Proceedings of the 4th Symposium

THE ICTM STUDY GROUP ON PERFORMING ARTS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Symposium Themes
Performing Arts and the Religious Impulse in Southeast Asia
Endangered Performing Arts-Maintenance and Sustainability Efforts
New Research

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INTRODUCTION and THEMES OF THE SYMPOSIUM

The 4th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia (PASEA) was hosted and sponsored by the Universiti Sains Malaysia School of the Arts and the Ministry of Tourism and Culture of Malaysia, and was held at the Cititel Hotel in George Town, Penang, Malaysia, 31 July-6 August 2016.

The Symposium opened with remarks by the Universiti Sains Malaysia Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research and Innovation), Professor Dato' Dr. Muhamad Jantan, who welcomed all the participants and signed the documents to officially open the symposium. This event was followed by welcome and greetings to all delegates by the PASEA Chair, Patricia Matusky, and followed by the Program Co-Chair, Made Mantle Hood, who spoke about the program for the coming 6 days of the Symposium.

With two specific themes as the main focus of topics in this 2016 Symposium, along with papers and reports on new research, this published Proceedings has been organized and presented in the identical format and arrangement of the Symposium itself. Each of the six days of the Symposium was filled with 10 to 15 or more reports and regular paper presentations, which offered the delegates an immensely varied and rich selection of topic presentations by individuals, as well as workshops, roundtables, panel presentations, lecture-demonstrations and lecture-recitals, numbering some 82 presentations in all. The Table of Contents in this Proceedings also follows the organization and arrangement of the Symposium.

The delegates took one day during this Symposium for a cultural tour of Penang and also enjoyed the many performances taking place every evening at the George Town and Hungry Ghost Festivals that were in full swing during the week-long Symposium.

As noted above, the 4th Symposium of PASEA focused on two main themes and new research. These themes were represented in the form of regular papers by the PASEA members and also in 'lightning' report papers mainly by graduate students and also by some of the regular members reporting on their current research-in-progress. A description of the themes follows:

THEME I: Performing Arts and the Religious Impulse in Southeast Asia

In this theme, religiosity is distinguished from religion in Southeast Asia. Religiosity or religiousness, in its broadest sense, is a comprehensive sociological term used to refer to the numerous aspects of religious activity, dedication, and belief (religious doctrine). Music and religious impulses emphasize the corporeal nature of social life and stress the role of practice and embodiment of how faith is experienced through music.

Pursuing a "Logic of Practice" (Bourdieu, Handelman), this theme looks at how music, dance and other performance genres and practices enact religiosity, whether it be Buddhism, Hinduism, any of the Abrahamic traditions, or indigenous religions. The logic of practice is related to the way cultural production, i.e. the performing arts, is constructed through habitus (an individual's personality structure, lifestyle, values, dispositions and expectations of particular social groups that are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life), capital (forms of knowledge, skills, education and advantages that a person has which gives them a higher status in society) and field (a setting in which agents and their social positions are located).

This theme proposes a comparative critical approach to music/dance and religious impulses in the performing arts of Southeast Asia from the logic of practice, which may lead to new analyses on the theory and practice of religiosity guided by the following questions: What are the forms, processes and methods by which religiosity is manifested with a given community? How does the community sanction performing arts genres and other practices that support and/or reflect religiosity? By looking at specific traditions, can we see a 'Logic of Practice' that could be identified as distinctly Southeast Asian?

THEME II: Endangered Performing Arts—Maintenance and Sustainability Efforts

The 'endangerment' of performing arts genres refers to the risk of specific arts no longer being practiced. This is of most concern where it happens against the will of the communities involved, as is the case in many Southeast Asian contexts. This theme proposes the discussion of performing arts genres that are in danger of disappearing and the reasons and situations found for their possible disappearance.

This theme must also consider the maintenance and sustainability efforts that can or are taking place to keep endangered genres alive. In communities where endangered genres are found, are the given communities attempting to revitalize these genres and if so how is this being carried out? Are the endangered genres still relevant to the given communities? Are they still sustainable to the given communities, and if so, how are the communities taking steps to ensure their sustainability and relevance?

This theme is proposed to better understand and consolidate our thinking on the issues confronting such performing arts genres throughout Southeast Asia.

THEME III: New Research

This theme covers all new research topics by members of the PASEA Study Group and may be presented in the form of a full 20-minute paper or a 10-minute lightning report.

Group Photo

4th Symposium, The ICTM Study Group On Performing Arts Of Southeast Asia (PASEA) 2016

Events & Activities

4th Symposium
The ICTM Study Group On Performing
Arts Of Southeast Asia
(PASEA) 2016

STAGING TRADITIONAL AND NUCLEAR FUSION: NEGOTIATING STATE-SPONSORED PERFORMANCES OF THE YAMI IN TAIPEI

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My paper centres on the strategies that both the government and the aboriginal Taiwanese performers use to achieve their performance goals and promote their own agenda in a performance in Taipei. For the past year I have been conducting research in Taiwan, primarily in order to understand the use of Chinese orchestra instruments in popular and fusion music. At first I had been engaging with performers who were dealing in Mandarin or suppressed dialects. This is a group that could be categorised as *Chinese*. So naturally in my readings and preparations for Taiwan I focused heavily on the parts of the culture and history that would be associated with East Asia and outside the reach of PASEA. Since Taiwan's aboriginal population and geographic position are under Southeast Asia but it is politically placed under East Asia, Taiwan is a fascinating and sometimes frustrating place to do research.

In my East Asian research I had found that Taiwan's Ministry of Culture were quick to sponsor events, but that this funding often came with approval rights. So while the government was actively promoting previously banned or suppressed performing arts, such as Taiwanese opera and *nanguan*, they were being adapted into the nationalist music institutes. For example, the Taipei Chinese Orchestra, instead of being dismantled for promoting the old narrative of a Pan-Chinese government, simply adjusted their repertoire to include adaptations of local songs and included singers of the "other three" in their concert hall concerts. A theme that I encounter today is that the government's attempts at promoting these oppressed groups often leads to further marginalising. Following the money, the artists are being ushered into concert halls and away from their traditional settings.

In recent years, the cultural narrative perpetuated by the Taiwanese government has shifted from a Pan-Chinese identity to one that attempts to celebrate plurality and the indigenous cultures that managed to survive Japanese colonialism and subsequent policies under the Kuomintang. Generally, this turn towards nativization has meant that the state's existing infrastructure of orchestras and modern dance troupes have incorporated Hokkien, Hakka, and aboriginal elements into their performances, so that the same groups are collecting the funding, which brings to mind the famous quote by Lorde, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." Pertinent to the subject of this paper, the government has also sponsored annual dance and theatre performances that create fusion performances celebrating different aboriginal peoples, while adjusting the source material to the aesthetics of the National Theater.

