Conclusion

I mentioned in the introduction that the nation-state, culture, and the performing arts are inextricably linked. This is especially true in Southeast Asia: throughout history, the state has been an important patron of the arts.[1] While the region has gone through interrelated chains of historical events—religious conversion, colonialism, and from revolution to independent state—it is inaccurate to define the state "as a finished product or structure that has existed in 'traditional,' 'colonial,' or 'modern' forms."[2] Rather, the state is the result of temporally interrelated human, social, and institutional practices. The history of Southeast Asia should be understood as "an overlapping series of localizing [hence hybridizing], transcultural processes differently distributed over the whole region [of Southeast Asia or even in Indonesia alone] and occurring over many centuries at different rates in different places."[3]

Underlying the cultural transformation process is transculturation, a complex process of cultural transition, occuring as a consequence of "the merging of cultures over time, incorporating resolution of their differences."[4] Hand in hand with the transcultural transformation process is the phenomenon of *networking*: interconnected chains of multiple agencies seen synchronically and diachronically. Both processes bring about cultural hybridization, transplantation, appropriation, adaptation, and cross-fertilization.

Heterogeneity, contestation, and ambivalence define the hybridization process. This is because the process involves all sorts of power negotiation in cultural relations. In the case of tanjidor, as the patronage and the performance context of the band changed—from colonialism to the modern nation state—the position of the genre in society became uncertain. During the colonial period, the music and the slave musicians were under the care of wealthy European traders or landowners, marking them as "special." In the twentieth century the music was banned by the state. And today, the state and some in the artistic community defend the existence of tanjidor, a source of pride and a distinct musical entity to the city of Jakarta.

Gendhing mares has experienced a similar predicament. The genre can be performed only if the court of Yogyakarta has enough resources. However, the recent atmosphere of rejuvenation of Western music-gamelan hybridization has encouraged the court to use gendhing mares to accompany bedhaya

Semang, the most refined, sacred, and symbolically powerful ceremonial dance. There is no assurance, however, that gendhing mares and the bedhaya Semang will survive as anything other than markers of the Yogyakarta court for their historical and musical distinction.

In the case of kroncong, in the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century it was associated with and performed for lowly members of the Indo community. Subsequently, it was elevated to the national music of Indonesia, known and enjoyed by many Indonesian people, regardless of their ethnic group. However, as other new genres of Indonesian popular music emerged, such as *dangdut* and *campursari*, the popularity of kroncong has declined.

The heterogeneous and contested nature of hybridization also appeared in contemporary *wayang* performances and musik kontemporer—musical and cultural hybrids that developed in postcolonial Indonesia. Modern technology—elaborate sound systems, electronic devices, computer-generated audio and images, and other kinds of pictorial backdrops—intensify the hybrid nature of cultural performances and their spectacularization.

Sardono's *Opera Diponegoro* can also be seen in this light. Aside from presenting all sorts of Javanese musical and theatrical idioms, the play employs many non-Javanese modes of production, including the Western modern dance, a written script, Sumatranese music and dance, a dance sequence modeled after a Middle Eastern belly dance, and Islamic chanting. The multiple theatrical and musical idioms in the play present a kind of liminoid genre (experimenting with variable repertoires as leisure activities and aesthetic pleasures) without disregarding liminality (the state of ambiguity, an experience in a ritual event).[5] The production of *Opera Diponegoro* was possible because of a network of individuals and institutions. The play was not produced by a permanent theatrical company, but rather an assembly of the best dancers, musicians, lighting designers, and painters from Jakarta, central Java, and even the United States.

Networking is also the basis for the presence of gamelan in the West, the subject matter of part 2 of this book. Various agencies, such as colonial and native individuals, academicians and private entrepreneurs, and performers themselves, have shaped the gamelan's representation in the West. The contexts in which gamelan appeared (detached from its place of origin) and the reception of gamelan by various segments of society can be understood in terms of deterritorialization.

