wayang golèk*), Harrell 1974 (*gamelan degung*), Heins 1977 (*gamelans*), Kartomi 1973a (*macapat*), Van Zanten 1989 (*tembang Sunda*), Weintraub 1990 and 1997 (*pantun and wayang golek*), and Williams 1990 (*tembang Sunda*). Useful articles have appeared in *Asian Music, Balungan, Ethnomusicology, The New Grove*, and *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology*.

Sundanese and other Indonesian researchers have developed a body of information on the Sundanese performing arts, but these works are limited to those who read the language. Research in progress includes doctoral dissertations on Sundanese and Cirebonese wayang and Sundanese mainstream gamelan traditions, but foreign researchers have ignored large areas of the Sundanese performing arts. Rapid change in the organization of ensembles and the emphasis on creative adaptation in Sunda call for more research on composition.

Little village music has been studied by outsiders. Lively genres, such as traditions using the ocarina (*taleot*), Jew's harp (*karinding*), and side-blown bamboo flute (*bangsing*), have yet to be examined; and unaccompanied vocal musics, such as Islamic verses (*cigawiran*), ritual choral singing (*beluk*), and folk songs (*lagu rakyat*), are rarely studied by academics. Important areas of musical accompaniment—for hobbyhorse trance-dance performance (*kuda renggong*), circumcision-associated lion dance (*sisinggaan*), exhibitional trance-related performance (*seni debus*), and Islamic Sundanese music (including *terbang* and *bedug* traditions)—have yet to be studied in depth.

Any of the area-specific genres would yield rich resources for future study.

The structures of Sundanese music

A large proportion of Sundanese music is performed on gamelans, sets of bronze or iron instruments supported by carved wooden racks. A Sundanese gamelan usually consists of a core group of metallophones (*saron*), horizontal gong-chime sets (*bonang*), vertically suspended gongs (*go'ong*), and a set of barrel drums (*kendang*). Other features, including xylophones, aerophones (flutes or oboes), a bowed lute, and vocalists, are included according to the type of ensemble.

Pieces for gamelan are normally organized in cycles, with the ending of each cycle marked by the low pitch of the *go'ong*. These cycles may be played many times in a single piece. The drummer demarcates the cycle by outlining specific patterns; he also acts as the timekeeper, coordinator, and controller of dynamics. With specific patterns, he outlines dancers' movements. Most cycles include some type of periodic punctuation, performed by the large and small gongs. Each piece derives from a primary structural outline of tones (*patokan*), which determines which pitch of the colotomic instruments is played and the duration of each cycle. A single *patokan* may serve as the structural outline for a large number of melodies; therefore, Sundanese

Page Image melodies outnumber Sundanese *patokan*. The melodic repertoire in Sundanese music may be shared by a variety of genres; it is not limited to specific types of instruments.

The relative density of a cyclic piece (*wilet*) resembles the Javanese concept of *irama*. It occurs in measurements of half, single, double or quadruple, and is a means of determining the overall structure of a piece. The *wilet* indicates how frequently the *go'ong* stroke occurs and how densely the piece is ornamented. In general, the smaller the *wilet*, the lesser the ornamental density. A piece in half *wilet* (*satengah wilet*) will include a compact structural outline with little room for expansive melodic improvisation, whereas a piece in double *wilet* (*dua wilet*) may be four times as dense in ornamentation. Pieces in double or quadruple *wilet* usually sound slow because the colotomic instruments are spaced further apart; these densities are believed to be more musically challenging because of the degree of improvisation they require.

Sundanese music uses three main systems of tuning (*surupan*), called *pélog, sorog* (in gamelan, *madenda*), and *saléndro*. *Pélog*, in turn, appears in two forms: the five-tone *pélog degung* (used for *gamelan degung* and *kacapi*-based genres) and *pélog jawar*, a seven-tone *surupan*, based on Javanese *pélog*. Sundanese musical theory shares some terms with Javanese theory, but Sundanese *pélog* does not correspond at all to Javanese *pélog*; it refers to a special pentatonic *surupan*, played on *gamelan degung* and several other ensembles. Each Sundanese system of tuning uses five tones, numbered and named in relation to each other. Each system has a unique set of tonal hierarchies that differ from piece to piece.

In figure 33, the original names of the tones of each scale are listed left to right in order from lowest to highest. These older names are used by most traditional musicians. The second line lists the Sundanese tonal numbers, often used by conservatory students. The third line lists the tonal pitches in the system of solfège developed early in the twentieth century by the Sundanese theorist Machyar Kusumadinata. The final three lines of the chart detail the approximate diatonic equivalents of the *pélog, sorog-madenda*, and *saléndro* scales, respectively (Van Zanten 1989).

Because each ensemble differs slightly from the others in tuning, these tunings are always relative. Performers of vocal parts, bowed lutes, and wind instruments commonly select tones from outside the system being used by the rest of the ensemble. For example, a vocalist performing in *sorog* may sing a tone from *saléndro* at an appropriate moment in the song. In addition, many songs in *sorog* tuning may be accompanied by an ensemble fixed in *saléndro* tuning. Certain compositions also

deliberately use outside tones. Most ensembles are limited to a single system of tuning (most frequently, *saléndro*) because the pitches of the instruments are fixed, but a few, such as *tembang Sunda*, may change tunings during the course of a performance.

The Sundanese use a system of numerical notation that applies to tones in any tuning. This system is the reverse of the one used by the Javanese: from lowest to highest, the tones of Javanese *sléndro* are notated by the Javanese as 12356 (the numbering of some Javanese scales is nonsequential), whereas they are called 54321 by the Sundanese. This notation permeates Sundanese musical practice in that pitches of instruments of the lowest frequency are called high, and vocal ornaments that include a leap to a pitch of a higher frequency are indicated visually by a downward-moving

barang	*kenon*	*panelu*	*galimer*	*singgul*	
hiji (1)	*dua* (2)	*tilu* (3)	*opat* (4)	*lima* (5)	
da	*mi*	*na*	*ti*	*la*	
F	E	C	B flat	A	[*pélog*]
F	E	D	B flat	A	[*sorog/madenda*]
F	D(^)	C	B flat	G(^)	[*saléndro*]

FIGU
33
Sundanese systems of tuning. The caret (^) in *saléndro* indicates that the pitches are raised slight

Page Image gesture of the hand or figure on the printed page. This usage dates from the development of modern Sundanese musical theory by Jaap Kunst and Kusumadinata (Kusumadinata 1969 and Kunst 1973 [1934]). The structure of written musical theory established by them is still followed in Sundanese music institutions, though Sundanese written theory now contrasts sharply with Sundanese practice (Weintraub 1993).

Genres and ensembles

More than two hundred types of performing arts exist in Sunda, but not many are performed more than a few times a year or beyond seasonal or ritual limitations. The Sundanese are strongly bound to the agricultural cycles and local conditions of where they live or were born—a tendency that has led to the development of dozens of area-specific genres. Some musical genres have spread from an original point of creation to other parts of Sunda, becoming part of the general Sundanese musical legacy. Many are labeled according to their instrumentation: for example, *kacapi-suling*, a combination of a boat-shaped zither (*kacapi*) and an end-blown bamboo flute (*suling*).

The genres and ensembles selected for discussion here have outlasted popular trends or have had a significant historical impact on the development of modern Sundanese music. The selected groups include gamelans, *ketuk tilu / jaipongan, kendang penca / rampak kendang*, bamboo ensembles, *pantun, tembang Sunda, kacapisuling, kacapian*, music of the Baduy, and popular music. This selection describes a large percentage of the music regularly performed or recorded in Sunda. Vocal music is so pervasive in Sunda that a vocal category would include most of the common ensembles.

Gamelans

Gamelans in Sunda encompass a variety of types, from the ubiquitous five-tone *gamelan saléndro* to the rare seven-tone *gamelan pélog, gamelan ajeng*, and others. The history of gamelans in Sunda begins with their entry from the courts of Cirebon in the 1500s (Wright 1978). It continues with the importation of gamelans on the arrival of Javanese regents in the Priangan area in the 1600s. Gamelans were important to aristocratic households as symbols of power and prestige. The two most

common types of gamelans in Sunda today are *gamelan saléndro* and *gamelan degung*. Both are named after their tunings, which in the case of *gamelan degung* refers to *pélog degung*, a special five-tone tuning.

Gamelan saléndro

Gamelan saléndro is used in several different musical contexts: instrumental performance, and as accompaniment for a solo female vocalist (*kliningan*), a dance, or the Sundanese three-dimensional rod-puppet theater (*wayang golek*). It sometimes accompanies drama (*sandiwara*), dance-drama (*sendratari*), and martial arts (*penca silat*).

Gamelan saléndro includes metallophones, gong chimes, gongs, drums, a bowed spiked lute, and a vocalist (figure 34). The basic rhythmic cycle is demarcated by the gongs—a large gong (*go'ong*), small gongs (*kempul*), and a row of large kettle-gongs (*kenong*). These instruments all play colotomic or punctuating patterns, determined by the *patokan*. This musical structure is tied together with a set of barrel-shaped, double-headed drums (*kendang*). Depending on the style, the drummer is responsible for tempo and dynamic changes, dance accompaniment, and special effects (such as explosive strokes to accompany martial-arts kicks).

The metallophones of *gamelan saléndro* are played in three octaves: two *saron* in the central octave play patterns based on the *patokan* (sometimes in interlocking patterns),

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Dheniarsah Suratno, vocalists. Photo by Marc Perlman.

a *panerus* plays selected pitches of the *patokan* an octave below the *saron*, and a *peking* plays a denser elaboration of the *saron* melody an octave above. A xylophone (*gambang*) densely elaborates the *saron* part. A pair of gong chimes (the low-pitched *bonang* and the high-pitched *rincik*) further elaborate the melody. The vocalist (*pasindén*) and the player of the bowed lute (rebab) are central to

performances in that each carries a version of the melody (*lagu*).

The versatility of *gamelan saléndro* has led to its use in many areas of Sunda as the ensemble to be played in nearly any context. Because of the Sundanese belief that *saléndro* is a "parent" (an all-encompassing Sundanese tuning), *gamelan saléndro* may accompany songs in any of the other systems of tuning. It is likely to be heard at important social events—weddings, circumcisions, military or government occasions, store openings, ritual feasts (*hajat*), neighborhood celebrations, and musical rehearsals (*latihan*). A typical performance might include a mixture of songs accompanied by the ensemble (*kliningan*), instrumental music, and accompaniment of a variety of dances from classical (*klasik*) to modern (*moderèn*) and social dan.ce (*jaipongan*).

