JAVANESE MUSIC IN CHICAGO

A subtly glowing array of bronze ingots, pots, and gongs in intricately carved wooden cases painted indigo and red with flashes of gold leaf—this was the dazzling sight that greeted us, a small group of university students and faculty who had come to the Field Museum in Chicago for an afternoon's introduction to the performance of gamelan music. Gamelan—an Indonesian word meaning "musical ensemble"—can be variously constituted, but the one at the Field Museum is representative of those used at the princely courts on Java, the most heavily populated island in the nation of Indonesia. Nowadays, similar gamelan are to be found in many universities and colleges in the United States and Europe. The Field Museum gamelan, however, has a special history: a couple of Dutchmen who owned coffee and tea plantations on Java brought the gamelan to Chicago, along with a group of Javanese musicians and craftsmen, for the Columbian Exposition of 1893, a great world's fair. The same entrepreneurs had arranged similar contributions to an exposition in Amsterdam a decade earlier and to another in Paris in 1889. At the latter, the composer Claude Debussy was enchanted by the music he heard and later tried to capture what appealed to him in pieces of his own such as some in his Preludes and Images for piano.

Now that dozens of Indonesian gamelan of various types are to be found scattered around the United States in private and institutional collections, dozens of Americans have become competent performers and scholars of different types of Indonesian music. At the time of our
visit to the Field Museum, Dr. Sue Carole DeVale, an ethnomusicologist with a special interest in the study of musical instruments (organology), took charge of our instruction. She had been fundamental in getting the museum to restore the gamelan, which had been more or less forgotten in storage for many decades, and had convinced them to make it available for use under her direction.

**THE JAVANESE GAMELAN**

**Instruments in the Javanese Gamelan**

Like most high-quality gamelan, this one consists largely of metallophones—in this case, instruments of gleaming bronze—but it also includes a chordophone (*rebab*, a two-stringed fiddle), a xylophone (*gambang*), an aerophone (*suling*, a notched vertical flute), and a couple of membranophones (*kendang*, drums).

Sitting among the metallophones, we became aware that the bronze had been fashioned in several different ways to make the various types of instruments. The *sarons*, for instance, had keys shaped like rounded ingots; these were pinned through the holes in their ends to the edges of a shallow trough made in a wooden case that served both to hold them in place and to increase their resonance. There were three different sets of saron, each in a different octave. The highest, the *peking*, had a delicate but piercing tone; that of the middle range, *barung*, was mellower and longer-lasting; and the set in the lowest range, *demung*, had a powerful clang. The peking was sounded by striking the keys with a mallet of water-buffalo horn, but the others were played with heavier and less bright-sounding wooden mallets.

A similar three-octave range was found in the differently constructed *bonangs*, although there were only two of these. The lower-pitched bonang barung and the higher bonang *panerus* each spanned two octaves, with the higher octave of the lower instrument duplicating the lower octave of the higher one. The "keys" of the bonangs resembled overturned bowls with knobs protruding from the tops, which is where they were struck with a pair of batonlike mallets wrapped with string. Each instrument had two rows of bowls resting on strings that were stretched in wooden frames.

The *kenong* also had bowl-like individual components, but these were fewer and much larger than those of the bonangs, and each one was supported in its own case on a web of string. A single bowl, closer in size to one from the set of bonangs but flatter in contour, sat by itself and contrasted with all the other instruments because of its curiously dull-sounding "clunk"; this was the *ketuk*. 
A Balinese gamelan.

The most impressive bronze instruments, for both their size and their sound, were the hanging gongs. ("Gong," by the way, is a Malay—that is, Indonesian—word.) The largest, gong ageng, was nearly a meter in diameter, and its slightly smaller mate, gong siyem, hung by its side. These can be seen in the 1893 photo presiding over the whole ensemble from their privileged position at the center back. On the end of the same rack that holds these gongs, a smaller gong has been suspended that is named kempul; like other names such as gong or kethuk, kempul is onomatopoetic and calls to mind the sound of the instrument it names.

In addition to these common instruments, the Field Museum gamelan also contained two others—the jenglong, similar to the kenong, which is found in gamelan from Sunda, the western part of Java, and the gambang gangsa, similar to the wooden gambang but with bronze keys like those of the saron instead of wooden ones. All in all, this original group of about twenty-four instruments was as impressive for its size as for its beauty; nevertheless, it lacked certain other instruments at the time of its use at the Columbian exposition that have since been added.

Perhaps the gender (pronounced with a hard "g" as in "good") could be considered the most important of these. They come in two sizes (gender panerus and gender barung, like the bonang) and group thin, slablike bronze keys in a slightly larger range than the saron. Much thinner than the ingots of the saron, the keys of the gender are struck with a pair of mallets that have padded disks at their ends, and they produce a delicate, muffled ringing that makes up for their soft volume with longer-lasting resonance. The secret to the long-lasting sound is
that each key has its own individually tuned amplifying resonator in the form of a tube. The key is suspended above this tube by strings so that it is not damped by resting directly on the case (the saron keys rest on pads of rubber or rattan to lessen the damping). Another instrument similar in construction to the gender is the *slentem*, but it is struck with a single mallet and is similar in melodic function to the saron.

Originally, the kempul in the Columbian Exposition gamelan, as described, had been a single hanging gong, but additional gongs have been added to complete a full scale, as was also done for the kenong. Although the two-stringed fiddle, the rebab, was part of the original ensemble, the plucked string instrument *celempong*, a type of zither, was among the additions.

![Javanese gamelan instruments.](image)

**Tuning and Scales**

Having familiarized ourselves a bit with the components of what at the start had seemed a bewildering array, we still had one further thing to learn before taking up our mallets to attempt our first piece: the instruments came in pairs. A complete Javanese gamelan is in fact two orchestras in one, for there are two different types of scales used in Javanese court music, one of five tones (pentatonic) and another of seven tones (heptatonic). Because the gaps (intervals) between pitches in one scale are different from those of the other, it is not possible to select five tones from the heptatonic scale to produce the pentatonic, and therefore there is a separate collection of instruments for each tuning system (*laras*). To play in *laras slendro* (pentatonic system), for example, the saron players faced front, and to play in *laras pelog* (heptatonic system) they had to make a quarter-turn to the left. (You could get a general idea
of the contrast between these by playing on the piano C-D-E-G-A as 1-2-3-5-6 of slendro and E-F-G-Bflat-B-C-D as 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 of pelog.)

Although the Western scale, like that of the white piano keys, is heptatonic, too, we soon discovered that the seven pitches in pelog formed a different set of intervals from the regular half and whole tones on the piano. The difference was not so simple as merely being one between Javanese and Western scales, however, because each gamelan has its own unique slendro and pelog scales, unless it has been constructed purposely on the model of an existing gamelan. It is as though each symphony orchestra in the West used slightly different forms of major and minor scales, and as a result their performances of standard works like Beethoven's Ninth Symphony would all sound subtly distinct from one another.

Instrument Functions and Formal Principles
When we finally took up our mallets to play, we began with a piece in pelog called "Golden Rain." As the sarons attempted the first section of their melody, we sang along with them using numbers for the pitches and following our instructor: "6-5-3-2" we sang out as the sarons sounded the tones, all of equal duration. After repeating this phrase, we learned the next one, "3-3-2-3," and then returned to the original for the conclusion. On the last tone, the player of the gong ageng was given the signal to strike, and the awe-inspiring sound left little doubt that we had arrived at an important juncture. The role of the gong was just to furnish this most important punctuation at the end of every completed melody—a melody, in this case, with sixteen beats, with a single pitch on every beat. Two distinct musical functions were illustrated in this beginning: the sarons provided a "skeletal melody" (balungan) whose periodic punctuation (the "colotomic structure") was provided by other instruments like the gong ageng.