Ambiguity and ambivalence were parts of the cultural performances in the World's Fairs. We recall a peculiar case in the 1883 Amsterdam exhibition, in which gamelan instruments were constructed according to European taste, and the Dutch national anthem was played on the gamelan. For another example, the encounter between central Javanese dancers and Sundanese musicians at the 1893 Columbian Exhibition brought about an unconventional, hybrid dance performance. Since the Columbian and Paris Expositions employed the same format and hosted the same performing

group from West Java, most likely the same hybrid performance also took placte at the 1889 Paris exposition.

It is worth reiterating here that Debussy did not hear much gamelan from the court of Java: instead he heard mostly Sundanese music. Only occasionally did the group at the 1889 Paris World's Fair perform Javanese dance, accompanied by whatever music the Sundanese musicians provided. The position of Javanese gamelan and dance became ambiguous at these fairs. Did they represent primitive art, or nineteenth-century art? Public reception was equally ambiguous and unpredictable. Two contrasting public receptions can be noted: (1) an authentic aesthetic experience in which the audience was not required to know the background of performing arts that they saw; and (2) an enjoyment through ethnographic mediation consisting of written documents, such as pamphlets and program notes.

As the presence of gamelan shifted from the World's Fairs to the world of academia, the network changed and expanded, now adding academic institutions, scholars, students, learned societies, composers, and concert managers. Having taught gamelan in the United States for forty years, I have observed that the presence of gamelan in universities has brought about students' excitement and the fulfillment of an ideological inclination toward multicultural and intercultural perspectives. However, feelings of anxiety and ambivalence also came along with it: the question of the worthiness of music as part of the academic curriculum and the issue of how to teach and represent non-Western music in academic setting still arises from time to time.

The creation of university-based gamelan ensembles, or any non-Western ensemble, for that matter, also means changes in the institutional and curricular structure, changes in the distribution of resources, and competition among scholars. Nettl's work shows that the idea of the superiority of Western musical thought was still alive and well in the schools of music of Midwestern universities in the mid-1990s. The gamelan succeeds on campuses because it is a large ensemble, similar to a large Western ensemble.[6] In some cases, a native teacher is invited to teach gamelan on campus; in most cases, ethnomusicologists teach it. In teaching non-Western music, ethnomusicologists feel as if they have to go through a liminal state, common to the hybridization process in general: anxiety and ambivalence cannot be avoided, though the experience can also be fun and valuable. Solis aptly describes this feeling as follows:

> Each author is a sort of Noh Drama *shite*, undertaking and recounting a journey between worlds full of symbolic encounters. This journey, still in progress for us all, results in emotional and cognitive growth and conflict. . . . All [the authors] have undergone the exquisite agonies of cultural transplantation to the field, and the equally traumatic act of leaving it. In the field, our friends and research collaborators have unselfishly given us gifts we know we cannot repay. . . . Thus we labor mightily to engage our students and

> to convey at least something of what we felt and feel, re-creating the field a little at each rehearsal. We know we cannot replicate the experience, yet we are determined to create a meaningful and coherent performative world. In *Performing Ethnomusicology* we share the lessons of our journeys and the challenges of our engaging, vital, bittersweet, and exhilarating task.[7]

It is commonly understood that ethnomusicology emphasizes the study of music as an ethnographic phenomenon. Instead of searching for the meaning of music from the sound structure alone, usually considered to be the domain of Western music theory (though this view has been changing),[8] ethnomusicologists seek to understand the musical structure in its relation to social and cosmological order: musical process as a reflection of cultural practice. In this regard, the structure of gamelan music is seen in homology with other Javanese cultural systems, such as the calendrical system, as proposed by Judith and Alton Becker. I extend this study to the traditional social order, employing one of the hallmarks of the Javanese worldview, namely a binary taxonomy of balanced opposites.

Certain interconnected themes emerge as constants in this study: transculturalism, hybridity, and networking. Musical genres from the colonial period of Java, the repertoire of musik kontemporer, the gamelan in the nineteenth-century world exhibitions, theatrical idioms in *Opera Diponegoro*, wayang kontemporer, the formulation of gamelan theory, and gamelan in the world of academia—all are hybrid cultural practices that have developed as a consequence of overlapping series of transcultural processes and networking.