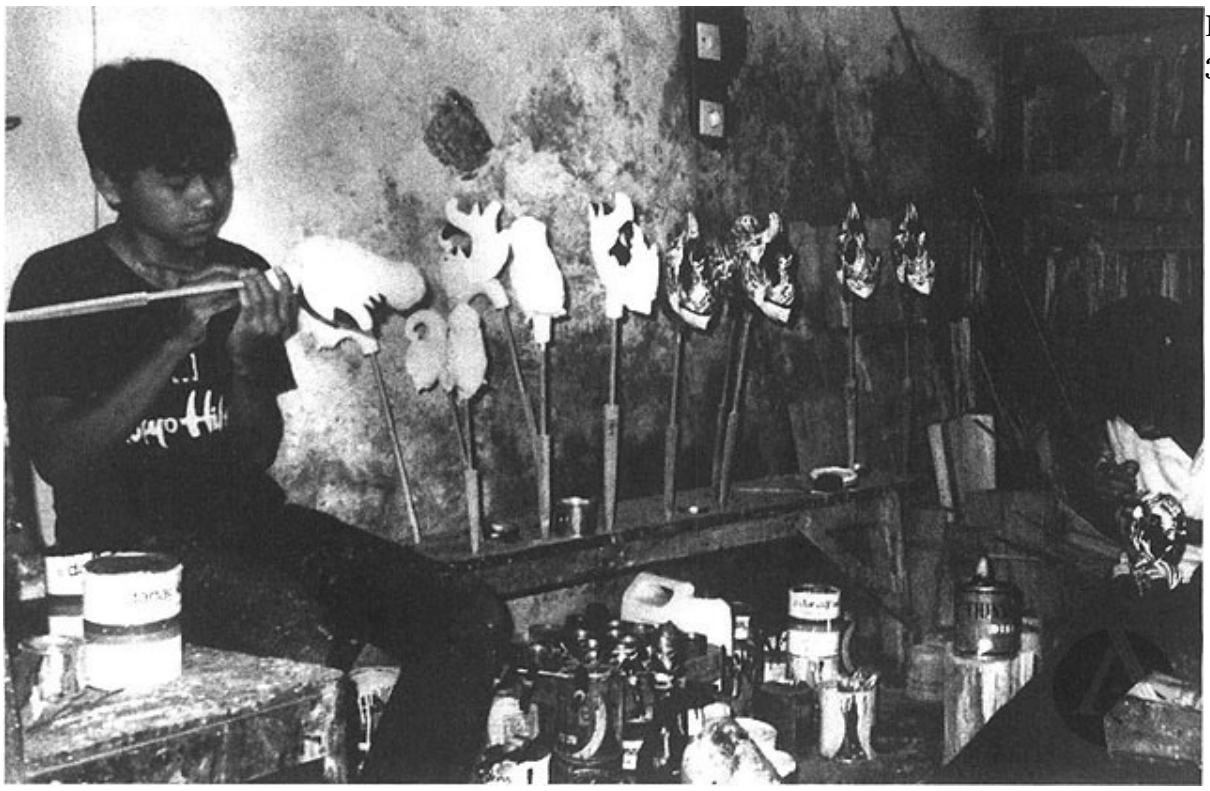
When *gamelan saléndro* accompanies dancing, the relationship between the drummer and the rest of the ensemble changes. In the performance of instrumental pieces or vocal *kliningan*, the role of the drummer is that of timekeeper, density referent, and follower of the piece's structural outline, but in the accompaniment of dance, the drummer takes a more active role. The connection between the drummer and the dancer may supersede the relationship between the melody and the dancer. Though most Sundanese dances are performed to specific pieces, some dances may

Page Image be performed to a variety of pieces. In general, the drummer is responsible for mirroring the character of the dance by matching the patterns of the drumming to the steps of the dancing.

Sundanese dance (Indonesian *tari*; high Sundanese *ibing*) appears in a variety of forms and at various social levels. Many classical dances once performed by the aristocracy originated among the Javanese and were brought to Sunda during the Javanese-regency period (1600s and 1700s). *Tari kursus* (from the Dutch, 'course' dance) is a refined social dance. It divides into four basic types of characters, said to represent different human traits. It was lifted from *tayuban* (another form of social dance) and taught in private courses to members of the aristocracy by Radén Sambas Wirakusumah—hence the name, *tari kursus*. Like most other dances, it is accompanied by *gamelan saléndro*.

Sundanese dance has also absorbed elements from Cirebon. Some Sundanese dancers maintain that most classical Sundanese dances derive from Central Java, but it is widely acknowledged that Sundanese masked dance (*tari topèng*) evolved in the last one hundred years as a result of influence from Cirebonese masked-dance traditions (North 1988). The famous mid-twentieth-century choreographer Cece Somantri created popular stage dances in classical style (for example, *tari merak*, the peacock dance) that have spread throughout Sunda, in both performing-arts groups and schools. Several of Sunda's most active choreographers in the twentieth century (including Cece Somantri, Nugraha Sudiredja, and Irawati Durban) have reworked some older dances and created entirely new ones based on older models. In Bandung, the presence of ASTI (Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, the Indonesian Dance Academy) has led to the development and acceptance of many new dances.

Performances of rod-puppet theater are accompanied by a small, portable *gamelan saléndro*. This theater is not usually performed with dance; however, the puppets sometimes dance, and the ensemble's repertoire often includes pieces for dance. Puppetry is done at night, usually all night, and if it occurs on the same stage as a (human) dance, the performances are temporally separated. A puppet group is frequently hired to perform all night after the formal daytime celebration of a life-cycle ritual. When a performance occurs, loudspeakers, food stalls, and infectious joviality may attract an entire neighborhood or village. Puppets are created in small workshops that may or may not be connected to the compound of a famous puppeteer (figure 35). Many more puppets are created by nonspecialists for the tourist trade.



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Apprentices work on creating and finishing new *wayang golèk* puppet heads at the studio of Am
Sutrisna in Bandung. Photo by Cary Black.

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Performances of rod-puppet theater occur in both urban and rural settings. Its stories mostly derive from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, Hindu epics (in which case the performance is called *wayang golek purwa*), with occasional Islamic stones (*wayang golek cepak*). These stories may be supplemented with local tales, anecdotes, songs, comic interludes, and political and social commentary. The puppetmaster (*dalang*), as leader of the group, is responsible for telling the story, manipulating the puppets, working with the drummer to control the tempo, and determining the overall structure of the performance. Performances are often sponsored in gratitude for good fortune, or simply as one aspect of the ritual celebration of a circumcision or other festive occasion (figure 36).

Gamelan degung

Gamelan degung is the other primary Sundanese gamelan, formerly an all-male instrumental ensemble, which, in its "classic" version, performs a repertoire of about thirty instrumental pieces. It began as an instrumental ensemble closely associated with the Sundanese aristocracy and was originally performed to welcome visitors to the regents' homes. Its current form developed during the early twentieth century. In the last several decades, these instrumental pieces have been largely supplanted by simple cyclic patterns (*patokan*), which may support any number of melodies. Female vocalists (*juru kawih*) have become a standard feature of *degung* performances. The instrumentalists are now usually young women, who dress identically and perform easy pieces to provide visual and aural entertainment for wedding guests (figure 37). Though the classic repertoire is limited, hundreds of new pieces are now performed regularly on modern *gamelan degung*.

Gamelan degung has far fewer instruments and players than *gamelan saléndro* and is tuned to a

type of *pélog* known as *pélog degung*. It performs in a colotomic structure, established by the suspended gong (*go'ong*) and six medium-sized suspended gongs (*jenglong*). The *go'ong* marks the ends of phrases, and the *jenglong* plays the *patokan*. *Kendang* are played with a small beater in the right hand and a bare left hand.

The main melody in a classic *gamelan degung* is carried by the *bonang*, a single-row gong-chime set placed in a V or U shape. The *bonang* of *gamelan degung* physically resembles the double-row gong chime *bonang* and *rincik* of *gamelan saléndro*,

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Sundanese Everyman. Photo by Cary Black.

FIGURE 37 At a wedding, the Jugala Group plays *gamelan degung*, with the male player of the *kendang* to the far right (hands signaling one of the women players); the male player of the *suling* is mostly obscured by the singer to the left. Photo by Sean Williams.

Page Image but its function and tuning differ markedly. A small, four-hole, end-blown bamboo flute (*suling degung*) plays embellishments of the *bonang* melody. Two metallophones (*saron*) play abstractions of the *suling* and *bonang* melody. In modern *gamelan degung* performances, the *suling* and *kendang* are still played by men, but the rest of the instruments are often played by women. The melody is performed by the vocalist and still embellished by the *suling*, but is now only rarely played on the *bonang*.

Gamelan degung is most likely to be heard at neighborhood celebrations in Bandung and other towns. Because of its connection to the aristocracy, it is not considered a village ensemble. Competitions among urban districts have led to its local sponsorship. Performers come from the neighborhood, or from among the spouses of men who have similar occupations. Rehearsals (*latihan*) are lively affairs that usually attract neighbors, who drop in to listen, enjoy refreshments, and gossip. Sundanese perceptions of the ensemble have evolved from the concept of a restricted, difficult, male-only ensemble to a popular, easy, mostly female-oriented one. This change makes many more potential female performers eager to join a group, either as instrumentalists or as vocalists. *Gamelan degung* frequently accompanies large numbers of female vocalists (*rampak sekar*) and individuals performing *pop Sunda* songs (Williams 1989).

Other village gamelans thrive in Sunda, and local scholars have been active in investigating them. Many village gamelans are named with an older designation, putting the word *go'ong* before the type of ensemble, as in *go'ong renteng, go'ong ajeng*, and *go'ong kromong*, as opposed to *gamelan renteng, gamelan ajeng*, and *gamelan kromong*.

Ketuk tilu *and* jaipongan

Ketuk tilu performance is firmly rooted in the villages of Sunda. The ensemble includes three kettle-gongs (*ketuk*) in a single rack; hence the name, *ketuk tilu* 'three kettle-gongs'. It accompanies traditional Sundanese social dancing. Variants of its performance occur in many areas of Sunda, known by different names depending on the area. In the vicinity of Sumedang, it is known as *bangreng*; in Ciamis, it is called *ronggeng gunung* (Tirasonjaya 1979). In these variants, the instrumentation, drum strokes, and dances are essentially similar to those of *ketuk tilu*.