This paper follows the negotiations that occurred when the Yami people of Orchid Island were selected for re-presentation. The Yami are considered an *unfriendly tribe* as they have protested the storage of nuclear waste on their land. These embittered sentiments are reflected through performances which, from conception to curtain, have been fraught with a ceaseless give and take between the government sponsors, the artistic directors, and the aboriginal voices that are meant to be re-presented. I use this example of state-sponsored cultural promotion to examine strategies that artists and minorities use to express dissent. Posters, program notes, and scripts were all censored to be in accordance with a celebratory portrayal of indigenous culture, and yet interviews with audiences reveal that the anti-government sentiment was felt through the censored performance. Therefore, I deploy a framework utilising semiotics in order to understand how the producers and performers were able to communicate an ulterior interpretation through symbolism in choreography, use of indigenous languages and English to disguise texts and meanings attached to the musical accompaniment which featured original compositions, movie soundtracks, pop songs, and Geiger counters. Although the main body of my research centres on the Chinese orchestra, the same processes are going on in Taiwan with fusion groups using Chinese instruments. Thus, I hope this discussion can also inform my research more broadly.

So to fix this gap in my knowledge and to see how strategies of musical fusion were being employed outside of my sino-centric research, I met with a professor and a composer working on the music and production for this state-sponsored dance performance project, representing the aboriginal group called Yami of Orchid Island. I sat in on the meetings with an ethnochoreologist and the stage crews, designers, artistic directors, academics, and aboriginal advisors. There was a lot of talent and therefore many conflicting ideas, which led to difficulties in getting everyone to work in tandem. Besides these internal conflicts, there were also government officials who needed appeasing. Side by side posters were displayed. On the left was a sombre, black poster. On the right was what the government sponsors decided would be used: a colourful

poster featuring loin-cloth clad men, in line with the happy singing/dancing native performance that the government sponsors were hoping for. The posters became a source of resentment for the performers and provided me with the first inklings of how sponsorship of minorities can sound benevolent while turning into a system that controls the narrative and representation of minorities. These resentments, often brought up by these posters, came out in interviews with the performers.

When I met the dancers, I discovered that they were not Yami, but were a pan-aboriginal dance troupe, meaning everyone in the group has to be ethnically aboriginal and to have claimed this through official government channels. This official lineage claiming process is politically loaded. For some mixed race people, they worry that it hurts their chances for getting jobs. On the other hand there are some benefits like affirmative action in education which will boost up test scores up to 25% for university admissions.

The whole performance focused heavily on modernity disrupting traditional activities. Dancers performed dances that had been inspired by traditional Yami dances but they would be interrupted by a toy truck or a siren. In some instances, the dancers would appear shocked and confused by the modern elements, recreating the traumas of colonialism and invasion. In one scene, a dancer plays the part of the intruding data collector, disrupting dances to film, and making this author feel awkward filming the rehearsal as this dancer whipped out her own camera to make the audience think about the effects of their gaze.

There were four types of music used. There was live singing done by the dancers, which had been adapted directly from Yami traditional pieces. There was live pit music that was composed by a film composer of aboriginal descent. There were pre-recorded sounds that featured English news radio reports of the nuclear waste placement that were interspersed with the sounds of Geiger counters, which are machines that detect radiation. Under this category also were the sounds of a remote control truck that invaded the stage. Finally, there was also an up-tempo Mandopop song (Jolin Tsai's ubiquitous PLAY我呸) which three male singers sang on top an aboriginal song (*à la* David Samuels as is discussed below).

David Samuels wrote about Apache Native Americans in the US who performed traditional songs but might place a song on top of it, it being the traditional performance. The title of his book comes from a quote that discusses Mariah Carey's *Hero* being sung on top. And Samuels (2004) advocates for such fusion saying:

> Traditions are not simply handed along from one generation to the next. Part of their enduring power comes from the possibility for their strategic reinvention in order to speak strongly in new social and political contexts. (p. 5)

As I looked at the programme notes and titles of the pieces, I saw that the written things that needed to be approved by officials were banal items like *Fishing* and *Courage* and *Bravery*, but the emotional power of the performance was obvious even to outsiders like me who were only just discovering this community's history. The final piece expresses a raw, emotional reaction to aboriginal treatment and the pollution of their lands. They are dancing to a track from the OST of Interstellar (a piece that brings in relevant connotations because the characters in the film search for a new planet after destroying Earth). After the rehearsal was finished, the dancers stayed down on the floor, recovering physically and emotionally for nearly half an hour. The dancers said this music was inspiring. Though in the final performance it was replaced with an original composition, the feelings they were channelling remained.

Before going any further, I need a theory to explain how I understand performance to develop meaning and how I can make meaning of this thick description. In the following section, I briefly introduce Piercian Semiotics via Thomas Turino who vehemently advocates for this framework's use in music and, more generally, the arts.

In order to account for the way that musical identities can be simultaneously individual and social, Thomas Turino introduces and promotes Pierce's theory of semiotics. In this theory there are three semiotic processes. According to Turino (1999), the *sign* is quite broadly, "something that stands for something else to someone in some way" (p. 221). It is not in itself self-evident, but a catalyst for an effect. The *object* is that something else referred to in the definition of the sign. The *interpretant* is the effect created in the perceiver's mind when the sign and object are brought together. There are three possible types of interpretants: emotional, energetic, and signal. Emotional interpretants are the direct unconscious feeling caused by a sign which is so prevalent in music. The energetic interpretant is the physical reaction caused by a sign, in music this includes foot tapping and head bobbing. The signal interpretant is a linguistic-based concept which only exists in music with lyrical interpretation.

So this theory posits that music, because of its removal from language, or at least music without intelligible lyrics, is seen as limited in that it is only able to activate emotional or energetic interpretants (p. 230). However, it is precisely this naturally limiting ambiguity which counter-intuitively allows for music to be so adaptable and powerful.

To illustrate his point, Turino uses the example of Jimi Hendrix's performance of the *Star-Spangled Banner* at Woodstock as an example of the way in which different people can have completely different reactions to identical musical stimuli. The original juxtaposition of the electric guitar, an instrument, which at the time represented rebellion against establishment and the government, and the patriotic anthem was meant to establish a new meaning. Turino (1999) calls this c*reative indexing* (p. 245), the juxtaposition of two or more indices in novel ways that play off of the original meanings of the signs. People at Woodstock, completely immersed in the political situation of the time had a specific *in situ* interpretation of the performance, presumably in line with Hendrix's intended meaning. Today, however, out of context, people interpret the performance in completely different ways. Recent students of Turino's interpreted the performance as being patriotic and sincere, or just referencing a baseball game, the only other place that one particular student had heard the National Anthem played before.