The other colotomic instruments were the next to join in as the sarons grew more confident: the kenong sounded the appropriate pitch at the end of every group of four beats (gatra), and so every fourth kenong stroke sounded with the gong; in the same manner, the kempul sounded the pitch every fourth beat midway between strokes of the kenong, omitting the second beat, however, so as not to interfere with the continuing resonance of the gong. Finally, on every odd-numbered beat, the "clunk" of the ketuk was heard, so the beats in between kempul and kenong were marked, too.

LARAS: Javanese tuning system; there are two primary types (1) slendro (with a five-note scale) and (2) pelog (with a seven-note scale).

COLOTOMIC STRUCTURE:
The marking of fixed beats within the metric structure of a musical piece by particular instruments; in gamelan music these include gong, kenong, kempul, and ketuk.
The next instruments to be added were the bonangs, which added a third functional component to the music, that of elaboration of the balungan. Because their music was more elaborate, it also required more dexterity and skill to play than did the other instruments. Although we had been pleased at the ease with which we initially had picked things up, it became clear as we patiently waited for the bonang players to start mastering their parts that things were getting rapidly more complicated and demanding. Although the bonangs required more skill to play, the principle behind their basic method of melodic elaboration was easy enough to understand: As the kenong and kempul played every fourth beat, the bonang barung did the opposite and divided the beat in two, and the boning panerus divided it into four, doubling or quadrupling each pair of balungan pitches. The peking (highest-pitched saron) was also told to double the number of pitches to a beat by anticipating each balungan note. Thus, the first gatra (four-beat phrase of the balungan) came out like this:

| bonang panerus | 6 | 5 | 6 | . | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | . | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| bonang barung  | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| peking         | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| saron          | 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| kempul         | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| kenong         | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| gong           | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

When we got the whole sixteen-beat phrase together, it sounded like a marvelous clock whose music was the actual time-keeping mechanism. Just as with a clock, the sounding of the gong signaled a conclusion that could also be the taking-off point for another cycle.

Whether or not we were to repeat this phrase was indicated to us by the drum player, our instructor. In regulating and supporting the pulse and rhythm of the music, the drummer fulfilled the fourth function in the ensemble so that the melody, its elaboration, and its punctuation were controlled from this instrument rather as the conductor in a Western orchestra controls the rest of the group. (In the eighteenth-century Western orchestra, in fact, the "conductor" was actually a performer, too—usually the first violin or the harpsichord player.)
LISTENING GUIDE

LISTEN: **BUBARAN "UDAN MAS"** (Golden Rain)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:00-0:07</td>
<td>Introduction (buka) on bonang joined by kendang and leading to first gong at 7 seconds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:07-0:16</td>
<td>First gongan, balungan melody on saron, one pitch per beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:17-0:26</td>
<td>Repeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:26-0:36</td>
<td>Second gongan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:36-0:44</td>
<td>Repeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:44-1:03</td>
<td>Return of first gongan with repeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:03-1:20</td>
<td>Return of second gongan with repeat, accelerando begins toward end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:20-end</td>
<td>Repeat of both gongans with final decelerando beginning at end of first statement of second gongan (ca. 1:39)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we had at last become comfortable with this first phrase, we went on to complete the piece with a second, similarly constructed phrase (7567 5672 2765 6765), which we now learned to call a *gongan*, that is, a phrase punctuated with a stroke of the big gong. As we have seen, each gongan was divided into four four-beat kenongan (punctuated with a kenong stroke), and each of these was further subdivided by a kempul stroke on the second beat and kethuk strokes on beats 1 and 3. Because this colotomic pattern is a fixed structure, it is common to a number of pieces differentiated from one another by, for example, their balungan, but similar in their colotomy. These make up a general category of small, simple pieces called *bubaran*.

The piece we had learned, as was mentioned, has the title "Udan Mas" ("Golden Rain") and is used to send people off at the end of a ceremony or concert. It served as our farewell, too, as we had used up most of the afternoon and decided not to press our luck in attempting another piece.

**The Variety of Styles and Forms**

Although we came away feeling we had accomplished quite a bit in one afternoon, we had, of course, barely scratched the surface of this one type of Indonesian music. We hadn't even touched some of the instruments such as the genders, for example, because we played a "loud-style" piece in which gender, rebab, celempung, gambang, and suling do not participate; these difficult instruments are used for the elaboration of "soft-style" pieces, which may also include singing by a chorus of men (*gerongan*) and one or two female soloists (*pesinden*).
We had naturally learned to play a short, simple type of piece, but among the types of other pieces for gamelan are some whose gongan, for example, have sixteen times as many beats as our sixteen-beat bubaran. And instead of playing just twice for each beat, the saron peking might play four times to fill in the great gap between one beat and another—so it might be as much as ten minutes between strokes of the gong ageng instead of the approximately ten seconds of our bubaran.

As an example of a small-scale, soft-style piece, we could consider ketawang "puspawarna" laras slendro pathet manyura. This is a work entitled "Kinds of Flowers" ("Puspawarna") that has a gongan of sixteen beats, like a bubaran, but it is divided into only two eight-beat kenongan, and therefore it falls into the class of ketawang. It employs the scale of the pentatonic tuning (laras slendro) in one of three particular ways or pathet, that is called "peacock" (manyura). (There are also three distinct pathet for laras pelog.)

"Puspawarna" is a very popular piece played not only on the precious gamelan of princes but also on the modest two- or three-piece ensembles of itinerant street musicians. Despite its wide use for a variety of circumstances and audiences, however, it is not merely a piece intended for listening pleasure; it also has particular associations and prescribed uses, and even its title can tell us something about the political and cultural history of Java.

THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JAVANESE GAMELAN MUSIC

Ketawang "Puspawarna": A Piece for the Prince
Just as "Hail to the Chief played by the Marine Band is often used to announce the arrival of the president at a function or ceremony, "Puspawarna" was played by the gamelan of the two subsidiary central-Javanese courts to announce the presence or the arrival of their respective princes. The main courts of the Sultan of Yogyakarta and of the Susuhunan of Surakarta (Solo) were established in the mid-eighteenth century when the Dutch succeeded in supporting their trade interests by asserting political control over much of the Indonesian archipelago. The central-Javanese kingdom of Mataram was divided at that time between two ruling families centered at Yogyakarta and Solo, with a secondary court, the Mangkunegaran, attached to Solo. Later, in the early nineteenth century, the Paku Alaman court was established as an adjunct to Yogyakarta, and the various princes had their own particular identifying pieces of music, with "Puspawarna" serving both of the subsidiary courts and symbolizing a family connection between them.

Because political power was largely in the hands of the colonial overlords, the wealth and energy of the courts was expended on the development of cultural matters such as music and
dance as a means of both establishing and justifying their precedence and prestige. Mataram had been the last great native power in Java, a Muslim kingdom in a land where Islam had steadily been increasing its influence for several centuries. As the Sanskrit words in the title "Puspawarna" and in the name of pathet "Manyura" reveal, however, the culture of India and its Hindu and Buddhist religions had considerable influence on the elite and ruling classes in Java and other parts of the Indonesian region for a millennium or so before the establishment of Islam, which itself had been introduced in large part by traders from northwestern India. Although a segment of Indonesian society may follow a strict and conservative Islam that, among other things, condemns most musical and performing arts, the aristocracy of Java, while accepting the "new" belief, continues to prize the older spiritual and cultural concepts and also to accommodate indigenous practice and beliefs that antedate any of the imported ones.