Ketuk tilu is performed in the evenings at village celebrations of various types, including harvests and life-cycle ceremonies. In a typical performance, the player of the *ketuk* strikes the instrument in the melodic pattern of low-medium-high-medium, or high-low-medium-low. This pattern is supported by the *go'ong*, struck every eight or sixteen beats; the *kendang*, which outline the rhythmic cycle; and a set of *kecrek*, small percussive metal plates that make a clashing sound. The primary melody is carried by a solo female singer-dancer (*ronggeng*) and a rebab. These instruments are portable, so the ensemble can be taken to whichever village is having a celebration (Manuel and Baier 1986). The overall texture of a performance is filled in with the interlocking shouts (*senggak*) of male instrumentalists, audience members, and dancers.

Ketuk tilu pieces consist of an introduction in free rhythm and short, fixed-rhythm sections of varying duration. The drummer pays close attention to the dancer (as in every Sundanese form of dance) and is responsible for building tension, keeping the tempo steady, halving or doubling the density (*wilet*), and introducing transitions between sections. *Ketuk tilu* drumming features rapid

shifts in density and texture. The combination of flashy drumming with the performance of a sexy singer-dancer is an important aspect of Sundanese music for social dancing in the villages. The style of dance incorporates elements of humor, eroticism, and pantomime.

The *ronggeng* of the past (and sometimes of the present) would stand in front of

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the ensemble of musicians, dancing solo and dancing with various male partners. She was assumed to be a prostitute (Manuel and Baier 1986; Sutton 1989), and her partners in dancing could have the option of becoming her sexual customers. Female singer-dancer-prostitutes are found in many areas of Java. In Sunda, *ronggeng* have developed into regionally important figures because of the popularity of sexy female vocalists in the offshoot of *ketuk tilu* known as *jaipongan*.

In the 1970s, Gugum Gumbira Tirasonjaya created *jaipongan* from what he believed to be the most interesting and compelling elements of *ketuk tilu*, gamelan saléndro, and dynamic, village-style drumming. It includes the free-rhythm introduction and drumming of *ketuk tilu*, the female *ronggeng*, and much of the *ketuk tilu* repertoire. However, it is most often performed on *gamelan saléndro*, rather than on *ketuk tilu*. The *kempul* takes an extremely active role, being played in rapid, syncopated strokes, which often correspond with those of the drum. The patterns of the drumming correspond exactly to a repertoire of movements of the dancing, and a good performance usually includes an elegant sequence of improvisational interplay between the drummer and the dancer. The style of the dancing combines Sundanese martial arts (*penca silat*), dancing of *ronggeng*, classical Sundanese dance, *tari kursus*, aspects from masked social dance (*topèng banjet*), and elements from

American break dancing, the imitation of Sundanese people and animals, and the choreography of Martha Graham (figure 38).

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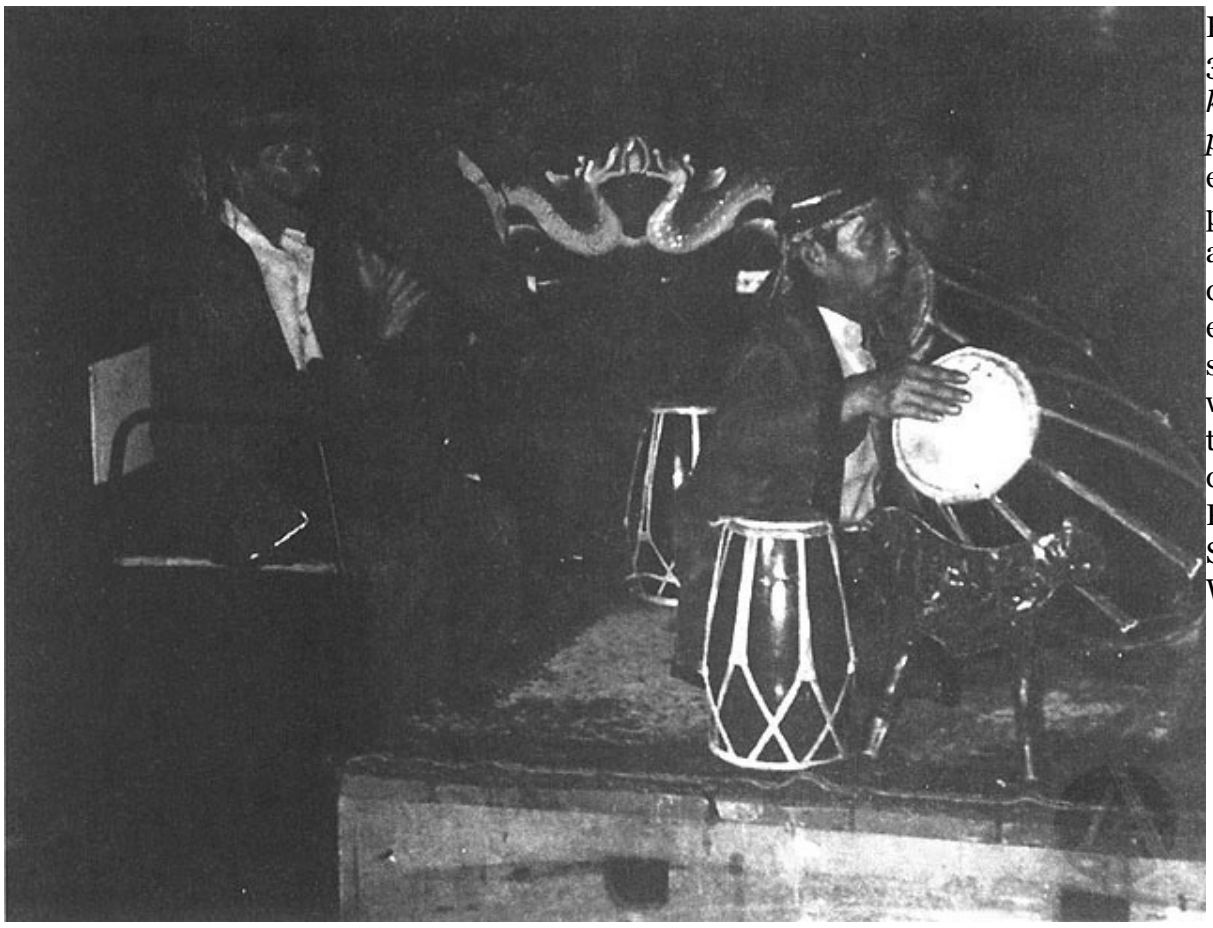

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Kendang penca *and* rampak kendang

Kendang penca (Indonesian *pencak*) is the percussive ensemble that accompanies the Sundanese version of the ubiquitous Indonesian martial-arts dance, *penca silat*. It can be heard at any of the Sundanese *penca silat* schools (*perguruan*), often centers of social activity for young men (and, less frequently, young women). The ensemble consists of two *kendang*, a small suspended gong (*bende*), and one or two *tarompet*, double-reed wind instruments, played using circular breathing (figure 39). The *kendang* are divided in terms of parent (*kendang indung*) and child (*kendang anak*). For each rhythmic cycle, the parent usually plays an ostinato, and the child mirrors the movements of the dancer(s).

The performance begins with the players of *kendang* and *tarompet* improvising briefly in free rhythm. Several well-defined rhythmic cycles (*tepak*) then follow. The fixed-rhythm section begins in a medium tempo (*tepak dua* or *paleredan*) as the dancer—dressed in loose-fitting black pants and shirt, with a belt around the waist and a strip of cloth wrapped around the head—begins to circle in rhythmic steps. *Tepak dua* uses the longest gong cycle, and is the least dense. Drummers signal the next rhythmic cycle (*tepak tilu*), and the density increases. In both *tepak dua* and *tepak tilu*, the player of the *tarompet* improvises on various popular Sundanese folk songs (*lagu rakyat*), trading off with another player of a *tarompet* when one is available.

At a drummer's signal, the tempo increases dramatically, and the density of the strokes of the gong

doubles as the fighting begins. In this section, onomatopoeically called *padungdung*, new drum strokes coincide with the kicks and punches of the fighters or solo performer. The instrumentalists and spectators shout *Mati!* 'Dead!' and other inflammatory words. The *tarompet* pitch rises rapidly into the highest register in improvisational figures, using vibrato and other dramatic techniques. Weapons are sometimes used in addition to hands and feet. Injuries and deaths sometimes occur, but performers have studied a philosophy and specific protective tactics, and they distinguish between basic sparring competitions and solo dance in *penca*, which incorporates *penca* philosophy and laws governing behavior and belief.

A development that appears to be specific to Bandung is *rampak kendang* 'drum

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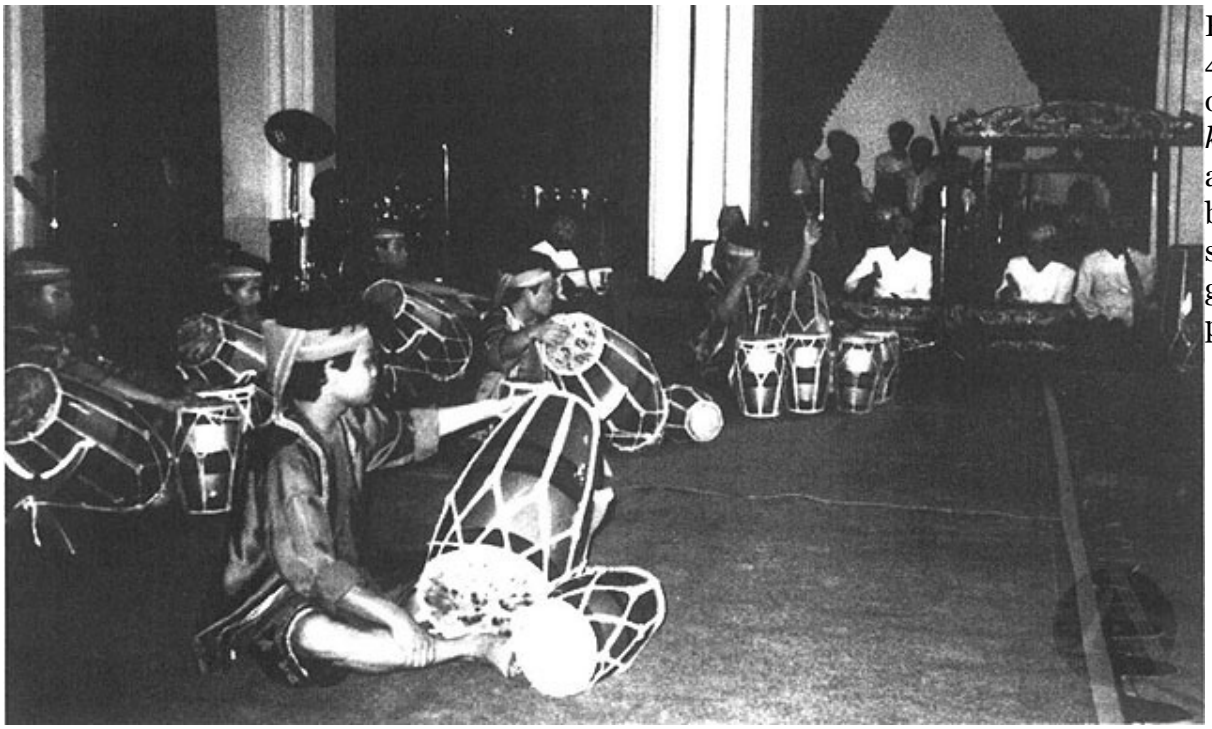