And finally, there is the useful term *semantic snowballing*, which for Turino, is music's ability to pick up multiple indices and carry multiple complex or even contradictory meanings and connotations. So for our example, the indignation at being persecuted, the cries of pain, were a sign that stood for the object of oppression, and allowed for the emotional interpretant to be effective. And this process, which evades rhetoric that is easily censored, gave the performance power over the government. The Geiger counter sound was a sign for the object of radiation, which also allowed for a nonverbal, emotional interpretant that indicated the taboo topic. The piece finished with the dancers slowly walking forward, fists raised in the air, with an air of defiance about them. The composer and conductor in the pit orchestra also stopped his tasks, faced the audience, and held his fist up as well. This act of fist raising is vague and does not seem like something that needs to be censored, and yet, according to the audience members I interviewed after the show, they all felt this was the most powerful statement of the concert. The semiotic process allows for this nonverbal and emotional message to permeate and avoid censorship.

Further extending this theory, creative indexing is used when placing traditional tunes with pop songs. This is also an example of semantic snowballing because the tune develops different meanings. Here the efficient workers stop toiling after hearing the pop song and become flamboyant and disruptive to the community. The song starts as liberating but then develops negative connotations and develops into a critique of the loss of tradition.

To conclude, this paper represents just a start at approaching unfamiliar music topics in Taiwan and I have only just begun to interpret these data. Decolonising one's mind in Taiwan is not easy. In Taipei we are bombarded with advertisements and portrayals from the government that portray the so-called friendly aboriginals who love to happily sing and dance. And through funding, the government manages to cultivate only the friendly voices it wants. This concert was advertised to match this stereotype, but despite censorship, many audience members were moved to tears by powerful, seemingly ambiguous gestures. The ambiguity, and squishiness of it makes this difficult to discuss in academia but the message was clear for the audience. Semantic snowballing and creative indexing gave power to pop songs, Geiger counters, English radio (which could slip past the censors), and the presence of a camera to represent the invasive viewer. Something further to consider is how the raw emotional power of the performance managed to convey another layer of meaning. So the indignation at being persecuted was a sign that stood for the object, oppression, and allowed for the emotional interpretant to this work.

Looking forward, we must examine the ethics of this entire project which brings positive publicity to the Yami who were seen as unfriendly for protesting the use of nuclear waste on their land. What does it mean to take cultural elements from the Yami, adjust them to a non-local agenda and then sell tickets to attend this new version in the capital city's National Theater? Is it celebration or appropriation? Are these categories ever easy to distinguish? Do the power dynamics that oppress the aboriginal Taiwanese allow for the government to celebrate their culture, or must it necessarily be appropriation?

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STAGING AUTONOMOUS ETHNICITIES: THE "BAYANIHAN EFFECT" AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE STANDARDISATION OF THE PERFORMING ARTS FROM THE MUSLIM SOCIETIES OF THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

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With the ubiquitous popularity of professional Philippine folk dance companies, both in the nation-state and the diaspora, southern Philippine university-based dance companies or cultural ensembles assert agency over artistic representations of their heritage. Named after the Manila-based Bayanihan National Philippine Dance Company—the world-renowned dance company known for popularising the archipelago's diverse cultural heritage—for this paper, the "Bayanihan Effect" is an overtly staged phenomenon of iconic dances and music influencing native artistic directors away from the metropole. Previous articles, such as Barbara Gaerlan's (1999) "In the Court of the Sultan," have cited this staged performativity consisting of multiple dancers performing a choreographic routine to the sounds of crashing gongs with an orientalist tinge (Gaerlan, 1999, p. 254).

Over the past 60 years, The Bayanihan National Philippine Dance Company (henceforth referred to as "Bayanihan") has tremendously influenced Filipinos worldwide to summarise the archipelago's regional diversity by performing a full concert of music and dances that fits within the Western constructs of time—a technique established by the company's directors that will be mentioned later in this paper. Using Homi Bhabha's theory of colonial mimicry—a performance of everyday life by colonised persons who adopts in part the culture of their colonisers—I argue that the adaptation of Manila-based staged performativity by the marginalised ethnic groups from the autonomous region of the southern Philippines is indicative of their urgency to become what Bhabha terms as the "recognizable other" within the nation-state framework (Bhabha, 1994, p. 121).

Analysing three case studies of performing ensembles from the three ethnic groups, the Maranao, Maguindanaon and Sama-Tausug, I discuss how each case study incorporates one of the three staging techniques indicative of "the Bayanihan Effect." These staging techniques are: (1) Dynamics and vignettes; (2) Uniform features of their main female soloists and; (3) Choreographic dance routines derived from trance rituals. This hegemonic performance aesthetic is Bayanihan's influence on the Muslim Filipinos in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. While living in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, theatrical interpretations of their secular performing arts are performed as entertainment during tourist festivals and for greeting foreign dignitaries. As a result, an idealised view of the ethnic minorities from the southern Philippines is instilled in performances for foreign audiences.

Background

In Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, four ensembles from the following universities practice this form of cultural preservation: the Darangen Cultural Ensemble of Mindanao State University Marawi, the Tambuli Cultural Dance Troupe of Mindanao State University, Sanga Sanga, Salamindanao Dance Company of Cotabato City State Polytechnic College, and Sining Panandem also from MSU-Marawi. Faculty and alumni descended from the indigenous ethnic groups established these university-based cultural ensembles for continuity of their traditional arts in an institutionalised setting.

Heniretta "Ma'am Ele" Hoffer—a choreographer of Maranao, German and Dutch descent—was the founder of the Darangen Cultural Ensemble. Originally, she was a consultant for Bayanihan during its formative years. However, differences in choreographic ideas compelled Hoffer to form the Darangen group as an inclusive ensemble with both native and lowland Filipino student performers (H. Hoffer, personal communication, January 27, 2015).

In 1974, Ligaya Fernando-Amilbangsa established the Tambuli Cultural Dance Troupe attributed to her extensive research on the cultural arts from the Sulu archipelago. Fernando-Amilbangsa's research stems from living nearly 20 years in the region with her family and in-laws who are direct descendants of the Sulu Sultanate (Amilbangsa, 1983, p. 2).

Since the 1980s, the Salamindanao Dance Company, a Maguindanaon troupe, and Sining Panandem, a Maranao troupe—troupes that were formed by native choreographers—provide insiders perspective on their cultural arts. Both the Salamindanao Dance Company and Sining Panandem choreograph dances derived from regional dance movements with traditional gong-chime melodies.

Hence, forming these ensembles reveal a level of resistance native choreographers have towards Manila artistic directors co-opting Muslim Filipino culture. In the first example, I analyse the use of dynamics and vignettes in Sining Pananadem's version of "*Singkil*".