LISTENING GUIDE

LISTEN: KETAWANG "PUSPAWARNA" (Kinds of Flowers)

0:00-0:08 Introduction (buka) on rebab joined by kendang and leading to first gong at 8 seconds (just after "yes" spoken by ensemble leader)

0:08-0:22 First gongan A with entrance of pesinden (female vocalist); tempo starts briskly with one balungan pitch every other beat and starts to slow down

0:22-0:46 Repeat of gongan A with continuing decelerando to reach settled tempo, accompanied by stylized male vocal cries at colotomic points

0:46-1:14 Gongan B with gerongan (male chorus) joining

1:14-1:41 Gongan C with gerongan and pesinden melody continuing

1:41-2:09 Gongan A with gerongan melody concluding

2:09-2:37 Repeat of whole form from 0:08 through 2:09 but in same tempo until brief cadential accelerando starts in gongan C at about 3:55 followed by decelerando beginning at 4:03 and continuing until end.

Some Spiritual Aspects of Javanese Gamelan Music

We may discover something of the complex relationship between Islam and music in Java by citing some observations the ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst (1973, 266-67) made about sixty years ago:

The gamelan, found by the Islam on arrival in Java as an indispensable element of all Hindu ceremonial, has never become ... an integral part of Mohammedan religious rite. Accordingly during the month of fasting, as well as on Fridays, all orchestras in the whole of the Javanese territory are expected to remain silent. (This rule is not strictly adhered to in the kraton [court]. All that is done there is to avoid beating the gong ageng, and to play the gong kemodong [a substitute gong] instead. The princes, for that matter, are regarded as above the adat [customary law]. When, for example, one of their memorial days falls in the fasting month, then the prohibition of gamelan-playing, it seems, is raised entirely. Then, however, a sum of money is paid into the mosque cashbox as a compensation of this breach of the religious adat.)
Princely privilege was partly related to the use of music in rites and ceremonies, and to do away with music altogether would have undermined it; yet acceptance of Islam required some recognition of its precepts. So a fine was paid to the mosque when a princely anniversary requiring musical performance to ensure its success violated the prohibition against playing the gamelan, or alternatively, the most imposing and important instrument in the ensemble was kept silent and a simpler substitute was used. In the latter case, the gong ageng no doubt stood as a metonymical symbol for the whole ensemble that could be considered silent, too, if it were absent.

![Musicians in Gamelan orchestra play their instruments in a procession at a Hindu cremation ceremony in Bali, Indonesia.](image)

**The Power of the Gong**

But another reason for silencing the gong might also be offered. In many cultures the blacksmith has held a special position, not simply because of his technological expertise but also because of his spiritual power (Eliade 1978, 238). Metallurgical skill was considered to require supernatural cooperation, and the smith, therefore, had to be possessed with special powers to accomplish his extraordinary task of converting earth and stone into metal. In Java, the smith in charge of forging a new gamelan used to prepare himself by fasting and other acts of purification so that he could become fit for possession by the spirit of Panji, a culture hero who figures in many traditional Javanese stories. If the forging of the instruments were successful, they too would become the abode of a spirit, and the gong ageng, the most difficult instrument to make, would contain the greatest spiritual power.
Especially fine old gamelan—or their spirits—have even been ennobled. One at the Yogyakarta kraton, for example, that actually antedates the founding of the Sultanate in 1755 and that is used for special celebrations, such as those accompanying the birthday anniversary of Mohammed, is referred to as "Kangjeng Kyai Guntur Madu," or "Venerable Sir Sir Torrent of Honey." For this reason, it remains proper etiquette when entering the gamelan to remove one's shoes and to avoid the rudeness of stepping over an instrument. Further, the spirit of the gamelan, embodied in the gong ageng, is paid homage with offerings of food, flowers, and incense. A rigidly orthodox Muslim might find such behavior to be verging on idolatry, so it is not surprising that even in the more flexible attitude found at the kraton, the gong ageng should be singled out for silencing on the Sabbath.

A Christian, too, might object to venerating the spirit of the gong, but just as different attitudes prevail among the Muslims, Christians can also accommodate old patterns of behavior. Consider a story told to me by a dancer whose family had been performers connected with the Yogyakarta kraton and whose father had converted to Christianity. Once when he was rehearsing with a gamelan, he was disturbed by the gong's poor tone quality, even though it was supposed to be a very fine instrument. It was suggested that the spirit of the gong was disturbed and that an offering of incense and flowers should be made to it; when this was done, the dancer was pleased and surprised to notice that the gong began to sound resonantly and clearly again.

The spiritual power that is invested in old gamelan by tradition in turn invests power in their owners, for which reason they are important components of princely regalia (pusaka), over which battles have been fought in the past. The gending (musical work) played on these gamelan, too, may have such power that, for example, it was in the past forbidden to hum them casually. When transcribing them into notation—a practice initiated as a result of European influence in the nineteenth century—it used to be considered advisable to make an occasional mistake to prevent the power of the tune from being used inappropriately.

The Sacred Dance Bedhaya

The tunes accompanying the sacred dance bedhaya are considered especially powerful because of the reputed origin of the music and dance and their association with kingship, as illustrated in this paraphrase of a story from the History of Gamelan by Warsadiningrat:

One night in the year 1643, Sultan Agung (the last great ruler of the kingdom preceding the establishment of Yogya and Solo) was meditating when he heard music that was so beautiful it gave him goosebumps. The next day he decided to form a dance troupe and called together musical experts to arrange the melodies for the accompaniment. Suddenly Kanjeng Sunan Kalijaga appeared; one of the nine saints legend credits with introducing Islam into Java, he was a noble Hindu by birth who first became a notorious bandit and then converted to Islam after a lengthy period of continuous meditation in the manner of a Hindu holy man. Kalijaga congratulated the Sultan on his plans to create the gendhing bedhaya, for it was clearly a gift from He Who Is Great and Holy and meant to be a pusaka for the kings of Java that would bring blessings of peace, supremacy, and strength until the end of time.
Nine young girls from noble families were selected for their beauty and grace to dance the bedhaya. The bedhaya dance is important because (1) it contributes to an understanding of Javanese culture by providing a guide to meditation; (2) it explains certain strategies of war; (3) it contributes to an understanding of music that portrays deep and noble emotions.

Just as the dance lessons were to begin, Kanjeng Ratu Kencana Sari, queen of all spirits, good and evil, suddenly arrived from her palace in the South Sea, in the dress and make-up of a bride. She appeared every day at dusk for three months to teach the dance because she loved the noble and majestic melodies, and she still appears for this reason. Because of this, when the bedhaya is performed, complete offerings of many kinds are prepared and a great deal of incense is burned continuously throughout the performance, and all the performers—dancers, singers, and musicians—must be pure and clean (Becker 1987; Gertz 1973, 25-29).

As we see in this story, bedhaya is a remarkable example of the eclectic nature of Javanese elite culture and the way in which it is used to assert status. Music and dance that conjure an indigenous Javanese goddess from her home in the sea and receive the blessing of a legendary Muslim saint whose conversion was accomplished through yogic meditation constitute one of the special heirlooms that buttress the powers of the king.

The Shadow Play: Wayang Kulit

The shadow-puppet theater, or wayang kulit, is another Indonesian performance medium using music that has achieved special prominence in Javanese culture and that may also be associated with extraordinary power. Whereas stories of Javanese and Islamic origins are performed in shadow plays, the stories derived from the Indian epics the Mahabharata and the Ramayana have the greater popularity and prestige, particularly the Mahabharata. Performed over the course of a whole night, the plays generally depict a battle whose turmoil is reflected in a disturbance of nature that, toward morning, is resolved when order is restored to human society and the world.