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accompanied by *gamelan saléndro* to the right (Jugala Group). Photo by Sean Williams.

group', a large ensemble of drums. Created by Gugum Gumbira Tirasonjaya in the 1980s, it uses multiple sets of *kendang*, accompanied by *gamelan saléndro* (figure 40). *Kendang* solos alternate among several leaders, and the other players of *kendang* provide a thunderous accompaniment. Other percussive instruments, such as the Islamic frame drum (*terbang*), may add visual and sonic effects. A single *rampak kendang* piece may last up to thirty minutes. For almost every performance, advanced groups alter the drumming arrangements. Many performances include acrobatic movements, including the throwing of drums, elaborate gestures of the hand and the body, and choreographed clowning.

Bamboo ensembles

The three main types of Sundanese bamboo ensembles are *angklung, calung*, and *arumba*. The exact features of each ensemble vary in contexts, related instruments, and relative popularity. Except for *calung* (regularly recorded by one Sundanese group), bamboo instruments do not have a strong market in the cassette industry. When searching for a cassette of bamboo instruments, one is most likely to find one in a diatonic tuning, recorded in Jakarta, containing Indonesia's top ten patriotic

songs.

Angklung

Angklung is a generic term for sets of tuned, shaken bamboo rattles. It is found in many other places in Indonesia, but its greatest variety occurs in Sunda. A description from 1704 (Baier 1986), its first known mention in writing, calls it a large processional ensemble, used to welcome visitors at regents' homes. Each instrument has two to four bamboo tubes, tuned from one to three octaves apart and suspended loosely from the top of a frame. When the instruments are shaken, two small extensions of each tube strike each side of a slot within the lower part of the frame, creating sounds. *Angklung* are played in interlocking patterns, usually with only one or two instruments played per person (figure 41).

The combination of instruments depends on the type of *angklung* being performed. The most common traditional Sundanese one, *angklung buncis*, is tuned to *saléndro*. It uses up to a dozen players of *angklung*, a player of a *tarompet*, four drummers (playing *dog-dog*, conical single-headed drums), vocalists, and others, including players of gongs, clowns, and people designated to stimulate audience interaction. The vocalists perform songs in call-and-response, popular styles, interlocking

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procession far removed from its ritual origins. Photo by Sean Williams.

senggak, spontaneous rhymes, and high-pitched melismatic singing (*beluk*) in Javanese poetic meters (*pupuh*). The drummers have polyrhythmic competitions with one another, dodging in and out of the procession and trying to trick one another into making mistakes.

Angklung is used in Sundanese processions, sometimes with trance or acrobatics. As the performers go forward, they arrange themselves into patterns, including figure-eights, circles, and double lines. Performed at life-cycle rituals and feasts (*hajat*), *angklung* is believed to maintain balance and harmony in the village. It is most closely associated with the Sundanese goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci

Sanghyang Sri, popularly known as Dewi Sri. The connection between rice and bamboo—grasses essential to Sundanese survival—is strong [see B AMBOO, R ICE, AND W ATER].

Through the performance of *angklung*, the goddess of rice is enticed to the fields to ensure a good harvest. The performance of *angklung* in accordance with the seasonal agricultural calendar ensures the continuity of the cycle of planting, growth, and harvesting. By perpetuating this cycle through joyous, chaotic processions, the performers keep the village in tune with nature.

In its most modern incarnation, *angklung* is performed in schools as an aid to learning about music. Tuned diatonically, sets of one hundred or more instruments are played by children. The ease with which these instruments are made (compared with forging a gamelan) and the low cost of purchasing a set make *angklung* an Indonesian alternative to pianos or other diatonic instruments. The melodies most commonly studied by students are the dozens of Indonesian patriotic songs they must memorize. In typical performances of this music, a teacher conducts the students by standing in front of the class with the numbers of the pitches written on a board. The lively and humorous processional aspect of the performance is omitted, as is any connection with agricultural ritual.

Calung

Related ensembles, *calung*, fall into several categories of which the most common is modern *calung* (*calung moderèn*). Like those in *angklung*, its instruments are of bamboo, but each consists of several differently tuned tubes that are fixed onto a piece of bamboo instead of being loosely suspended. *Calung* are usually tuned to *saléndro*. The player, usually a man, holds the instrument in his left hand and strikes it with a beater held in his right. The highest-pitched *calung* has the greatest number of tubes and the densest musical activity; the lowest-pitched, with two tubes, has the least.

Page Image

Calung is nearly always associated with earthy humor. The performers sing and move while they play, sometimes using their beaters or instruments to represent other objects. Topics are often bawdy and involve extensive puns, satire, and in-jokes. The butt of many jokes is usually the player of the lowest-pitched *calung*. He plays the least, stands at the end of the ensemble, uses the most exaggerated gestures of the arms, and has the largest beater. He rarely has the chance to sing or verbally defend himself, so his role may be taken by the best mime of the group.

Arumba

The most modern of the three ensembles is named for the *arumba*, a diatonically tuned set of bamboo xylophones on stands, often played by women—in particular, members of Dharma Wanita, the organization of government officials' wives. An *arumba* is frequently joined by modern instruments, including a drum set, an electric guitar, a bass, and keyboard instruments. Recent recordings of *arumba* include the reggae hit "Rivers of Babylon," the pop song "Spanish Harlem," Indonesian patriotic tunes, and a few *pop Sunda* hits.

Zither ensembles

The Sundanese zither (*kacapi*) often serves to represent Sundanese culture. It plays as either a solo or an ensemble instrument, associated with both villagers and aristocrats. It may take the form of a boat in *tembang Sunda*, or the form of a board zither in *kacapian*. It is sometimes drastically modified to include more strings, electric and electronic devices, and various styles of playing. *Pantun, tembang Sunda, kacapi-suling*, and *kacapian* are its most common uses.

Pantun

Pantun is a genre of Sundanese epic narrative. It is most often performed by a blind male vocalist (

juru pantun 'performer of *pantun*'), who usually accompanies himself on a *kacapi*, an eighteen-stringed boat-shaped or board zither (figure 42). The performance of *pantun* dates from before the 1500s—before influences from Central Java or Islam. It was mentioned in the *Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesian*, a Sundanese manuscript written in 1518. As a vital performing tradition, it is the source of a variety of modern Sundanese performing arts, including *kacapian* and *tembang Sunda*. Furthermore, other Sundanese arts, such as puppetry, are a continual influence on *pantun* performers.

The performance of *pantun* usually occurs as part of a ritual Sundanese feast (*hajat*). As with most Sundanese performing arts, the performance is often tailored to the situation after consultation with the patron or sponsor. Because certain stories carry specific ideological, religious, or cultural meanings, stories are selected or rejected according to the type of ceremony being performed.

The zither used for *pantun* is usually tuned to *pélog* or *saléndro* and except during

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accompanied by a rebab. Photo by Andrew Weintraub.

periods of intense recitation is performed in a relatively fixed meter. It accompanies songs (*lagu*), but may also play stereotypical melodic patterns, which advance the action, giving the performer a break from recitation, or heightening the dramatic tension. When accompanying *lagu*, the zither is played in two styles: the first is a variety of repeating patterns (*kemprang*) specific to each song; the second, any of several types of ostinatos that accompany recitatives. Melodic flourishes on the zither serve as aural indicators of specific characters or moods.

After the proper types of offerings are made and the appropriate time of night has arrived, the

performance may begin. The performer recites Sundanese mythological tales, interspersed with songs, comments, jokes, and allegories. He is believed to have a strong connection to the world of spirits and is respected for his knowledge. His presence is as much a symbolic blessing on the ceremony as the actual blessing he requests from the gods during the performance.

The typical narrative tells of a Sundanese hero who must undergo a series of conflicts (contests, battles, ordeals) before finding a resolution. As in puppetry, the resolution of conflict is one of the most important aspects of the story, because it provides a cathartic release for the audience. Most *pantun* stories are indigenously Sundanese, but Islamic and non-Sundanese stories have also been documented (Weintraub 1990).

Performers of *pantun* use the basic storyline to carry the tale, embellishing freely and filling in details. They build the text on standard patterns and poetic devices, including rhymes and allusions. Songs often add details and elaborate on the story, fulfilling a variety of functions: invocations, blessings, representations of any aspect of the story, and entertainment. Their primary function is to enhance the storyline, yet they are not essential to the development of each character.

During the 1980s, *pantun* developed into several different styles. It continues to be appreciated by villagers, but as the broadcast media gained influence, some performers had to shorten their performances from the traditional all-night *pantun* to ones lasting just a few hours. Some performances since the 1980s have included female vocalists, other instruments, and additional songs, designed more for entertainment than for ritual. In Sundanese villages, *pantun* is still performed in its original contexts.