"*Singkil*": Theatrical Vignettes from an Emic Perspective

According to Maranao ethnomusicologist Usopay Cadar, the "*Singkil*" is an optional dance from the *Kaganat Sa Darangen*—a holistic performance of an *onor* (professional female performing artist) in Maranao society. *Kaganat sa Darangen* consists of the following segments: an *onor* sings an oratory song called *karanok*, she performs a repertoire of *kolintang* (the Maranao term for a gong-row instrument) melodic compositions, and wilfully executes any formal hand gestures or dance movements (U. Cadar, personal communication, October 12, 2008). Non-native scholar Edna De Los Santos, the author of the article entitled "The Original *Singkil*," cites a similar performance. According to De Los Santos, the *onor* has the option of performing three versions of the dance after singing excerpts of the *Darangen* epic; the bamboo clapping is the original musical accompaniment to the dance. The original version consists of an *onor* weaving through the clapping of one pair of bamboo poles; the second version has another *onor* dancing between four pairs of bamboos in a box formation; and finally the third version includes two female dancers dancing in between two pairs of crisscrossed bamboo poles. (De Los Santos, 1979, p. 2).

Philippine folk dance companies—both in the Philippine nation-state and the Diaspora—include the "*Singkil*" as the grand finale for their erroneously labelled "Muslim" or "Moro Suite." When Bayanihan's creative directors augmented the cast and characters to the original "*Singkil*" in the early 1950s, their intent was to include the re-choreographed version in preparation for their world tour in Brussels. The company's newly choreographed rendition of "*Singkil*" consists of multiple fan dancers, a prince, warriors with swords and shields, two to three sets of bamboo poles in a crisscross formation, and an umbrella attendant. Bayanihan's dramatic story line to the dance re-enacts an excerpt of the *Darangen* epic in which Prince Bantungan (the epic's hero), rescues Princess Gandingan (a princess from a neighbouring kingdom) in an earthquake caused by spirits in the forest. To recreate this segment of the *Darangen*, Bayanihan's theatrical vignettes for "*Singkil*" are as follows: a slow entrance with bamboo clappers ushering Princess Gandingan onto the stage; after the crashing of a gong, the princess dances by herself in between the slow clapping of the bamboo poles with no musical accompaniment. The leitmotif for the Prince's entrance is the increase in tempo of both the gong ensemble's music and the rhythmic clapping of the bamboos. For the ending, the entire cast of fan dancers and warriors surround the couple dancing at centre stage to the thunderous rolling of the gong instruments.

In the book "Bayanihan: A Memory of Six Continents," Isabel Santos (2004) describes how dances undergo three processes: compression, highlighting, and enhancement:

> "Compression" shortens the length of a ritual dance for a stage show; it eliminates repetition and restructures the dance into sections with due consideration for rhythmic and mood contrasts. "Highlighting" ensures the suite has a distinctive character to a specific region. "Enhancing" involves injecting theatrical exaggeration of a dance to "suit present day audiences who are set a part from the performers; this also involves stressing musical rhythms or the sharpening of melodic lines. (p. 146)

Hence, Bayanihan-influenced troupes performing "*Singkil*" use this same theatrical format to the cacophony of *kulintang* melodies corresponding to the dance action. Non-native and native scholars from Lanao Del Sur, the home province of the Maranao, hold Bayanihan's version suspect because Bayanihan's version is far-removed from the traditional manner of performing *"Singkil*" as cited by Cadar and De Los Santos.

Figure 1. Sining Panandem of Mindanao State University Marawi. (Bernard Ellorin, 2004)

In my recent findings, Sining Panandem performs a dynamic version that maintains the essence of "*Singkil*". Sining Pananadem adheres to the original version with only women dancers, but the additional dynamics are akin to Bayanihan's version. The vignettes follow this order: four female dancers gracefully move between two pairs of bamboos in a crisscross formation. After circulating around the bamboos, the main female soloist weaves in and out of the bamboos at a slow tempo. Similar to Bayanihan's ending of the dance, Sining Panandem's version increases the tempo of the bamboo clapping until the end of the dance. Sining Panandem's use of dynamics, additional fan dancers, and dramatic ending indicates that while the Maranao assert agency over "*Singkil*", their use of Bayanihan's dynamics is evident in their performance practice. In the next section, I interrogate the uniformed features of performers through the Tambuli Cultural Dance Troupe.

Tambuli Cultural Dance Troupe—Uniformity of Appearance

The Tambuli Cultural Dance Troupe maintains the spontaneous curvilinear movements of the *pangalay* dance form to the accompaniment of traditional *tagunggu* ensemble music (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2003, p. 179). In its traditional context, the *pangalay* is performed at weddings to entertain the newlywed couple. Tambuli has taken this form of spontaneous entertainment and created a two hour staged performance with seamless transitions between each dance piece. In an interview with Tambuli directors Mahail Hajan and Sakinurin Delasas, both are of Sama and Tausug descent, make a concerted effort to preserve the traditional dance aesthetic (M. Hajan & S. Delasas, personal communication, January 16, 2015). However, they have adapted Bayanihan's uniformed look of their female soloists: the hair in a bun, fair skin, and with a svelte figure for stage purposes.

Tambuli's female soloists exhibit similar characteristics with Bayanihan with their exceptional dance skills and attractive features. In Tambuli, they are given a solo performance to dance either *pangalay* or the grand finale entitled "*Pangalay ha Pattong*"—a variant of the *pangalay* dance genre consisting of a female dancer hoisted atop a pair of bamboos bore on the shoulders of two men; she chooses between two male suitors who are dancing in front of her on the foreground of the stage. With the exception of the male performers, I rarely witnessed the performance of any heavyset dancers or dark skinned soloists. Unlike the traditional setting where dancers of different body frames share their expertise in *pangalay*, Tambuli indirectly uses Bayanihan standards of beauty in order to maintain a level of professionalism for their female soloists—a complete departure from the traditional spontaneous performance in villages throughout the Sulu Archipelago. In the final example, the secularisation of ritual dances become choreographic routines in the Maguindanaon dance "*Sagayan a Dilapet*".

"Sagayan a Dilapet"—The Secularisation of Ritual Practices

Among the Maguindanao, the "*Sagayan*" is originally performed during ritual occasions by the *patutunong* (shaman). During a healing ritual the *patutunong* is believed to connect with the *tunong a saitan* or malignant spirit—to perform a trance—that cures the ailments of a sick individual. A *patutunong* dons a colourful outfit: a *kapasiti* (colourful headgear), a *lumbong* (colourful skirt) and a sword and shield known collectively as *kampilan* (D. S. Kalanduyan, personal communication, March 20, 2002). For weddings, it is a processional dance to the bride's home to present the dowry with dancers wearing similar paraphernalia. Two percussionists play a *pong* (small-rimmed gong) and *tambul* (wooden snare drum) as the processional music. The music is divided into two sections: the *balabad* is the fast section and *sinulog* the slow upbeat section; dancers wear a similar outfit to the *patutunong* in the ritual version of the dance.