The stories of the wayang kulit revolve around Indic characters, but they have been Javanized by the introduction of a number of comic characters who act as servants to the protagonists and incidentally serve as translators for the audience, because their masters speak a Sanskritized and poetic Javanese that is not commonly understood. This problem reflects the situation in contemporary Javanese, which has many styles of speech based on social class distinctions. (In Indonesia, whose motto is "Unity in Diversity," the Indonesian language—Bahasa Indonesia—has rapidly gained acceptance throughout the country as the lingua franca because it helps to overcome regional, ethnic, and class differences.) The chief of the clowns, Semar, is a fat, lazy, wily, lascivious, and obstreperously flatulent fellow, but he is also a mysteriously all-knowing sage who even takes precedence over the Hindu god Siva himself. Java may have been awed by exotic Indian culture, but it seems that autochthonous wisdom
still earns the greater respect. Because Semar speaks colloquially, he has the advantage not only of entertaining the audience with his wit and shenanigans but also of giving good advice and wise counsel.

Wayang shadow puppets

In fact, all the familiar characters in wayang communicate, at least by their actions, the various modes of human existence and manners of behavior. The shadow play has thus long been a medium for moral and ethical instruction and for discussion of contemporary events, and today it is often a medium for explaining government social programs as well.

All the different skills and knowledge needed to perform the shadow play come together in the dalang, the puppeteer, a man (rarely a woman) who commands a thorough knowledge of karawitan (musical repertory and practice). He is familiar with the many different stories of the plays and their appropriateness for particular occasions, speaks with a host of voices suited to everyone from the most refined gentleman to the crudest villain, can skillfully move his puppets to convey an equal range of refinement and crudity, knows archaic languages and the fall range of contemporary social dialects, is a repository of spiritual and cultural values, and is acquainted with the latest political events and social problems. No wonder he is often thought to be a kind of superman!
Seated between a light source and a thin screen, the dalang casts the shadows of flat leather puppets against the screen, all the while giving the appropriate signals to the gamelan for the pieces of music needed to accompany the scene, be it a moment of comic relief with Semar dancing or a tremendous battle between the forces of good and evil. Sometimes he sings, too, to set the mood for an upcoming scene.

Now that dalangs can learn their art in schools (just as gamelan musicians do), an abbreviation and standardization of the wayang stories and of the puppeteers' skills is occurring. This inevitably lessens the special aura of the wayang and of the dalang but helps to ensure them a continuing role in the cultural life of modern Indonesia.

**MUSIC IN BALI**

The arts of Indonesia, especially music and dance, have undergone many changes over the centuries as political and social circumstances have created different requirements and possibilities for performance. Among recent influences, the impact of tourism is certainly one of enormous significance, particularly for the arts of Bali, the small island just to the east of Java in the Indonesian archipelago. A jet airport that was opened there in 1969 has made Bali easily accessible to tourists from around the world, and they have been coming in ever-increasing numbers. Not that tourism is new to Bali: Some of its most famous visitors—painters, composers, anthropologists—arrived there in the decades prior to World War II and often stayed long enough to leave their indelible imprint on Balinese life.

Some Historical Events Influencing Balinese Culture

Before we touch on the impact of tourism on the music of Bali, we will first consider a couple of political events of singular importance in the history of Bali. Earlier, we mentioned the Islamic kingdom of Mataram in the discussion of bedhaya. This kingdom was the predecessor of the central Javanese courts founded in the eighteenth century through intervention of the Dutch, which still continue to exist in a ceremonial way in the present-day Republic of Indonesia. Mataram itself had earlier displaced the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit, whose refugees migrated to Bali in the fifteenth century. The elite Hindu-Buddhist-based culture of Majapahit introduced a new layer into the cultural fabric of Bali, and those who resisted its caste-based hierarchy and monarchical organization retreated to remoter areas of the island, where so-called Bali Aga or "old Bali" villages continue many of the pre-Indo-Javanese ways. The other overwhelming event in Bali's history took place in 1908, when the kingdoms that had dominated the island for the previous several centuries were finally dissolved by the Dutch, who invaded the island and took over its administration. The effect of Dutch intervention on Bali was quite different from that on Java. In Java the newly established courts, provided with financial resources but given limited responsibilities of governance, evolved an elegant way of life that fostered the development of the arts as the most effective
means of retaining exalted status. In Bali the courts were dissolved, and the descendants of nobles, who were often employed as agents of Dutch rule, rarely had the financial resources to maintain the elaborate musical establishments associated with courtly life.

Music in the Balinese Courts
Among the several different ensembles maintained by Balinese kings, with their different instruments, musicians, repertoires, and functions, was the gamelan gambuh, a kind of opera derived from Majapahit models. Quite unlike the large gamelan of metallophones we encountered in Java, this one is smaller and consists of several extraordinarily long, vertical flutes (suling gambuh) and a rebab, with a few percussion instruments for punctuation and rhythmic control. The melodies of the flutes and fiddle are elaborately ornamented like those of the corresponding instruments in the Javanese gamelan, but rather than being part of a much denser and richer texture that competes with them, these flute melodies are the sole focus of attention. The flutes, whose tones have an ethereal and otherworldly quality, are played in such a manner that the melody is never interrupted when the player takes a breath. Using his cheeks as a kind of bellows, he inflates them before taking a breath so that he can continue to sound the flute with air from his cheeks while breathing in.

The long-winded melodies and unfamiliar orchestra, the stately progress of the action, and the archaic language of the actors and general lack of comic episodes have given gambuh the status of a venerated relic of the past, even though it has recently undergone something of a revival. Much more popular today is the gamelan arja theater, another type of operatic performance not associated with courtly ceremony. It too has a small ensemble with flutes of a shorter, more common type and a few percussion instruments, but it also employs a greater variety of stories (including some on modern, topical subjects), female as well as male actors, and a lot of comedy.

Now rather rare, the "gamelan with the big gongs" (gamelan gonggede) is another ensemble that played an important role in the old courts. In its construction, it is more similar to the large instrumental gamelan of central Java than the gamelan gambuh. It has colotomic instruments similar to those of the Javanese ensemble, for example, such as gong, kempur (kempul), and kempli (ketuk), although the gangsa, instruments responsible for the core melody called pokok in Bali, are like a cross between saron and slentem with their thinner keys

GAMELAN GAMBUH: An archaic type of Balinese court: opera and its accompanying orchestra.
GAMELAN GONG GEDE: Older Balinese court music, used for court and temple rituals, similar in sound and style to the Javanese gamelan.
GAMELAN SEMAR PEGUNLIGAN: Large, Balinese court orchestra that plays instrumental versions of gamelan gambuh melodies.
GENDER WAYANG: Four-piece ensemble of genders that typically accompanies the Balinese shadow play.
resting on individual tube resonators. The gamelan gong gede was regularly played for public ceremonies and temple festivities and performed pieces with regular structures whose melodies, elaboration, colotomy, and rhythm were realized in ways broadly similar to those discussed earlier for Javanese gending. An important difference, however, is the fact that, like the majority of Balinese ensembles, the gamelan gong gede is a single orchestra with but one tuning system, pelog; further, the version of pelog used is pentatonic—a selection of five pitches from the heptatonic pelog system scale. Like gambuh, this gamelan has a more popular and modern counterpart that we will discuss later.