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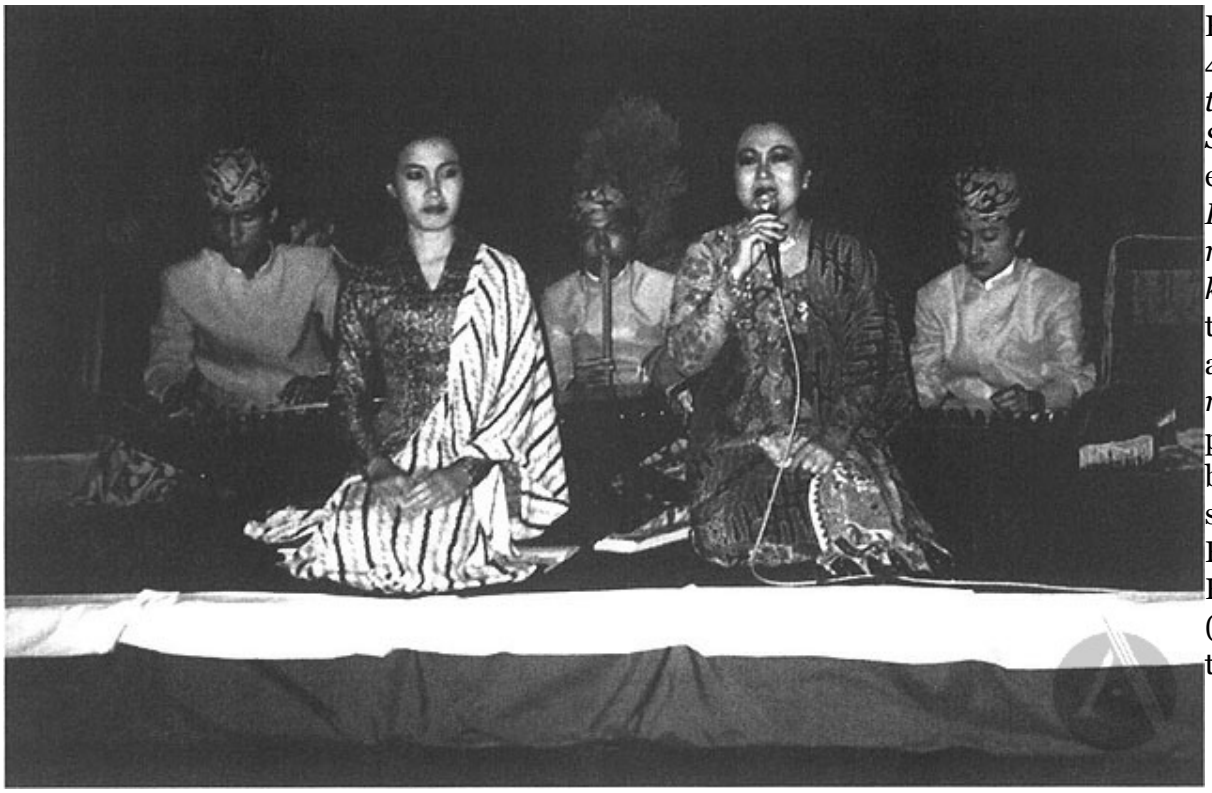

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Tembang Sunda

Tembang Sunda, known in Cianjur as *cianjuran*, is a type of sung poetry developed in the regency of

Cianjur in the late 1800s. It began as an entertainment in which aristocrats would sing in poetic meters derived from Central Java (*pupuh*) or perform songs derived from Sundanese epics (*lagu pantun*), accompanied by local instruments. Its topics include Sundanese history, aspects of nature, mythology, romance, heroic figures, and tragedies. It is currently centered in Bandung, where many descendants of the Sundanese aristocracy and most of the current performers live.

In performance, one or more singers are accompanied by an eighteen-stringed zither (*kacapi*), a smaller, fifteen-stringed zither (*rincik*), and a six-hole end-blown bamboo flute (*suling*) (figure 43). A typical performance includes sets of about fifteen minutes each, consisting of several heavily ornamented free-meter songs (*mamaos*) followed by a fixed-meter song (*panambih*). This genre may be performed in the *pélog, sorog*, or *saléndro* tuning, and it is occasionally performed in the *mataram-man-dalungan* tuning, a rare, high-pitched type of *pélog*. Most performances, however, are in *pélog* and *sorog*. The *kacapi* and the flute freely accompany the vocal melody during the free-meter songs, following and imitating the vocal ornamentation. When the set ends with a fixed-meter song, the *rincik* musically elaborates on the *kacapi* patterns at a density twice that of the *kacapi*. When performances occur in *saléndro* tuning, the flute is replaced by a two-stringed bowed lute (rebab), normally played for fixed-meter songs.

Tembang Sunda is traditionally performed in the evenings by musicians and singers, who receive no pay for their performances. In an ideal performance (reminiscent of the genre's original setting), the only members of the audience are other musicians and singers, attentively listening while awaiting their turns to participate. Other venues that now often involve monetary reimbursement include weddings, circumcisions, dinners for members of the military or foreign guests, hotel lobbies, and restaurant pavilions. These performances are tied less to the appropriate time of day (evening), the normal progression of songs (serious to light, historical to romantic), or systems of tuning (*pélog* to *sorog* to *saléndro*) than traditional performance dictates. Instead, they are directed almost entirely by the needs of the setting and the employer.

For the descendants of the Sundanese aristocracy, *tembang Sunda* functions as a sonic link to the past, not only to the era just before independence (when aristocrats

Page Image enjoyed certain privileges), but also to precolonial Pajajaran (Williams 1990). Because the sound of the *suling* is strongly associated with village life, and because bamboo flutes may be found nearly everywhere in Sunda, an aural connection is also made to the rural areas. Most of the people who listen to and perform *tembang* Sunda were raised outside Bandung, often in semirural areas.

Kacapi-suling

Kacapi-suling as a separate ensemble is a recent urban offshoot of *tembang Sunda*. It developed during the 1970s as a recorded genre, pioneered by the musicians Uking Sukri (*kacapi*) and Burhan Sukarma (*suling*), and supported by the Hidayat Recording Company of Bandung. It is still only rarely performed live. *Kacapi-suling* is the instrumental performance of the fixed-meter songs (*panambih*) of *tembang Sunda*, and includes the usual *tembang Sunda* instrumentation of *kacapi, rincik*, and *suling*. The essential structure of a fixed-meter song resembles the cyclic structure of a *gamelan degung* piece in that a "gong" (bass string) sounds at the end of each cycle, and the internal phrases are separated by colotomic markers of phrases (*jenglong*) or connective transitional tones (*pancer*), which are also played on the bass strings of the *kacapi*.

In a typical *kacapi-suling* performance, the player of the *kacapi* outlines the cyclic structure (*patokan*), alternating octaves with the right hand and performing syncopated bass patterns with the left. The player of the *rincik* performs elaborate variations of the structural pattern at twice the

density of the *kacapi*, roughly conforming to the register of the melody played on the flute, which often begins at a low pitch, ascends in register through the progression of the song, and descends during the final cycles.

The flute's function in *kacapi-suling* is to improvise along the contours of the cyclic structure. Sometimes the flutist plays sections of tunes normally sung by a *tembang Sunda* vocalist; this practice derives from sections in the songs when the vocalist rests and the flutist carries the melody briefly. Other players may use the established song as a point of improvisational departure, returning only occasionally to the song's melody. Still others use only the cyclic structure and leave out the precomposed melody, creating an entirely new one.

Each cycle may be as short as twenty seconds or as long as ten minutes, depending on the song normally sung to the ensemble's accompaniment. The complete performance of the tune depends entirely on the players' whim, because it is not limited by lyric content. Many fixed-meter songs have the same cyclic structure, so the performers can lead from one piece directly into another with no transition, or they can string together suites of songs with related structures.

Sometime in the early twentieth century, *kacapi-suling* was used to play fixed-meter songs within the context of performances of *tembang Sunda*; later, it played versions of classical *gamelan degung* melodies (now known as *dedegungan*). Most current performances are of instrumental fixed-meter songs, because the *dedegungan* are considered technically too difficult for average players. *Panambih patokan* are easy to perform. *Kacapi-suling* is sometimes performed at normal *tembang Sunda* events when the vocalists need a break (figure 44), or to warm up the audience. It can also be heard at hotels and restaurants where tourists gather, but its current function appears to be recorded background music.

Kacapian

Kacapian, another genre using a zither (*kacapi*) as its primary instrument, is one of the sources of Sundanese popular music. Its main proponent, Koko Koswara (1915-1985), developed a flashy style of playing a flat board zither (*kacapi siter*) that made it attractive to young people; he created some of the first modern melodic and

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performers of *tembang Sunda*, the *kacapi-suling* instrumentalists keep the music going. The *rir* (left, played by Nana Suhana) and the *kacapi* (right, played by Gan-gan Garmana) flank the play the *suling* (Iwan). Photo by Sean Williams, 1989.

rhythmic hooks used in Sundanese music; and he spurred the popularity of a type of fixed-meter vocal music not restricted to women. Until the development and popularization of kacapian, most fixed-meter songs in *tembang Sunda* could be sung by women only. Because of the casualness that roadside singers accorded to fixed-meter songs, singing in this style was considered undignified for men. Some *kacapian*, however, were specifically created for men to sing—which afforded them a new avenue of performance.

Kacapian is flexible in its tunings. The most likely tuning a Sundanese person will hear *kacapian* in is *saléndro*, which often accompanies village songs and comic performers (*jenaka Sunda*). However, the *kacapi siter* used for *kacapian* is easy to retune, and songs in *pélog, sorog*, or even Western diatonic tunings are regularly performed. Some performers will bring several *kacapi siter* to a performance to switch from a village song to a patriotic song to a *pop Sunda* song in various tunings.

An important aspect of *kacapian* is its variety of instrumentation. The *kacapi* remains the central instrument, but it may be accompanied by a *rincik*, a *go'ong*, a rebab, a box-shaped bowed lute (*tarawangsa*), a violin (*biola*), a guitar (*gitar*), or even an entire gamelan (Van Zanten 1989). The *kacapi siter* is one of the few instruments that women may play; its origins in the Sundanese villages, which are less affected by sex roles in music, have given rise to particularly talented female performers of *kacapian*, such as Yoyoh Supriatin and Nyai Sumiati.

The role of the *kacapi* in *kacapian* remains at the forefront, no matter what other instruments are played. Its participation in the overall song has increased dramatically. Though it usually accompanies a vocalist, it is used in *kacapian* as an elaborate melodic accompanist, rather than as an outliner of structure (as in *kacapi-suling*). Through the use of dramatic techniques (such as plucked tremolos, damping, and

Page Image syncopated patterns in both hands), the player of the *kacapi* functions nearly independently in an ensemble, providing more than enough musical activity to support a vocalist as an active and nearly equal partner.