Figure 2. *Sagayan a Dilapet* performed by Salamindanao Dance Company. (Peter De Guzman, 2011)

Faisal Monal, the director of the Salamindanao Dance Troupe, choreographed his own version of "*Sagayan a Dilapet*" into a routine with multiple dancers meant for entertainment during the Sharif Kambungsuwan Festival held every year in December in honour of the coming of Islam to Mindanao by the Arab-Malay pilgrim Sharif Kambungsuwan. According to Monal, in general, the "*Sagayan*" is one of the oldest dances because of its ritual origins. He adheres to the ritual and secularized versions of the dance and its musical accompaniment (F. Monal, personal communication, January 23, 2015). As a Maguindanaon choreographer with the artistic license to innovate, Monal negotiates between retaining the traditional movements called *langka*—the overall term that refers to the shaking of the head, manipulating the sword and shield, and moving their body in various directions—while inserting staged choreography. Monal's rendition is an eight-count routine with multiple dancers, revealing his usage of choreography for a processional dance that is meant to be improvisatory.

Conclusion

In all three case studies of cultural ensembles discussed in this paper, Bayanihan's influence is prevalent in the adaptation of each ensemble's prescribed staged aesthetics. Sining Panandem provides an accurate portrayal of Maranao dances with their "*Singkil*" as a dynamic spectacle. The Tambuli Cultural Dance Troupe places importance on both the skills and the appearance of their performers. Monal's choreographic routine for "*Sagayan a Dilapet*" is indicative of his dancers performing an external rendition of an original trance dance with the intent of impressing tourists and street festival dancing judges that contrasts with the internal meditative ritual.

Indeed, the "Bayanihan Effect" has created a globalised standard form of performance practice as an alternative to cultural maintenance and innovation. In conclusion, Bayanihan's staging techniques has enforced a hegemonic method of performance that many emulate. The overwhelming popularity of these cultural ensembles will lead to the standardisation of music and dance genres—traditionally practiced in situ—to fit within the confines of a theatrical that separates the audience from the performers.

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SHINING ON THE NATIONAL STAGE: JAVANESE SINGER WALDJINAH AND THE (RE)CONFIGURATION OF A NATIONAL CULTURE IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Themes and metaphors in the lyrics of *keroncong* songs in post-independence Indonesia established and historicised the heroic myths essential not only to an emerging Indonesian national identity but also to the processes of state formation itself. Revolutionary struggle represented in *keroncong*, an urban folk/popular music, ultimately expressed important elements of a foundational value system on which Indonesia would be built as a nation (at least theoretically). This paper will examine some of these elements in the context of the rise of *keroncong* as national music and the rise of Waldjinah, the genre's most renowned vocalist. I will explore how *keroncong* transitioned from a music associated with popular culture and nationalism to becoming incorporated into state-sponsored mechanisms meant to forge an Indonesian national culture.

Additionally, I will trace how Waldjinah achieved national stardom through various state mechanisms (from local and national radio and vocal competitions to performing for official military and presidential events) that elevated her status from regional teenage phenomenon to national artist. Drawing from Philip Bohlman's (2004) assertion that national musics shape national history and make it tangible and recognisable by representing something *quintessential* about the nation, I also will examine how and why Waldjinah's rise as a national artist represented some of the differences and overlaps between state-oriented nationalism and regionalism, especially during the era of President Suharto's New Order regime (1965-1998).

DECLINE AND REBIRTH: THE DEVELOPMENT OF *WAYANG CINA JAWA* IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

In Indonesia, *wayang cina jawa*, a kind of shadow puppet play with Javanese and Chinese elements, is also called *wacinwa*. Although *wacinwa* is not as popular as *wayang kulit*, but it is the best example to combine Indonesian and Chinese theatres. After abolishing the rules against Chinese Indonesians by President Wahid, Chinese culture started to be noted and *wacinwa* was also emphasised. Some Indonesian scholars also tried to re-perform and study it.

Wacinwa was created by Chinese Indonesian Gan Thwan-Sing in 1925. He used Chinese stories and combined *wayang kulit* puppet-making and *gamelan* music to create a new shadow puppet theatre with Chinese and Indonesian cultural characteristics. Because of Gan Thwan-Sing's achievement of *wacinwa*, President Susilo gave Gan Thwan-Sing an Award of Cultural Hero (*Satya Lancana Kebudayaan*) in 2011, 44 years after his death. This also reflects the importance of *wacinwa* in the history of art development of Chinese Indonesians.

For understanding the formation, decline, and rebirth of *wacinwa*, this paper will focus on the following perspectives: social environment of Chinese Indonesian theater performance, Gan Thwan-Sing— creator of *wacinwa*, puppet making and performance between 1925 to 1965, and the rebirth of *wacinwa* within recent years.

ENDANGERED LANGUAGE AND DANGERED LIVES: SONGS OF THE ATA IN BORACAY, AKLAN

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Abstract

Behind the glamour of Boracay's international tourism and the stunning beauty of its white sand beach, lies a hidden, neglected story of displacement, danger, loss and struggle. The first settlers of Boracay, the Ata (Magos, 2012) have been working to reclaim a small sliver of their ancestral homeland. In this process, tribal members have been threatened and a tribal leader has been killed. They also face a simultaneous challenge: to recall, document and save their language, which only a minority of the 250 The Boracay Ata speak. One way the Ata do this work is by recalling, performing and sharing their traditional songs, as well as composing new songs in the language (Muyco, 2014, 2015).

This paper documents this process of documentation and sustainability: how it started, how it has grown, how it has been supported from within and outside of the community, and the impact of such efforts to date. I frame my argument within postcolonial theories of globalisation and localisation. Both theories help to identify and illuminate threats facing the Ata in preserving their language, but both perspectives also point toward processes that help to construct adaptions that could help the Ata language, and the distinct practices using this language, to survive economically in an environment of hegemonic capitalism.

BUDDHIST SOUNDSCAPES IN MYANMAR: *DHAMMA* INSTRUMENTS AND DIVINE STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS

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This study examines the soundscape of Buddhist social space and argues that sound plays a significant role in Burmese Buddhist practice and aids in sculpting a particular type of mindfulness.

The world of Buddhism constitutes a huge array of traditions, styles and philosophical approaches to sound. There is no one Buddhism and no consistent approach or philosophy regarding music or sound. Few claims about music can be made that hold throughout the Buddhist world. Understanding Buddhist music is confusing in so far as some traditions fully embrace music as a facilitator of meditation and ritual (many in the Mahayana school) while others are more suspicious of its power to cultivate attachment (as in the Theravada areas). Regardless, the use of sculpted, organised, and intentional vocal and instrumental sound serves important roles in all Buddhist societies. Sound or music often defines the architecture of ceremonies and rituals, and the symbolism of sound and instruments highlight aspects of the Buddha's teachings or *dhamma* (*dharma*) (Douglas, 2015).