A third court ensemble, gamelan Semar pegulingan, is a sizeable orchestra consisting largely of metallophones that was used to play purely instrumental arrangements of gambuh for the private enjoyment of the court. Because gambuh melodies use heptatonic scales, some gamelan Semar pegulingan used to have fully heptatonic instruments, but others played pentatonic versions of the melodies. Today this ensemble, with its peculiarly delicate sound, has been revived to play a variety of old-style, classically structured pieces as well as new compositions and arrangements.

A very modest ensemble, the gender wayang, has not suffered a loss of popularity or needed revival because of its association with the shadow play based on stories of the Mahabharata and Ramayana. This quartet of gender, similar in construction and playing technique to the gender of Java and tuned in liras slendro, is the sole accompaniment, other than the voice of the dalang, for the Mahabharata; some percussion and colotomic instruments are added to it for the stories of the Ramayana. The quartet consists, in fact, of two pairs of gender distinguished from one another by being in different octaves. Within each pair, moreover, one instrument is distinguished from the other by being slightly "out of tune," that is, a particular key on one instrument is purposely made slightly higher or lower than its twin to create a sensation of acoustical beats that gives a shimmering quality to the pitch when the keys are struck simultaneously. As the instruments of a pair are often played in unison, the result is a constantly throbbing resonance that almost seems to be breathing. Although particularly effective in the Balinese wayang quartet, this principle of purposeful "mistuning" is evident in other bronze ensembles as well and is especially noticeable when an octave is played.

The gender wayang continues to be a vitally important component of Bali's musical life, but the gamelan gambuh, Semar pegulingan, and gong gede have lesser roles as reminders of the past. With the passing of the courts, the patronage needed for the maintenance of the large numbers of instruments and for the support of the musicians, actors, and dancers disappeared. The common people of Bali, however, responded by filling the gap left by the absence of noble patrons, and this provided the impetus and stimulus for developing new types of performing arts. When Western intellectuals began to discover Bali between the World Wars, there was an efflorescence of the arts as they adjusted to the passing of old forms while accommodating new influences from the people and from contact with foreigners.
LISTENING GUIDE

LISTEN: "KEBYAR TERUNA"
Performed by Gamelan Gong Kebyar of Pliatan

- **0:00** Typical kebyar style intro, with varied dynamics and tempi, irregular rhythms and syncopations, nearly whole orchestra in unison
- **0:38** Passage featuring reyong
- **0:42** Passage featuring gangsa
- **0:48** Frantic tempo ostinato for gangsa featuring drum and cymbal rhythms
- **1:24** Ostinato for lower-pitched calung/jegogan (similar to gangsa but with fewer keys and padded strikers); rapid figuration (kotekan) in higher-pitched gangsa; regular beats on dull-sounding kempli
- **2:00** Syncopated cadential pattern and repetition, emphasized with ringing reyong chords
- **2:06** Sudden change to speedier tempo with faster kempli beats and further syncopated reyong chords
- **2:23** Continuation of calung/jegogan ostinato with rapid gangsa figuration
- **3:00** Fades out

A Modern Form of Dance and Music: Kebyar

The most vibrant of the new styles was the result of the reshaping of the gamelan gong gede into the *gamelan gong kebyar* by dropping some instruments and modifying and borrowing others. The trompong, an important lead instrument in the gamelan gong gede that can be heard introducing "KEBYAR TERUNA", for example, was dropped because its function as the introducer of pieces and as elaborator of melodies became obsolete when genderlike instruments called *kantilan* started playing virtuosic interlocking patterns (*kotekan*) as the elaboration for kebyar. And the gangsa, the main melody instruments of the gamelan gong gede, yielded their role to other gender-like instruments with lower ranges than the kantilan.

Village gamelan clubs often bought older-style gamelan no longer maintained or needed by the courts and recast them into the new form, and the new music developed for these was a revolutionary departure from the sedate and majestic pieces of the repertory for the gamelan gambuh or gamelan gong gede. In the latter, predictably familiar formal structures, conventional instrumentation, stable rhythms, and relatively unvaried dynamics created a sense of classical elegance; but the music of kebyar was a revolutionary change— virtuosic, mercurial, flashy, and unpredictable. In an old-style gending for the gamelan gong or Semar pegulingan, the introduction would normally be a somewhat tentative solo on the trompong, an instrument similar to the Javanese bonang. Kebyar music, on the other hand, immediately asserts its independence from older formal traditions by beginning with a loud, confident unison for the whole ensemble. Instead of the classical elegance and refinement of former times, it displays a
willful exuberance, progressing in fits and starts with sudden dynamic contrasts, jerky syncopations, and breathtakingly rapid figuration. No wonder many older connoisseurs found kebyar a disturbing phenomenon when it first took Bali by storm around the time of World War I.

"Tabuh Empat Pangawak", from a typical old-style piece for gamelan gong gede, well illustrates the kind of music to which the new kebyar style presented such a startling contrast. The meandering trompong introduction is starkly different to the explosive beginning of "Teruna," and the stately progression of the melody when the whole ensemble enters is rigidly organized with a regular meter and equally regular ornamentation and orchestration. Originally a purely orchestral music ideally suited for musical competitions among different villages, kebyar was given a new twist when it began to accompany dance. About 1925, a young dancer named Maria made a particular impression with his version of a dance to go with this exciting music. Like the fixed structures of the classical gending, the various dances done by trained court dancers or by people making offerings at the temple were based on traditional movements and gestures, and the stock characters of dramas like gambuh were confined to expressing the limited range of moods suited to them. But Maria's kebyar mirrored the fleeting moods and unpredictable contrasts of the music. The dancer performed in an unusual crouched position that was on the same level as the seated musicians with whom he sometimes interacted directly, seeming to tease and cajole. Alternately rising onto his knees and squatting, playing with a fan, flashing a bizarre series of glances that registered astonishment, pique, enticement, and fury in rapid succession, the dancer would interpret the
music's every change. To top things off, he might conclude by joining his accompanists in a choreographically performed solo on the obsolete trompong, all the while continuing to bob up and down and back and forth on his knees, twirl his mallets like a drum major, and register a bewildering series of moods on his face. Although originally danced by boys or young men, today kebyar is also danced by young women dressed as men; this kind of cross-dressing in dance performance is nothing new, however.

LISTENING GUIDE

LISTEN: "TABUH EMPAT PANGAWAK"
Performed by Gamelan Gong Gede "Sekar Sandat" of Bangli

0:00 Introduction in free rhythm played on trompong
1:05 A few other instruments gradually join in
1:25 Drums enter and establish regular beat
1:32 Trompong continues introduction with other instruments regularly subdividing the beat for rhythmic propulsion until main melody (pokok) enters at 2:00 in gangsa with approximately one note every two seconds and with subdivided beat emphasized by ceng-ceng cymbals.
2:30 Fades out

The individual nature of kebyar gave a new importance to the role of the composer and choreographer, and for a while compositions were jealously guarded as the special property of a particular club. The concept of the "composition" in the view of the Balinese gamelan club, however, is hardly equivalent to the Westerner's idea of a piece, by Beethoven, for instance. We can get an idea of how a Balinese composition is realized and treated from a memoir written by John Coast, an impresario who arranged the first world tour of the gamelan from Pliatan village in 1951. For this occasion, Coast wanted a special new piece, and he commissioned Maria to choreograph a new dance to go with it. Here is his account of how the gamelan learned the piece:

When we arrived about nine o'clock that night in the village we found the gamelan well into the first melody of the new dance [which they were learning by having each part demonstrated, as is customary, rather than from a score]; and it was Kebyar music, though new, Maria [sic] told us, having been composed originally by Pan Sukra for a club in Marga, near Tabanan, but it had never been used. And anyhow, these tunes were arranged for a girl dancer, while the original ones had been for a man. It took about three weeks for the thirty minutes of music to be perfectly mastered by Pliatan, and at the end of that time Pan Sukra went home to his village. Then Anak Agung, Made Lebah, and Gusti Kompiang grinned freely. "Now it is our turn," they said.