The vocal music accompanied by this style of playing *kacapi*, known as *kawih*, serves in a variety of contexts, including gamelan. One of the definitions of *kawih* is 'light vocal music', distinguishing it from *tembang Sunda*. It is considered much easier to perform than *tembang Sunda*, not only in vocal ornamentation, but also in memorization and feeling (*pangjiwaan*). It extends beyond *kacapian* into the *pop Sunda* repertoire, and is associated with fixed-meter songs in *tembang Sunda*.

Kawih lyrics use complicated rhymes, often in the form of rhyming couplets (*sisindiran*)—either a single couplet (*wawangsalan*) or a pair of couplets (*paparikan*). The first section of a couplet usually describes an aspect of nature, and the second describes the topic of the verse—love, a political situation, religion, or a dispute. Many lyrics are up to date in criticizing current events, and the Sundanese predilection for musical humor allows for subtle plays on words.

Music of the Baduy

Some Sundanese live outside the mainstream culture. About six thousand Baduy, believed to be descendants of the original inhabitants of the Sundanese region, have resisted cultural and religious influences from outside their territory. They live in an isolated area of South Banten. Unlike most Sundanese, they consider outside influences or any aspect of change to be unacceptable. They divide into two groups, the inner Baduy and the outer Baduy, determined by their location in the Baduy area and by their beliefs. The inner Baduy are the more conservative; they do not use transportation, do not read or write, do not use money, and have little or no contact with outsiders (Van Zanten 1994; Wessing 1977). Since the Indonesian government restricts researchers from dealing with them, almost no research by outsiders has been done on their performing arts.

Having successfully resisted Islam, Hindu Buddhism, and Christianity, the Baduy are considered by many non-Baduy Sundanese to be living repositories of aboriginal Sundanese culture. The instruments deemed acceptable to the inner Baduy are a small boat-shaped zither (*kacapi*), a wooden bowed lute resembling the *tarawangsa (rendo*), several types of bamboo flutes (*suling* and *élèt*), and a type of *angklung* (Van Zanten 1989). The Baduy use these instruments to accompany song in performances of agricultural rituals and epic narratives (*pantun*). The *suling* serve a variety of purposes, including entertainment, courtship, and vocal accompaniment (figure 45). In addition, several small solo instruments, such as the *karinding* (Jew's harp), are used for entertainment (figure 46). All these instruments are considered inherently and indigenously Sundanese by modern Sundanese society, and are also found in many types of non-Baduy village music.

Sundanese popular music

For decades, the Sundanese have enjoyed performances of locally created popular music. In addition to nationally popular genres (such as *dangdut* and *kroncong*), the Sundanese have developed a unique regional style, *pop Sunda*. It began as a Sundanese musical imitation of American and European popular music played on Western band instruments (electric guitar, organ, bass, and so on). Performances were always in a diatonic tuning and 4/4 meter on a drum set, and used a heavy, consistent vocal vibrato, in contrast to the Sundanese variable vibrato. The language, Sundanese, was almost the only factor indigenous to the area.

In the mid-1980s, composer Nano Suratno (generally known as Nano S.) reshaped *pop Sunda* to conform more closely to Sundanese musical idioms. Through

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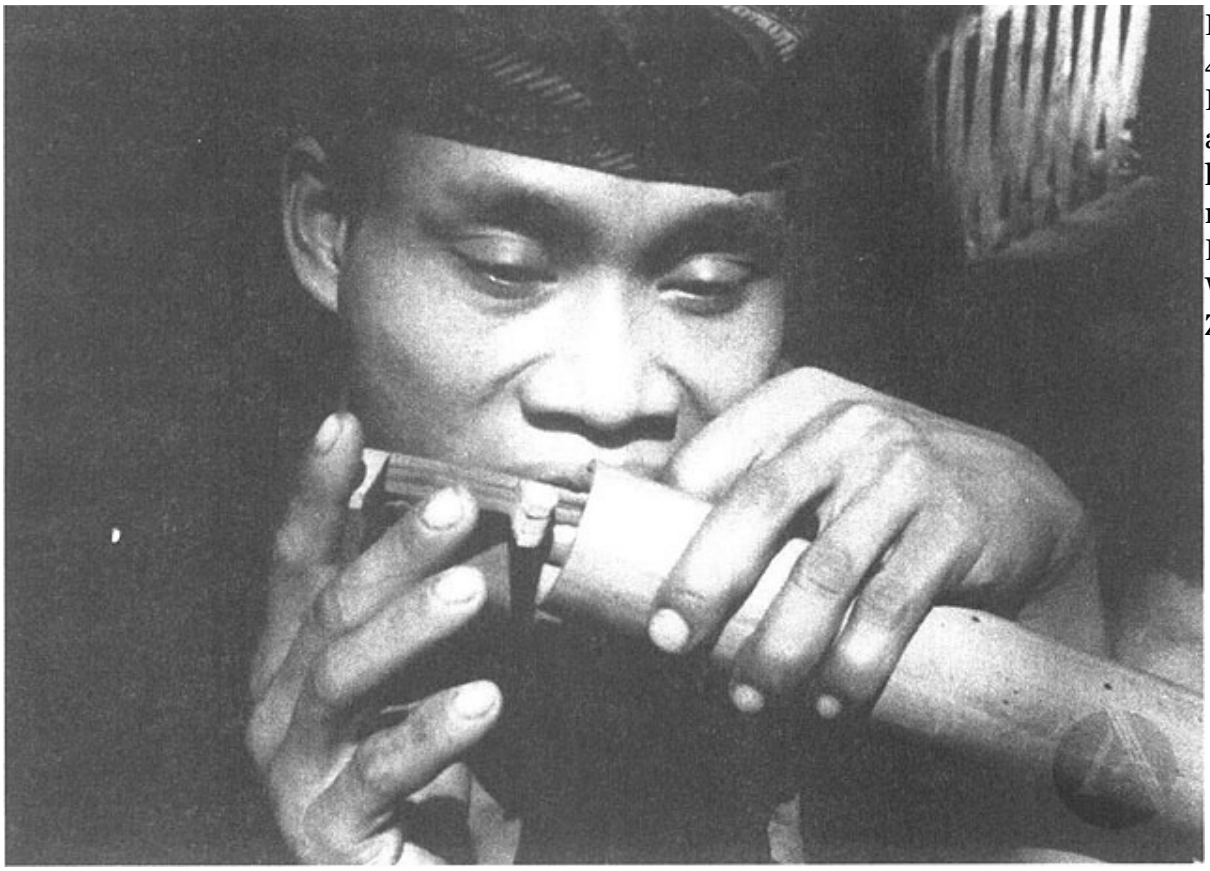

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the creation of several hits in *pélog*, which could be accompanied by either a diatonic pop-style band or traditional ensembles, he broke through the barrier separating popular from traditional Sundanese music. The new songs always had strong melodic or rhythmic hooks—a compositional technique borrowed from Western popular music, but previously pioneered in Sunda by Koko Koswara in the *kacapian* genre. Their success created a demand for more songs in *pélog* performable by any ensemble.

Nano Suratno's songs were covered by various ensembles in several different tunings, and the genre of *pop Sunda* expanded. Vocal competitions, sponsored by large corporations, spurred the solidification of a true *pop Sunda* vocal style, which generally includes traditional ornamentation (including the variable-speed vibrato). Based on the success of the first band recording of the revitalized genre (" *Kalangkang*," recorded by Nining Meida and Getek's Band), most *pop Sunda* recordings since the mid-1980s have included the standard Sundanese *kendang* (which has variable pitches) and a bamboo flute or a keyboard imitation of it. These two aural cues, plus the sound of the system of tuning and the use of the Sundanese language, are essential in identifying the genre (Williams 1989).

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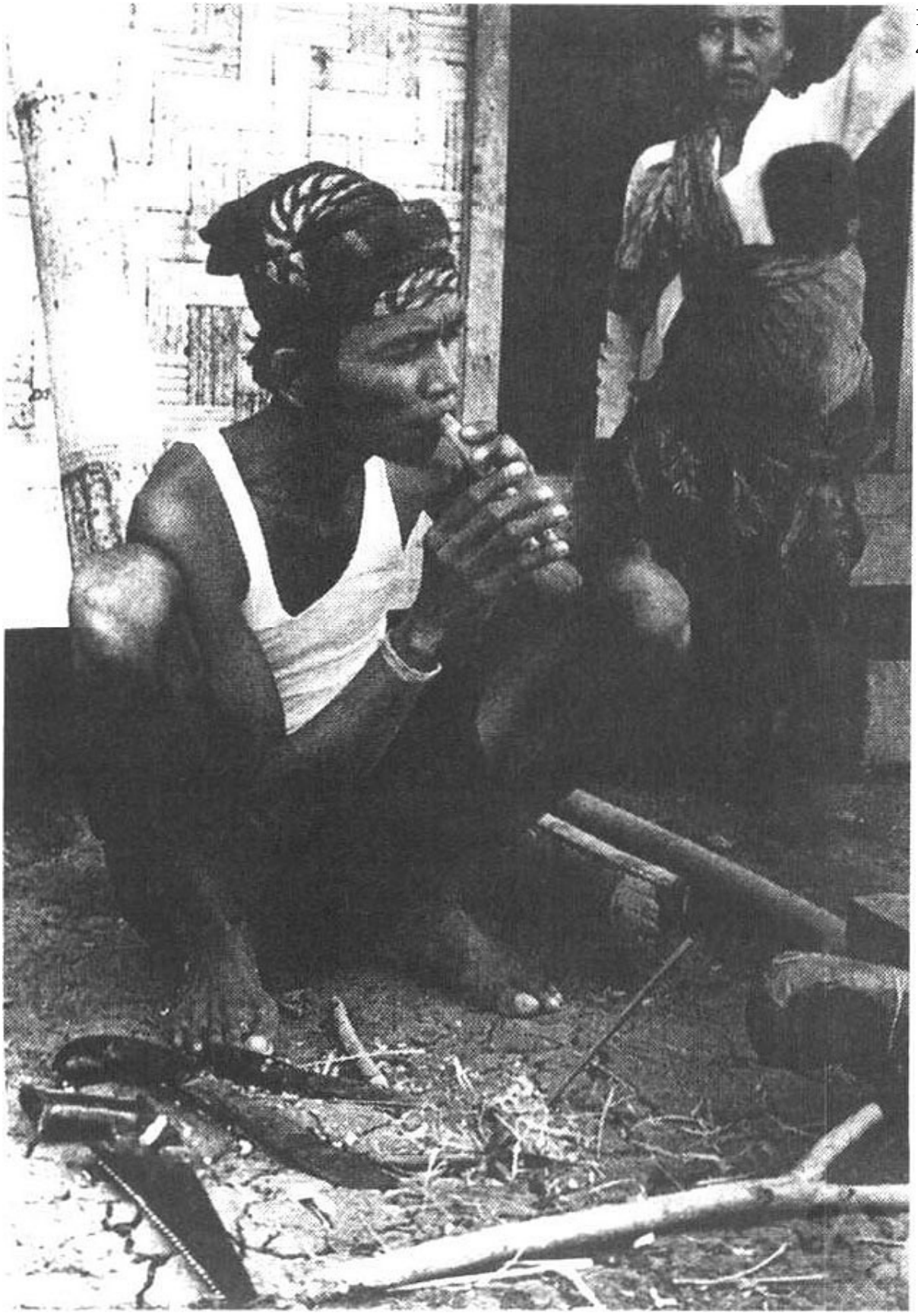

entertainment, the Baduy play bamboo Jew's harps (*karinding*). Photo by Wim Van Zanten.