This study asserts that sound production and sound reception plays a significant role in lay and monastic Buddhist practice in the Theravada world and helps reconcile some understandings of Buddhism as a religious practice, as a philosophy, and as a source of worldly power. Theravada Buddhism is characterised by a conservative, text-based approach and practitioners assert a pure line of transmission from Gautama Buddha. Emphasis on faithful adherence to a past practice is reflected in the name Theravada, or "the way of the elders."

I approach an idea of "Buddhist sound" from three different streams of Buddhist thought. First, as a philosophy and a science of mind Buddhism offers insights into understanding consciousness, perception and self-awareness. Secondly, Buddhism as a religious tradition engages with metaphysical problems beyond rational understanding including escape from suffering and the cycle of rebirth and thus, may employ rituals, magic, and protective spells. And lastly, in so far as Buddhist action is set within the mundane social world where actors compete for access to resources and power, Buddhism offers insight into the dynamics of claiming and deploying worldly, political power. These three different perspectives offer different insights into the practice of Buddhism and bring different meanings to bear on the use of sound.

In the Myanmar setting the population is 85% Buddhist. Within this setting, most males and many females will have been initiated for a time in the monastery. This civic/monastic rotation speaks to the ubiquitous presence of Buddhist ideas and values found in Burmese society. The seventh precept of Theravada Buddhism implores monks and the devote laity to abstain from dancing, singing and music. What sounds gets classified as "music" and why, is thus an interesting question. Crucial to the debates about appropriate engagement, hinges on music's power to cultivate attachment and to facilitate delusional thinking. Chanting of Buddhist *sutras* and songs with instrumental accompaniment composed by lay Buddhists, constitute some of the more obvious musical activities whether they are called music or not (Douglas, 2010; Greene, 2004). The shrines, pagodas and monasteries that constitute the social gathering places for both the public and the monks include a variety of other sounds that I choose to examine here.

A visit to the Shwedagon Pagoda, the most revered shrine in Myanmar (see Figure 1), or to countless other pagodas, is a full sensory experience. Passing the gold and white nine-meter tall *chinthe* (lion-like) guardians and climbing over 100 steps, one emerges onto the pagoda platform with an elevated heart rate from the exertion in the tropical climate. Shoes or sandals have been removed and the marble tiles that surround the spire offer a tactile sensation unique to this space. During the monsoon season the tile is likely to be wet and slippery smooth. During the hot season the tile surface will burn the soles of the feet. Resting at the top for a breath, a deep inhalation of incense burning in one of several thousand receptacles confronts the olfactory sense. Gold leaf and gold paint decorate countless spires and images present a visual overdose of brilliant ornaments in bright shiny gold and white. And then there are the sounds.

Figure 1. Shwedagon Pagoda.

Countless bells and gongs ranging in size from one inch to five yards sound a constant tinkling and chiming, producing an aural glitter that accompanies the visual sheen. Through the perpetual tinkling, individuals chant prayers or sutras, or perhaps a group of devotees collectively recites verses from the Dhammapada.[1] Off to the side a monk may be reciting sutras or providing a discourse on the Abiddhama[2] for the laity. Prayers, chants, *kyi zi* (percussion plaques), and *kaung laung* (bells), create sonic and spatial layers of sounds ever present at the pagoda that may or may not be consciously noticed by visitors. These are sounds that resonate at the boundary of the audible and the inaudible: the boundary between the attended and the unattended. To understand these sounds I engage three groups of people: those people who make the bells and gongs (the objects); those who purchase, donate and play the gongs (the activities and uses); and finally the devote laity and monks who reflect on the meanings of these sounds and objects (the ideas or concepts).

Tanpawady Township in Mandalay, just south of the Mahamuni Pagoda (one of the most revered shrines in the country) is an area of about six blocks where approximately 150 people make all the gongs for Myanmar and much of Thailand. Virtually all of the gongs that are made in the country are constructed in this community. Only a small fraction of their work ends up in the hands of musicians. Travelling south along 84th street past the Mahamuni Pagoda are dozens of shops that hand carve Buddha images from marble or caste images of brilliant brass. The technologies, expertise and personnel that design bells and gongs are embedded into a larger industry of religious iconography. In fact, these are the same people. The technologies and expertise necessary to make Buddha statuary are roughly the same for many of the gong and bell styles.

Metal workers begin work at 2:00 in the morning, the coolest time of the day in this typically hot climate. The darkness allows the blacksmith to easily see cracks in the mould of a molten piece of metal and they often suffer eye damage as a result. Cognisant of their associations with a long, continuing and powerful tradition of alchemy, these metal workers are highly protective of their knowledge. While some gongs may find their way to a life in the music industry as a member of the *hsaing waing* ensemble or eastward to Thailand, the *kyi si* and *kaung long* instruments made in this region have explicitly religious (i.e. non music) lives and are purchased by consumers for non-musical ends.

In the Burmese context, *dana* (ritual offerings) is almost more important than good behaviour in the economy of *khammic* merit (*khamma*, Pali; *karma*, Sanskrit). Offerings to Buddhism—to the pagoda, to the monks, and to the monastery—is central to building religious merit. Indeed, good deeds earn one *khammic* merit but donating to the *sangha* is especially meritorious.

One of the primary social roles of the *sangha*, the order of monks, is to be a "field of merit"—a conduit through which the laity may make merit. Especially meritorious offerings might include sending your child to be initiated as a monk, building a pagoda, or supplying the materials for the pagoda. To be recognised as a big donor and a patron of Buddhism has been essential for every Burmese politician and king for hundreds of years (Schober, 2000). *Khammic* merit is earned through donations but also accrues to worldly political power. Ritual giving has a long tradition in Myanmar where all bells and gongs found at pagodas and monasteries are the results of generous benefactors. The pagoda sites that generate the most donations are also the places that have the most numerous, the largest and the most auspicious bells. Some of the largest bells in the world are found in Myanmar and were all cast for donations to religious shrines. King Bodapaya, for example, the longest reigning monarch of the Konbaung Dynasty (1782-1819), had the 90-ton Mingun Bell forged in 1810. Its creation was a large merit-making activity but also a powerful display of his royal

power. Here the exchange of merit for power articulates the parameters of politics in the Burmese context. Not only are bells and gongs given as donations themselves, they are then used to signal that a donation has been given to the monastery or pagoda. Thus they are both donations and the sound of donations. Donating and being seen and heard donating as a patron of Buddhism are central to performing authority and to legitimising any leader in Burma.