"What do you mean?" we asked.

"Aggh! This is crude music. Now it is a matter of tabuh—style. You will see. It must be rearranged and polished by the club (Coast 1953, 109).
As a comparison, we might think of the Boston Symphony Orchestra playing a composition originally composed for the New York Philharmonic and, when the composer had turned his back, rewriting it according to their own tastes! No doubt some instrumentalists in Boston would respond with that expressive "Aggh!" to a newly commissioned work, but it is highly unlikely they would have the temerity to suggest altering the piece once it was completed, even if the composer had once asked for their advice on how to arrange the parts for their particular instruments.

Even in matters of interpretation, the initiative is apt to come from the music director or conductor rather than of the rank-and-file instrumentalist. But in Pliatan, as in other Balinese gamelan, the repertory was shaped by the contributions of all the club members, although decisions may have been made by acknowledged leaders like the Anak Agung, a nobleman, and Made Lebah, a commoner, both of whom were respected performers and teachers. In his account of the creation of the dance to go with the new music, Coast (1953) again reveals the cooperative nature of the work.

And we saw the story of the dance unfold, as Maria had told us it would, creating itself bit by bit, with ideas thrown in from us all. We saw Raka as the little bumblebee sunning herself in a flower-filled garden, in moods of surprise, delight and fear; we saw the gaudy male bumblebee enter, and Sampih could pick up Maria's ideas with the speed with which a western ballet dancer follows an enchainement in class; we saw him spy the delectable little bee, zoom toward her, court her, frighten her by his advances till she fled from him. Then Sampih danced alone in baffled fury as the Kebiar music raged around him, and in the last rollicking melody he danced a Kebiar of sheer frustration around the whole gamelan, flirting desperately with its members. This was a development out of Maria's original Kebiar, and he called it now: Tumulilingan Mengisap Sari—the Bumblebee Sips Honey.

Luce was meanwhile busy with the costumes. . . . All our Pliatan family were engrossed in this dance, for it was a new thing and it was ours.

To the creation of this new piece—which soon became a standard item in the repertory of the gamelan gong kebyar—even Coast and other members of the entrepreneur's retinue were able to make contributions as part of the "Pliatan family."

THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN ARTISTS AND TOURISTS

The Revival of Gamelan Angklung
Coast and his entourage were hardly the first outsiders to have an influence on Balinese arts, though. In 1938, the Canadian-American composer Colin McPhee had, among other things, inspired the resuscitation of a moribund type of gamelan angklung. This multipurpose ensemble, often with only a four-tone scale, was a common feature of most village ceremonies and festivities. However, at the time McPhee was in Bali, only a few gamelan angklung in remote villages any longer included the instrument for which it was named. A kind
of bamboo rattle, each angklung produces a single pitch in two, three, or four octaves, depending on how many bamboo tubes are loosely mounted in the frame that is shaken back and forth to make them sound. Ingeniously constructed, each tube is sliced in half over the greater part of its length to form a "key" that produces the desired pitch while the remainder of the tube is left intact to form a tuned resonator.


Bright young musicians from central Bali who accompanied me on my expeditions to these remote villages found their old-fashioned orchestras utterly absurd. They would sit in polite silence while the musicians played, but could hardly wait until we drove off to comment on the "plain" . . . style of the music, the "stiff . . . way of playing, and to gaily parody the preposterous accompaniment of the angklungs.

Nevertheless, when in 1938 I organized in Sayan a gamelan angklung, composed entirely of small boys, I decided to include a set of angklungs in the orchestra. At first the children ignored these instruments entirely, but they soon became intrigued with their unusual sound, and there was much discussion—in which I took no part—as to who should play them. I engaged a young musician from Karangasem [the remote area where angklungs were still used] to teach the club and train the four boys to whom the angklungs had been assigned. These latter caught on to the unfamiliar style with surprising rapidity. Within a few months this club of children—a complete novelty in Bali—had acquired a repertory of compositions, some short, some of considerable length, which they played with complete assurance. Their first public appearance at a temple odalan [festival] in Sayan created a local sensation, partly because of the youth of the musicians, some of whom were no more than five or six, but especially because of the novelty of the angklungs. The word spread, and soon the club was in demand for festivals in other villages; the gamelan with angklungs had proved a success. Today [1966], I am told, these almost forgotten instruments have become familiar to everyone, and have been adopted by other angklung orchestras in central Bali.

Another of McPhee's books, *A Club of Small Men* (1948, 48, 61), gives a fall account of the history of this ensemble. Written for children, it is also enjoyable reading for adults. GAMELAN ANGKLUNG Balinese gamelan featuring pitched bamboo rattles (angklung) as the lead melody instruments.

Although the angklung may have been on the verge of extinction in Bali when it was revived by McPhee's intervention, in Sunda, West Java (where the Columbian Exposition gamelan came from), the angklung has always retained its popularity. But there, too, it has experienced interesting changes. Often combined with oboelike tarompets in ensembles accompanying street entertainments such as martial-arts duels or trance dancers, the angklung is now also found in school orchestras, where it is tuned to the Western diatonic scale for performing tunes like "Waltzing Matilda" in complete harmonic arrangements.
The evidence for change as a result of external influence in the Sundanese use of the angklung is obvious, but in the Balinese example it is hidden, because the music it performs had a continuous tradition. Without the intervention of McPhee, however, the angklung might have remained an archaic curiosity in Bali.

**A Ramayana Performance: Kecak**

McPhee's friend Walter Spies, with whom he toured Indonesia playing two-piano recitals, was also involved in bringing about changes in the arts of Bali. Primarily a painter, Spies had a profound influence on the visual arts as well. His involvement in the development of *kecak* is of particular interest because this unusual performance medium has become a "must-see" item for tourists, who are often unaware that they are witnessing an art form specifically created to satisfy them. Because it is strange and disturbing in terms of Westerners' usual experience of performing arts, kecak has indeed satisfied millions of tourists as an experience of something powerfully exotic, without which the time and money spent in getting to new and distant places might seem poorly spent.

The kecak takes its name from the brusque, staccato monosyllables shouted by a large chorus of men in rapid and intricately interlocking rhythmic patterns. A few other men use their voices to imitate the sound of a small gamelan, and these two elements accompany a drastically shortened version of the Ramayana acted out by a few actor-dancers. The basic story is this: Sita, wife of King Rama, an incarnation of the god Vishnu, has been abducted by the demon Ravana, who carries her off to his palace in Sri Lanka, but Hanuman, general of the monkey army and devotee of Rama, pursues them and rescues Sita. Because the chorus of men intermittently takes on the role of Hanuman's monkey army and sounds like chattering monkeys, the performance is also called the "Monkey Chant."

The rhythmic shouting of the men is traditionally associated with rituals of divination, in which young girls are entranced so questions can be put to the spirits (*sanghyang*) that take possession of them. Although music and dance are frequently part of these rituals, dramatic stories from the Ramayana are not. Thinking that the kecak was an exciting and unusual kind of music, Spies suggested using it as the foundation for a concise presentation of the Ramayana that would give tourists, who were already discovering Bali before World War II, a professionally arranged and attractive means of experiencing it.