Once the new-style *pop Sunda* had become firmly established in the Sundanese ear, the previously popular diatonic *pop Sunda* tunes abruptly fell under the category of nostalgic songs (*lagu-lagu nostalgia*), and are currently revived only at weddings when a band that plays rock is present and people request old songs. Attempts were made in the early 1990s to bring diatonic tuning back into *pop Sunda* (particularly by composers in strong competition with Nano Suratno), but these attempts showed little promise of gaining popularity, except as novelties.

Pop Sunda is heard primarily on cassettes, and secondarily at weddings, circumcisions, and business and governmental events. Most musicians buy the cassettes as much for their own enjoyment as to learn the latest tunes. By knowing the latest repertoire, musicians are likelier to be hired, even for traditional events. Most traditional female singers of the *tembang* and gamelan repertoires include in the back of their songbooks the lyrics to the ten most requested *pop Sunda* songs. The ensemble provided for an event such as a wedding depends entirely on the hosts, but it is likelier to be an ensemble in a traditional system of tuning than a keyboard-based pop band. The performance of a diatonic song accompanied by an ensemble in *pélog* is

Page Image considered too challenging to be tried by many—which limits the potential market for *pop Sunda* tunes in diatonic tuning.

In the face of Sundanese young people's exposure to international popular music, *pop Sunda* is the strongest local contender for their attention. Many older people approve of and enjoy *pop Sunda* because of its hooks and its conformity to local systems of tuning and vocal styles; others feel it has wrested attention from traditional Sundanese music. Musically, it is the only link between popular international music and traditional Sundanese music.

Music and musicians in Sundanese society

Music is performed in a variety of contexts in Sunda, from department-store openings to late-night gatherings among friends. Musical performance does not always involve pay, and performers may be selected as much on the basis of their connection to a patron or their family ties to the primary performers as on their ability to play. Performance is normally a participatory activity; people from the audience are expected to join in (*kaul*) at least once during a performance by singing, playing, or dancing. The concept of *kaul* derives from the sense of fulfilling a vow of participation with one's teacher. When one agrees to *kaul*, the teacher is honored. Guests and government officials are particularly targeted for this type of participation, generally in an atmosphere of gaiety and laughter.

The Sundanese regard music specialists with ambivalence. Strong adherents to Islam often look down on instrumental music. Furthermore, traditional music is sometimes considered ancient and outdated, and performers are sometimes accused of preventing the country from moving forward by persisting in playing music no longer relevant to the needs of a developed society. Musicians are also acknowledged to have a special kind of charismatic power that may be respected and even feared.

Most musicians who perform on weekends, at monthly meetings, or at seasonal rituals do not consider themselves professionals. They rarely call themselves musicians. Nonmusicians usually claim to enjoy music, and almost always claim a specific genre of music as their favorite, whether it be traditional, a type of local or national Indonesian popular music (like *dangdut* or *kroncong*), or American, European, or Chinese pop. Claiming a genre of music usually places the speaker in a specific social class, because musical genres are often bounded by class.

Class, gender, age

One of the strongest Hindu-Buddhist influences in Sunda is a sense of class and hierarchy. Distinctions of class still shape interpersonal relationships in Sunda, from determining who may

cultivate romantic ties to dictating which music is most appropriate for a specific setting. Despite official pronouncements claiming that divisions of class no longer exist, they appear throughout the Sundanese performing arts and in society in general.

The Sundanese accept a general division between refined (*alus*) and coarse (*kasar*). In musical terms, this continuum has fluid boundaries, which change according to the setting, the lyrics, the performers, the instrumentation, and other variables. Until the 1980s, the relative status of a type of music was determined primarily by its audience; *tembang Sunda* was aristocratic because its intended audience was the nobility, and *angklung* was low class because its audience consisted of farmers and villagers. If the audience consisted of middle-class urbanites, the status of the music fell somewhere in between.

These distinctions are no longer nearly so strong, because almost every major genre of Sundanese music has undergone a series of transformations that have entailed crossing class boundaries. The cassette industry has had a strong impact on

Page Image the mixing of musical genres with intended audiences, as music that was once the province of the few has become readily available to the many. Furthermore, the emergence of a Sundanese middle class and the ability of middle-class families to afford musical entertainment at life-cycle events have brought a variety of genres into the neighborhoods and homes of anyone who can afford to hire a group.

Historically, vocal music (especially *tembang Sunda*) has been at the top of the musical hierarchy. Its association with aristocratic performance in the 1800s and its ties to major Sundanese ensembles have tended to keep it at the forefront. *Gamelan degung*, also associated with the aristocracy and performed instrumentally, is still regarded as a high-status ensemble, though its repertoire includes popular songs. At the other end of the scale is music performed in villages. Both villagers and aristocrats assume that setting determines status. Despite these distinctions, however, Sundanese are free to enjoy any type of music they like.

Sundanese music is strongly divided along gender lines. Specific genders are required for the proper performance of each type of music, and crossing the gender boundary is far less appropriate, even for modern performances, than crossing a class boundary. In general, men are the instrumentalists, though women have in the last few decades begun to play *angklung, gamelan degung*, and some other instruments. The instruments most strongly tied to men are drums and winds. In all-female ensembles (*gamelan ibu-ibu* 'women's gamelan'), the drum and flute parts are still always performed by men.

Male musicians sometimes hold daytime jobs, but may spend all night performing at musical jobs. Musicians who belong to popular groups may depend entirely on their relationship to the group's patron and their musical income to support themselves and their families. Female musicians rarely consider themselves professionals. Many are young mothers with children, and the money they receive for their performances supplements their husbands' incomes. Some women cease to perform when they marry, and husbands may forbid their new wives to perform for money because of the association of pay with prostitution.

Male musicians, in contrast to their female counterparts, are not severely limited to specific musical activities, and may freely switch instruments and genres. Though it is unusual for a male instrumentalist of a low-status genre to perform in a high-status ensemble (or vice versa), it is not at all unusual for the same instrumentalist to play most of the instruments within a specific genre. Men may act as vocalists, within limits; in *tembang Sunda*, they sing only free-meter songs. In gamelan performances, their vocal role is as the *alok*, or male counterpart to the featured female vocalist.

Female performers function in Sundanese musical culture primarily as vocalists or dancers. When women play as a group in a performance of *gamelan degung*, they play in a simpler style than do the men who play the same ensemble; they sometimes pay closer attention to the match of their clothing, hair, and makeup than to what they play. Female players of typically male-oriented instruments exist, but their performances

Page Image are rarely taken seriously. Many of the most respected female musicians in Sundanese society (both historically and currently) are excellent players of gamelan or highly talented players of *kacapi* or other instruments, but they rarely perform publicly as instrumentalists or for money.

As dancers, women tread a thin line of respectability. In traditional Sundanese society, female dancers sometimes functioned as social and/or sexual partners for their patrons (Manuel and Baier 1986). Social dance is still considered a risky activity for young women of good family because of its origins in *ronggeng*. Women who choose to perform as dancers of *jaipongan*, for example, often select the solo staged version of the dance rather than the version for couples in villages, streets, or Sundanese nightclubs. By performing as a soloist, the dancer is brought closer to the setting of modern dance with respected, established choreography and further away from its improvised form in a traditional setting.

Being a dancer of classical Sundanese or certain types of modern semiclassical choreography, such as the peacock dance (*tari merak*) or the butterfly dance (*tari kupu-kupu*), is considered acceptable for young women and children. Classical dance is still associated with both Sundanese and Javanese aristocratic society, particularly because many of the finest early classical Sundanese male dancers were members of the aristocracy. Furthermore, the origin of Sundanese classical dance in the Central Javanese courts, and the Sundanese respect for established Central Javanese traditions, help gain classical dance social acceptance. Modern choreography, associated with postindependence Indonesia and trained dancers, is also respectable because it is not associated with villages.

The strongest exception to the general rule of separation of the genders is in music schools and general-music classes in regular schools. Young men and women participate almost equally in all major Sundanese instrumental ensembles, including drumming groups, and they learn to compose new pieces together. Women and men teach music as equals at these institutions, but because students usually fall back into gender-based social distinctions outside the school environment, few female students specialize in the traditionally male-dominated instruments or ensembles. Many opt for a general-music education or a specialty in voice or dance.

Economic factors may help determine the decision by female graduates of music schools to restrict themselves to socially acceptable musical roles. Few are likely to be hired as part of an instrumental ensemble, because musical directors—scheduling late-evening or all-night performances—hesitate to ask a woman to perform as an instrumentalist in an otherwise all-male ensemble. An exceptionally good female vocalist or dancer, however, could easily be hired by one of the famous regional performing groups (*lingkung seni*) and maintain her good name.

The respect accorded performers of Sundanese music from young musicians and members of Sundanese society usually increases as they get older. Young musicians listen attentively to their musical elders, learning the old ways of performing while adapting and changing the genres to keep up with the latest developments. Musicians speak reverently of musicians who have died and spend hours discussing the expertise of musical specialists in their respective genres.

In sharp contrast to the tendency of respecting older musicians, performers aged forty and up are hired less frequently for musical jobs than young performers. Musical directors cite the young performers' flexibility in time and musical skills as the reasons for the discrepancy between ideology

and reality. In musical situations that do not require pay, people from a much broader age spectrum may freely participate. Children are actively encouraged to join in almost any musical activity when appropriate, and precocious youngsters compete from preschool through high school for awards and the prestige of winning a competition in music or dance.