U Hla Aung, now in his 70s has spent his life in the industry forging Buddha images and bells in Tanpawady. His large compound and numerous workers portray a successful career in a lucrative industry. In discussing the preferred sound aesthetic of the instruments he makes, U Hla Aung directs conversations quickly to Buddhism and mental health. "The sound of the *kyi si* in particular is pure and clean. It imparts feelings of calmness, lowers the temperature of the body and helps one meditate. It also reaches beyond the world of human ears and is welcomed by spirits" (personal communication, July 2013). The sound is cooling and the sound waves penetrate into the body and mind as a peaceful cooling salve.

When I ask monks about the importance of sound at the pagoda they consistently speak of consciousness, mental awareness and the cultivation of particular mind states. The Buddha spoke in many sermons about four states of mind, the *Brahma-Viharas*, that are the divine or god-like dwellings, the lofty abodes in which the mind reaches outwards towards the immeasurable world of living beings, embracing them all in boundless emotions (Nyanaponika, 1999, 2013).

Metta (Loving Kindness), *Karuna* (Compassion), *Mudita* (Sympathetic Joy), *Upekkha* (Equanimity) are attitudes towards others and inculcate the most favourable relationships between people. They are the four different ways that the spiritually mature person relates to others according to their situation. These divine abodes are considered to be the ideal social attitudes, the springs underlying the ideal modes of conduct toward living beings. They are the great healers of social tension and conflict, the builders of harmony and cooperation and serve as potent antidotes to the poisons of hatred, cruelty, envy and partiality so widespread in modern life. They are *brahma* states because they are god like. They are called abodes (*vihara*) because they should become the mind's constant dwelling-places where we feel "at home". They should not remain merely places of rare and short visits, soon forgotten.

What then is the relationship between these states of mind and sound? *Metta* and *mudita* in particular are connected to the act of sounding and hearing the bells. After one makes an offering or prayer of any sort, in a public space or at a home shrine, one strikes the bells, usually *kaung long* or *kyi si*, to acknowledge the offering. As an act of loving kindness (*metta*) they invite others who hear the bell to share in the merit that has been made. To make an offering truly meritorious, other sentient beings such as humans or spirits are invited to participate in the *khammic* deed as well. While *dana* (offering) has a mundane political/social component and serves certain worldly power ends, *dana* also cultivates generosity and non-attachment as emphasised in the Buddhist canon. *Metta* is the desired state for dealing with fear and enemies in particular. The long sustaining tones of the *kaung long* and *kyi si* radiate from the source of merit, sending loving kindness to others by inviting them to partake of one's good *khamma*. The bell is *metta*, loving-kindness.

The mental state of *metta* results in an action that is identifiable and measurable and is a state that inspires outwardly visible future behaviour. *Mudita* in contrast, is a wholly internal state that contemplates the past events of others and cultivates joy and celebration from them. *Mudita* is difficult to quantify and measure, and cannot be identified by others, only by the self. It is known and felt only by the mind. *Mudita* is considered to be the most difficult of the *brahma viharas*, as it directly confronts base selfishness and jealousy. Sympathetic joy of someone's success is perhaps easy in the case of a parent delighting in the accomplishments of a child. To take delight in the accomplishments and successes of friends, colleagues, co-workers, strangers or enemies is much more difficult.

As I hear a bell, I recognise that someone has made an offering or a prayer and that the person making an offering or prayer is earning *khammic* merit. As an act of loving kindness (*metta*), that person is inviting me to share in his/her merit and to improve my own *khammic* legacy. As a receiver of the sound, I am not simply invited to share in the merit but, as several monks highlighted to me, I have an opportunity to be aware of and to celebrate someone else's success. I now celebrate that person's accomplishments, their meritorious deeds. Hearing the sound of the bell is, in effect, a reminder for me to cultivate *mudita*; to find joy in the accomplishments and advancements of someone else. As expressed to me by U Hla Aung, "I walk with my own agenda across the pagoda, focusing on my own problems; on myself. I suddenly hear the kyi si or a maung and I recognise someone else. Someone I don't know, perhaps, but someone who is earning merit and has invited me to join with them" (personal communication, July 2013). I have an opportunity to take joy and to celebrate. I have been invited to feel delighted by the action of someone else. The bell is *mudita*, sympathetic joy.

The *kyi si* itself offers some further connections to Buddhist thought. The *kyi si* is a suspended, roughly triangular-shaped slab of metal. For some, the shape points to the mythical Mount Meru, a mountain image that shows up in Buddhist art and architecture representing the centre of the physical, metaphysical and spiritual universe. When struck on the edge, the *kyi si* spins and creates an increasing and decreasing pulsing sound and visually transforms from a two-dimensional plate to a three-dimensional mountain.

In a conversation with U Hla Aung about the shape of the instrument, he sketched out with chalk, the typical shape of the *kyi si* that provides the best sound. As we continued to talk and as he shared his thoughts on his lifetime of making and thinking about the meanings of *dhamma* instruments, he continued to doodle with his chalk on the table emphasising particular lines and shaping his image. He progressed further to emphasise the spirits that witness the bell, the feelings of calmness that it produces, and the role the bell plays in actualising an ideal state of mind. "The bell is the Buddha," he said emphatically (personal communication, July 2013), and with a flick of the chalk the *kyi si* no longer looked like a triangle but in fact, an image of the Buddha in the *Bhumisparsa Mudra* (see Figure 2). Sitting in lotus position with the right hand fingertips touching the ground, this *mudra* depicts the moment of enlightenment when the earth was called to witness that the Buddha had overcome the temptations of Mara.[3]

Figure 2. Gong and bell maker, U Hla Aung.

The phenomenological knowing of a place is a multi-sensory experience. On the platform of the pagoda all five bodily senses are engaged in an experience that is set apart from the mundane and understood as sacred (bare feet, incense, white and gold visuals, bells chiming, etc.). Buddhist phenomenology recognises objects produced by the mind as a sixth sense, equivalent to our senses of sight, smell, touch, hearing, and taste. Like the other five senses, our mental states can facilitate understanding the world or they can deceive us and distort our knowing. The cultivation of *metta* and *mudita*, mental states of the divine, are part of this phenomenological experience of Buddhist space, is linked to the experience of producing and receiving sound, and offers insight into the sonic dimension of Buddhism. In examining the construction, distribution, and sounding of *kyi zi*, *kaung long* and other *dhamma* instruments, we see an aural dimension to Buddhist practice and a fuller appreciation of the soundscape of sacred space.

Endnotes

[1] The *Dhammapada* is a collection of sayings of the Buddha. It is one of the best known of the Buddhist scriptures.
[2] The *Abbidhama* is one of the most important Buddhist texts of the Theravada tradition. Compiled from in the 3rd century BCE, they contain systematic scholastic reworkings of the Buddhist scriptures.
[3] *Mara* is the demon that tempted Gautama Buddha prior to his enlightenment. Mara tried to lure the Buddha with countless worldly delights (power, wealth, beautiful women, etc.), but failed.