**A Trance Dance: Barong**

Like kecak, *barong* is another kind of trance ritual that has been adapted as a regular performance medium for tourists. It is a kind of dramatic presentation accompanied by the gamelan gong or kebyar that represents the struggle between Good (in the being of the
barong, an awesome but benevolent lion) and Evil (impersonated by a horrendous and malevolent witch). At the high point of the story, the supporters of the barong attack the witch with their *krises* (wavy daggers) and are forced by the witch's magic to turn them instead upon their own bodies, but the magic of the barong protects them from injuring themselves. During performances at village temples, many participants may fall into trance during and after the battle; indeed the spirits that are normally thought to reside in the masks of the barong and of the witch may possess the men who wear them as well.

In temple rituals for the Balinese themselves, the barong is certainly an event of supernatural import, but that does not prevent it from being an entertainment as well. One village, in fact, may visit another to perform its particular version of the barong and be appreciated for the style with which it performs as well as for the evident power of its barong and witch. There are, in fact, trance performances in Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia in which the trancers are said to be possessed by animals or even inanimate objects and that seem to have the presentation of a bizarre entertainment as their sole or main purpose. In such circumstances, the entertainment of tourists with a barong performance seems to fit in with the Balinese view of things, but such a performance cannot mean the same thing as one in which the primary object is to create a sense of well-being and security for the community rather than, for economic gain, to satisfy the curiosity of outsiders. Although many of the tourists may regale their friends back home with stories of the "authentic" rituals they witnessed, the Balinese probably have a clearer idea of the distinction between the different types of "authenticity" involved in the performance of barong for themselves and for tourists.

Changes in the motivations and presentation of performances of kecak or barong may bother those whose original associations with the performance have strong meaning. However, this is surely an inevitable part of human experience, because no society is static, and all culture must evolve and change or cease to exist. As the Sun Dance and other festivities of the Plains Indians in North America evolved into pan-Indian powwow celebrations or as the Medicine Dance of the San people of Botswana has evolved into a performance for others as well as for the San themselves, barong may be undergoing an evolution from an organic and vital part of specific Balinese communities to a "cultural performance" meant to help shape the idea of "Baliness" for the modern Balinese and for the outside world. Musical performances like barong, after all, can help mediate not just the contact between the human and the otherworldly but also the contact between groups of human beings, and we may hope that this latter role is no less powerful a validation of an art form than the former.
FOUR KINDS OF POPULAR MUSIC IN JAVA

Gambus

Entertainment and monetary gain are often thought of as the only reasons for the existence of many types of popular music. But when we think, for example, of how some people enjoy rap and willingly pay for the pleasure of listening to it while others dislike it but are vehemently devoted to reggae or heavy metal, it becomes clear that more powerful motivations must also be involved. Like barong, popular music can shape an identity—for an individual or a group—and present it to the world.

In Indonesia, one of the pop musics that succeeds in doing this as well as providing its consumers a good deal of enjoyment is gambus, a genre named for an Arabic instrument that signifies connection with the homeland of Islam. Nowadays the gambus may be present only by virtue of having lent its name to the genre, the instrument itself having been replaced by the ‘ud, which has wider currency in the music of the Middle East.

Not just the instruments of gambus—which may include, for example, marawis (sing, mirwas), small double-headed drums from Yemen—but the musical style itself reflects Middle Eastern origins, with its short, often sequentially repeated phrases and simple, catchy, and danceable rhythms; even the vocal timbre is often more that of Middle Eastern than of Indonesian singers although so-called modern gambus (gambus moderen) may use Indonesian lyrics. The dress of the performers as depicted on the sleeves of cassettes and CDs may include such articles as the kaffiyeh and agal, the Arab headdress worn by men. Although the texts of gambus may have Islamic subject matter, the songs are very much appreciated for their musical qualities—too much so in view of the more puritanical Muslims. As one Javanese Muslim told the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in response to a query about gambus, "It's like Africa in Java," by which he meant to say (being ignorant of the spiritual and communal values in much African music) that the music was not conducive to leading a proper Islamic life because it was primitive and sensual. Perhaps one could imagine a similar confrontation in the United States between supporters of Christian rock and their adversaries.

Dangdut

Dangdut is another popular music that is an extraordinary mix of Western rock and Indian film song. Its Indonesian texts have usually dealt with homiletic advice about leading a better,
more productive, and uprightly Islamic life, although secular love lyrics are becoming increasingly common now. Its infectious rhythms have earned it the onomatopoetic name dangdut, which represents its characteristic drum sounds and, for those who deride it, its suspiciously worldly appeal. Transformed into a popular medium for broadcasting Islamic values to the public in the seventies under the influence of the superstar Rhoma Irama (originally called Oma; he added the "R" and "h" from Raden Haji, a title given those Muslims who, as he did, perform the pilgrimage to Mecca), it has become the dominant pop music in the '90s, and like the Indian songs from which it borrowed so much, it has been featured heavily in films.

LISTENING GUIDE

LISTEN: GAMBUS "CARI HABURAN"

0:00-0:21  Improvised prelude on gambus (ud) and violin
0:22-1:23  Free rhythm rendition of first verses
1:24-1:50  Voice concludes, and instruments continue melody with cadential accompaniment of interlocking drums (mirwas [pl. marawis])
1:50-2:48  Previously heard verses sung in free rhythm, now sung in 4/4 meter (second violin joins)
2:48-2:58  Interlocking drum cadence (continues in similar manner until end)

Kroncong

Dangdut, a relatively recent phenomenon, has had a fairly swift rise in popularity in the manner of many kinds of commercial pop, but kroncong, another popular style, has a long history in Indonesia stretching back to the first contact with European colonialism. The Portuguese ports in the East—such as Goa in India, Macao in China, and Malacca in Malaysia—and the Portuguese areas of southern Africa and the Azores linked Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the spice-growing areas of Indonesia. Before the Dutch established colonial hegemony in the Indonesian archipelago, the Portuguese outposts on the islands served as centers for the shipment of spices to Europe. These communities of mixed ethnic and racial background nevertheless maintained aspects of Portuguese culture such as the Christian religion and some types of folk music. In Indonesia, this music came to be called kroncong. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it had a somewhat unsavory reputation associated with urban violence and glamorous toughs called buaya kroncong (kroncong crocodiles), who were like the Malay pirates of some Hollywood movies in the twenties and thirties.

The typical instruments accompanying kroncong are of European derivation: violin, cello, flute, and plucked strings of various types; one of the strings, similar to a ukulele, has given its name
to the genre. These provided a simple, harmonically based accompaniment to vocal melodies sung with a mellifluous sweetness Americans might think characteristically Hawaiian. When kroncong began to attract the interest of a more polite section of middle-class Javanese society in the twenties and thirties, it underwent a kind of acculturation to central Javanese style, and although the instruments were the same, they took on functional qualities similar to those of gamelan music. The flute and violin became like the suling and rebab, providing free, heterophonic elaboration of the melody; the cello, while continuing to provide a foundation for the harmony, was played pizzicato in rhythms resembling kendang-like drum patterns; and the kroncong, with its regular offbeat plucking, had a resemblance to the ketuk.

**LISTENING GUIDE**

**LISTEN: "DANGDUT QUR AN DAN KORAN" (EXCERPT)**

Composed by Rhoma Irama
Performed by Soneta Group, vocal: Rhoma Irama
This contemporary recording prominently features synthesizers in both the lead and supporting roles. The synthesized "voices" imitate traditional instrument sounds, while also setting them in a more modern context.