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Musical patronage

The patronage of music in Sundanese society has undergone a dramatic change as a result of social upheavals in postindependence Indonesia. Before independence, musicians were often part of a patron's household, or were attached to a wealthy family through blood ties or historical links. The wealth given the patrons by the Dutch in turn enabled them to support musicians and dancers. Keeping a musical group on one's grounds was an important aspect of maintaining prestige.

Immediately following independence, when Dutch funds no longer flowed through the patrons, musicians were forced to rely on other means for support. Some turned to other activities (such as farming), which enabled them to stay in the area. Others migrated to Jakarta or Bandung. Stripped of the old ties of family and patronage, musicians had to rely on service jobs, private lessons, or connections made during trips with their patrons. For some, the then-new radio station, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), provided work.

Since the 1960s, musicians have been sponsored by new types of patrons—not always members of the Sundanese aristocracy, but successful businessmen, highly ranked military or government officials, foreign ethnomusicologists, and wealthy Chinese-Indonesians—who wish to strengthen their ties to the community by demonstrating their support of traditional Sundanese performing arts. Chinese-Indonesians control most of the Sundanese cassette industry and retail cassette distribution, so their ties to the performing arts community are quite strong. The performing-arts groups (*lingkung seni*) formed under new patronage are now the standard ensembles hired for performances.

In large Sundanese towns and cities, the *lingkung seni* is the most common arrangement between groups and their patrons. These groups are typically centered around the home of a leader or patron, who may or may not be a performer. Personnel fluctuate according to who is available on the day of a performance and who is in good standing with the leader. Despite any personnel changes, the name of the group stays the same. Core group members are usually included in most performances, and outsiders are brought in to fill the remaining positions. Ideally, musicians belonging to any *lingkung seni* should be flexible enough to fulfill any request, even if it includes pop or dance-band music. Group leaders are expected to rely on every connection they have to accede to the whims of the person hiring the group.

Training Sundanese musicians

The Sundanese have a variety of ways to learn music. In traditional settings, a young musician attends a regular rehearsal (*latihan*) over a long period of time, simply to watch and listen to someone whose playing is considered worth emulating. After a friendship or understanding has developed between the student and the more experienced musician, the student might be asked to participate musically by playing one of the simpler instruments or one of the easier pieces. Eventually, the student assumes the right to request hints, ornaments, or songs from the experienced musician. Formal paid lessons are rarely given, but single requests are almost always honored.

Requesting something from an experienced musician immediately places the student in debt, and he or she may then be expected to help the musician in a variety of menial ways. Complex relationships involving debt are built during the course of a musician's lifetime, and students rarely switch from

one experienced musician to another because of the ill feelings such a switch would create. Similarly, by coming to a rehearsal, potential students align themselves with that group or the group's leader, often in hopes of being asked to participate in paid performances when they have developed the skills and experience.

In Sundanese villages, young children commonly begin their musical education

Page Image in a parent's lap. By closely watching their parents perform, many Sundanese village musicians absorb almost their entire musical repertoire long before they ever pick up an instrument. By trying the pieces themselves, children may grow into adult musicians or dancers.

Students may study directly from the cassette recordings of experienced musicians. Within a single genre, the availability of recordings on cassette allows students a broad spectrum of examples on which to base their personal styles of playing. Some students emulate their favorite musician; others select ones whose ornamentation or improvisations will showcase their own musical abilities. Most students develop a repertoire that reflects that of their teacher and are careful not to perform their teacher's rivals' pieces.

Many students gain musical experience through attendance at a regional conservatory in Bandung, such as the Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia (SMKI) or the Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia (ASTI). Both have programs that encourage diverse playing and dancing in addition to a grasp of Western and several Indonesian music theories. Students are not expected to specialize in any one instrument or genre, yet most choose one they prefer. These institutions attract village-raised musicians who demonstrate promise; they also attract Bandung-raised musicians who plan to be professional musicians but lack degrees in music.

Many of the teachers at these institutions and the music teachers at regular institutions come from the ranks of former music students, and some are not specialists in the instruments, genres, or forms they teach. Teachers must have a degree in music to get a job at an institution, and many musicians in Sunda do not have degrees in music. As a result, there is competition and stylistic discrepancy between students who gain experience through the institutions and those who gain it by playing and studying with the masters.

Composition and experimentation

The Sundanese pride themselves on their willingness to accept new musical ideas and incorporate changes into existing genres. Many of the region's strongest composers are those whose musical training is rooted firmly in traditional performance practice, who feel a compelling interest in maintaining a sense of Sundanese autonomy, but who are most interested in expanding the boundaries of existing ensembles, genres, and forms. Composers and performers continue to speak respectfully of the older generation of musicians. Composers who earlier in the century promoted change—for example, Koko Koswara, who pioneered developments in *kacapian* and popularized this style outside Bandung— are highly venerated by modern musicians.

Genres once played frequently but no longer performed regularly are honored by a retroactive shift of their dates of creation. The instrumental *gamelan degung* is often spoken of as if it were several hundred years old; it developed during the early part of the twentieth century, though some say its roots may extend to the Pajajaran era. Similarly, *tembang Sunda*, which might date from the mid-1800s, is sometimes claimed to be thousands of years old. Such antedating is a form of respect offered to now-venerable genres, and not necessarily reflective of musicians' actual knowledge. Instead, an expanded tenure for the performance of a specific type of music may describe its appropriate setting, which could indeed go back several hundred years.

The issue of experimentation and change is important to Sundanese composers, in part as a matter of regional pride. Some composers refer to their ability to be flexible and work with new creations (*kreasi baru*) as a feature that sets them apart from their counterparts in Central Java and Bali, though the Javanese and Balinese are rich in new creations of their own.

The success or failure of new compositions and genres depends on the

Page Image Sundanese cassette industry, the primary medium through which music is disseminated. Though videos of Sundanese performers appear regularly on local television, they are less representative of local artists and genres than of groups that have the money or connections to get onto the broadcast. Musicians take the production of a cassette seriously, because a good performance on a well-marketed cassette can bring them higher status among their peers, plus a greater likelihood of participation in an international tour.

Frequently, musicians learn new pieces from cassettes, and an effective way for a composer to sell cassettes of his compositions is to produce modern melodies in a favored traditional style. Preferably, the original performer should already have a major reputation. Some performers solicit compositions from the more famous composers so that buyers will be as tempted by the composer as by the performer. The Sundanese are as quick as anyone to spot a hook in a composition, and a piece with a strong hook may catch on in a matter of weeks, making the cassette a bestseller.

If a new composition is commercially successful, other musicians will cover it, possibly in a different genre. A song originally recorded with *gamelan degung* accompaniment may be recorded with *kacapi-suling, gamelan saléndro, kendang penca*, or *calung* accompaniment (for examples in popular Indonesian music, see Yampolsky 1989 and Williams 1989). The more cassettes that sell as a result of these recordings, the stronger the composer's reputation for creating hits. The stronger the reputation, the greater the freedom for exploring new genres, combinations of instruments, and experimental systems of tuning.

Ethnographic troupes and tourism

Sundanese performing groups have begun to enter the field of international touring and entertainment for tourists. The creation of an ethnographic troupe suitable for touring requires a performer who can cope with unfamiliar surroundings and food, versatility in playing a variety of instruments or being able to dance and play, and the ability to get a passport and visas. A potential member's close relationship to the leader (blood relative, student, neighbor) is yet another variable determining troupe membership.

Performers who have had experience traveling abroad and already have a passport are far more likely to be recruited than those who do not. The logistics and expense of acquiring a passport are so complicated that leaders take its presence or absence into account when considering a candidate for membership. The more versatile a performer, the more likely he will be selected. The result of this process is that, in some cases, the ethnographic show presented to foreigners can be a low-level representation of everything a troupe can present, rather than a sample of several high-quality genres. Troupes frequently travel to Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, Japan, the United States, France, Germany, and Holland—but not so far as South America or Africa.

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An ethnographic troupe may be an offshoot of the standard Sundanese performing arts group (*lingkung seni*). The initial contract is usually made through the leader, who hires his core group and some outsiders to fulfill all the requests for specific genres. In a touring situation, the stakes are much higher than in an average performance because of the prestige of having successfully completed an

international tour. A single trip abroad may gain a performer entrance into a better group, a recording contract, a teaching position, or other marks of higher status.

In a performance for foreigners (usually meaning an international tour or large-scale performance in Jakarta or Bandung), the Sundanese try to present visually exciting genres that best represent their diversity. Most leaders that have toured acknowledge competing with Javanese and Balinese troupes who have preceded them, and part of the competition is to be more diverse in their presentation than the other two ethnic groups.

A typical ethnographic show will include rod-puppet theater, *kliningan, tari klasik, tari topèng, tari jaipongan*, and one or more of the heavily costumed modern dances (such as the peacock dance), all accompanied by a *gamelan saléndro*. It may also include a performance of diatonic *angklung, tembang Sunda*, or *gamelan degung*. These options depend on the sponsors, who may or may not be willing to pay for the extra cost of shipping the other instruments. The *gamelan saléndro* is considered practical because it accompanies multiple genres.

When a sponsor makes a specific request, the group does all it can to fulfill that request. If an Islamic leader arrives for a performance, the group may try to incorporate Arabic verses or add Islamic frame drums to honor him. Special verses in Arabic, Dutch, English, and Japanese are learned and brought out when the situation requires. If the group can play *angklung*, it will more likely tour with a diatonic set than a traditional *saléndro* set, because leaders, members, and some sponsors believe the ensemble should be able to play the national anthem of the majority of the members of the audience, in addition to melodies the audience will recognize, such as the "Blue Danube" waltz.

In actual practice, the performance presented by an ethnographic troupe from Sunda is rarely representative of a traditional Sundanese performance. Under normal circumstances in Sunda, the audience talks almost continuously during a performance, except in the rare situation of musical gatherings in which the listeners are performers themselves. Children are a constant presence at performances, and the musicians and dancers are quite relaxed about their performances. Sundanese audiences rarely applaud for more than a few seconds, and in some cases not at all. Appreciation for a performer's expertise is more often expressed through the sudden sucking in of air through the teeth or other quiet sounds, which can be heard only by people in the immediate surroundings.

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