- **0:00-0:24** Introduction with synthesized instrumental melody an
- **0:25-0:29** Instrumental "bridge" announcing 1st verse
- **0:30-0:40** First verse of first stanza with melody A
- **0:40-0:52** Repeat of A for second verse
- **0:53-1:04** Third verse with contrasting melody B
- **1:05-1:19** Repeat of B for fourth verse, followed by instrumental
- **1:20-1:43** Return of part A melody with new text, with repeat
- **1:44-2:06** Instrumental break; synthesized guitar lead voice
- **2:07-2:15** Lead taken by synthesized flutes and oboes
- **2:16-2:26** New stanza with new melody C
- **2:27-2:39** Repeat of C melody
- **2:40-2:50** Melody D sung once
- **2:50-2:52** Chorus break
- **2:53-2:55** Instrumental bridge to verse
- **2:56-3:17** Melody A and repeat with new text
- **3:18-3:41** Melody B and repeat with new text
- **3:42-3:44** Instrumental bridge to verse
- **3:45-4:08** Melody A and repeat with new text
- **4:09-4:16** Brief instrumental coda
LISTENING GUIDE

**LISTEN:** KRONCONG "MORIKSO"
Performed by Orkes Kroncong Mutiara, vocal: Suhaery Mufti

0:00-0:12  Introduction in free rhythm on flute
0:13-0:37  Plucked strings set up accompaniment patterns regularly subdividing beat in a manner reminiscent of gamelan practice over which flute continues its ornamental floating melody.
0:38-      Voice takes over melody of song, and flute adds ornamental flourishes in manner of gamelan suling at ends of vocal phrases
1:20      Fades out

Some kroncong during this period also took on the typical 4 X 8-bar structure of Tin Pan Alley ballads, with a repeated first phrase that also returned after an intervening and contrasting second phrase: AABA. They also acquired a jazzy feeling with the addition of "blue notes." What had been an indigenously evolved, traditional popular music, based on very old importations, had evolved into a more internationalized commercial music at the same time that it was becoming more "Javanized."

With a variety of styles appealing to different ethnic groups and social strata, kroncong became a music of broad appeal. Its popularity was consolidated during World War II when the Japanese banned foreign popular music, thereby helping it become a vehicle for the expression of national solidarity and nationalist sentiment. Although newer styles like the rock-oriented kroncong pop have developed more recently, the powerful nostalgia evoked by the music from the war and prewar period gives it a strong appeal for an older crowd, even as the young turn to more sensational music like dangdut.

**Jaipongan**

The jaipongan style of pop music has the unique characteristic of being derived from a type of professional folk entertainment of Sunda (West Java) and does not betray the foreign derivations or influences of gambus, dangdut, or kroncong. The Sundanese *ketuk tilu* (three ketuk) is a small ensemble of musicians playing rebab, gong, three ketuk, and drums, who accompany a female dancer/singer (and sometimes prostitute) in a kind of audience-participation performance during which various men get up to dance with her. Many similar types of dance entertainments exist or existed in Java and Bali as well as other parts of Indonesia, and troupes were often hired for private parties or for celebrations connected with occasions like weddings or circumcisions.

**JAIPONGAN:** Popular Indonesian music that is derived from the native folk entertainment of Sunda (West Java).
LISTENING GUIDE

**LISTEN: JAIPONGAN, "DAUN PULUS KESER BOJONG"**
Performed by Gugum Gumbira and his Jugala Group, singer Idjah Hadidjah

0:00  Extended introductory passage highlighting the virtuosic and flashy drumming Sundanese drumming style in which the drums are struck with the hands and even manipulated with the feet. Melody on rebab, and regular clacking of cymbal-like kecrek. Periodic shouts from the performers add to the raucous and rowdy atmosphere typical of jaipongan performance.

1:14  The performers yell the name of their group JU—GA—LA alternating with the leader who sort of groans it in a gruff voice.

1:45  Introduction concludes with entrance of sarons playing phrase with an answer by drums, both then repeated.

2:12  Singer briefly introduces song unaccompanied and is joined by other performers at 2:20; her highly elaborate melody is heterophonically accompanied by the rebab and progresses with occasional, startling comments from the drum.

3:00  Fades out

Like dangdut, the word jaipongan was made up from syllables representing drum sounds, and flashy Sundanese-style drumming is basic to this style. A saron is generally added; to the instruments derived from ketuk tilu; this adds another characteristic equally as attractive as the drumming and as typically Sundanese, because the saron is in slendro while the singer and rebab usually perform in another tuning such as pelog, adding ornamental pitches as well. According to Philip Yampolsky (in his liner notes for Tonggeret, Nonesuch 79173-2), a young musician named Gugum Gumbira was responsible for introducing the amalgamation of various Sundanese musical components that started the jaipongan craze in 1974. Its popularity soon caused it to spread beyond his original troupe to other parts of Java outside Sunda, as well as to take on the nature of a popular dance fad for couples:

[Jaipongan] was taught in schools and private dance classes, and was performed in dance-halls and nightclubs, at parties and festivals, in the streets and on TV. A 1982 newspaper report describes some of the places in Jakarta and Bandung where one might find Jaipongan; a dance-hall, where the women hired by the management danced with paying customers; an exercise club for rich women; an open-air stage near the railroad tracks in a seedy area, where peddlers and pedicab drivers danced with prostitutes.

Although the social-dance fad has waned in recent years, Gugum Gumbira has concentrated on creating staged performances, and as Philip Yampolsky remarks: "Today, Jaipongan is accepted as a 'national' stage dance." It is even included in cultural performances by Indonesian students in the United States for national-day celebrations.
"Unity in Diversity," as we pointed out earlier, is the national motto of Indonesia, a nation created within the memory of many of its present-day citizens. Creating unity is a primary concern in any attempt to form a nation, as the current war in Iraq reminds us, and is equally important to maintain one, as events in the Soviet republics, the former Yugoslavia, recently reunited Germany, or struggling-to-reunite Korea remind us every day. But the chore is a remarkably daunting one in a country with the topography of Indonesia and a population ranging from the industrialized city dwellers of Java to recently contacted groups of former head-hunters in Papua (the Indonesian part of New Guinea) and Kalimantan (the Indonesian part of Borneo). In the scholarly view of music, the unity of the area is often related to the use of bronze-casting technology and cyclical musical structures that also link Indonesia to the Southeast Asian mainland, southern China, northeastern India, and the Philippines. Valid and interesting as this system of relationships is, it does not accommodate many other types of musical phenomena in Indonesia such as, for example, the various pipe ensembles of people in Kalimantan, whose music might be reasonably discussed in comparison with that of similar ensembles among the Andean Aymara or South African Venda.

The necessity of national "unity," evidenced in music by the establishment of government conservatories with standardized curricula, will present a challenge to the more marginal components of Indonesian society and to their cultural forms. These components of Indonesia's "diversity" will likely be neglected—as they have been in this chapter—but their lack of importance for the national scene does not necessarily indicate the inevitability of their disappearance or impoverishment. Thanks to the inexpensive and widespread technology of recording, many types of regionally circumscribed musics find a locally supportive market that helps to perpetuate them and at the same time alter their uses and associations. Rather than propagating a narrow range of musical product, the cassette, CD, and VCD industry in Indonesia has in effect created the audio equivalent of the country's motto, a wide range of music in a uniform medium.

Recorded sound has demonstrated the variety of Indonesia's music today, but it has also preserved the sound of its past: The gamelan brought to the Columbian Exposition of 1893 was recorded not only on film but also on wax cylinders, the audio-recording medium of the day. Although these are not the first recordings of an ethnomusicological nature—some earlier ones were made of Native Americans—they are among the earliest, and they help to lend a special aura to the instruments now housed in the collection of the Field Museum. What would those musicians recorded in 1893 have thought, I wonder, if they had been able to hear the performance of bubaran "Udan Mas" that was described at the start of this essay?