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FROM ANIMISM TO CHRISTIANITY: THE RELIGIOUS (AND MUSICAL) CONVERSION OF THE HMONG IN VIETNAM

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Abstract

Over the past three decades, the rapid conversion of approximately one third of the Hmong people in Vietnam to various forms of Christianity has been accompanied by a transformation of their spiritual and musical practices. Based on extensive fieldwork with the Hmong in Lào Cai province, this paper shows how emergent religious divisions are musically marked in Hmong communities of the region. The research seeks to understand how the Hmong are influenced by and becoming absorbed into competing transnational communities of ritual and musical practice, despite their relatively marginalised positions in Vietnam. Animist practices have informed their spiritual and cosmological beliefs since the earliest ethnographic accounts of Hmong culture were compiled, and most extended families continue to have at least one practicing shaman. Without a centrally administered organisational structure, animist practices are more readily influenced by neighbouring cultures—for example, numerous remnants of Vietnamese and earlier Chinese influences can be observed in these rituals. While the conversion of Hmong in the diaspora was accompanied by an attempt to preserve traditional music practices such as *qeej* performances at funerals, the Hmong in Vietnam have been encouraged to dispense with these traditions entirely in favour of adopting new sacred songs composed by European and North American missionaries and musicians in the diaspora.

This paper examines case studies of a Hmong funeral ceremony and a household New Year celebration to examine how religious and musical fractures in these communities have been tempered by periodic negotiations in everyday life.

STRUCTURED AND SONIC MOVEMENT SYSTEMS WITHIN THE *BALIA* RITUAL AMONG THE KAILI: RELIGIOSITY OBSERVANCES AND A SOUTHEAST ASIAN LOGIC OF PRACTICE

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Abstract

The *balia* as a healing ritual is a significant event within a cycle of social activities among Kaili communities in Central Sulawesi. This ceremony is not restricted to a specific individual with a specific sickness, but is also carried out to cleanse villages, to ensure good crops, as well as to socially recognise the ascension of an individual to become a *sando* (shaman). Structured movement and sonic systems are inherent components of an event, serving specific functions in each ceremonial phase. Analysing such components as meta-logics that organise the practice of rituals and allow individuals to change in relation to the possibilities that such horizons offer (Handelman, 1998), the *balia* among the Kaili serves culturally as a third space of human existence and interaction. At the macro level, activities within the *balia* ritual as a public event, act as a synchronic manifestation of belief systems and thus cultural links with other communities in Southeast Asia. In the interest of time, this presentation concentrates in the examination of three main aspects that lead to a Southeast Asian regional conceptualisation.

First, it looks at manifestations of religiosity within the *balia* ritual as an indigenous belief system present prior to the advent of *agama* (religion), and currently associated to *adat* (custom). Secondly, this presentation analyses the presence, role, and praxis of structured sonic and movement systems in *balia*. Lastly, as a region located outside historical centres of power such as the Sriwijaya and the Majapahit empire, and marginal to historical trade routes, the belief system and activities exhibited within *balia*, in relation to other rituals and performances beyond Kaili communities, are indicative of a regional "Logic of Practice" (Bourdieu, Handelman) hereby conceptualised as characteristically Southeast-Asian.

DANCE AS THE UNION OF THE OFFERING AND THE OFFERER: DEEP-ROOTED CONNECTIONS BETWEEN DAILY DOMESTIC RITUALS AND CEREMONIAL DANCES IN BALI (INDONESIA)

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Abstract

This paper, based on long-term fieldwork amongst Balinese Hindu families (Sebestény, 2015), sheds light on the structural continuity and coherence between small domestic rituals involving little offering baskets (*canang*) and the ceremonial dances performed at larger ceremonies in temples. It investigates the way dance is rooted in daily domestic ritual practice as a corporal *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1980).

The research involved the analysis and comparison, at different levels of ceremonial complexity, of: (1) The corporal *habitus* linked to offering rituals, describing the attitudes, postures, ritual gestures and ceremonial clothing involved, and (2) The structure and content of the offerings, especially the *canang* and *banten* made to "above" (*swah*) (Ottino, 2000). This exploration revealed that parts of the act of offering become more danced as the ceremonies get more complex. The offerings offered show a similarity in their basic structure that creates continuity between the simple and the complex ones. Certain offerings become more and more anthropomorphic as the ceremonies become more complex.

Ceremonial dance appears through this analysis as a unique kind of offering as it unites the act of offering and what is offered, that is, the dance itself. Offering and offerer are united through the embodiment of the dance by the dancer. The clothing of the dancer shows clear similarity with the shape of complex anthropomorphic offerings. This analysis traces a structural continuity and a strong coherence between the small domestic offerings (*canang*), the bigger ones, and the ceremonial dances. The investigation shows that the "union of the offering and the offerer," though not as total as in the ceremonial dance, is present at every level of the Balinese offering rituals, even in the small domestic offerings. This sheds light on how Balinese ceremonial (and non-ceremonial) dance practice is deeply rooted in offering rituals performed daily in every Balinese household.

BODILY DISPLAYS OF RELIGIOSITY: AS CANVAS, MACHINE, AND SOUND DEVICE

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PANEL: SOUNDING TREASURES FROM 1960S THAILAND: THE 2015 PROJECT TO RESTORE UCLA'S THAI INSTRUMENT COLLECTION AND REPATRIATE HISTORIC THAI MUSICAL MATERIALS

MUSIC OF THAILAND AT UCLA, 1960s TO THE PRESENT: INSTRUMENTS AS SOCIAL ACTORS AND CULTURAL ARCHIVES

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In 1972, the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) was featured in a documentary short, A World of Music, produced by UCLA Public Information. Seeking to showcase the Institute's pioneering efforts in cross-cultural performing arts education, the film highlighted four performance study groups, one of which was a Thai classical ensemble (Russell, 2013). The eighty-six seconds showing Thai specialist Professor David Morton and his students in rehearsal is the only known footage of the ensemble from that era, but the magnificently crafted instruments visible on screen are readily recognizable, and still with us at UCLA.[1]

Viewing this eighty-six seconds of frozen history from so long ago raises three central questions. First, how did UCLA come by its impressive collection of Thai musical instruments, and how have they fitted into what we do? Second, who are the instruments? I use the word "who" on purpose; I am thinking in terms of the individual biographies of instruments that have spent decades with us, yet began life, and some cases had prior careers, in Thailand itself. And third, in a related vein, what roles as social actors and cultural archives have the instruments played historically, and what roles do they play today?

UCLA's Acquisition of its Thai Instrument Collection

UCLA's acquisition of Thai instruments was jump-started by Professor Mantle Hood, a specialist in Indonesian music and well-known pioneer in American ethnomusicology. Having joined the UCLA Department of Music in 1954, Hood went on to found the renowned Institute of Ethnomusicology (1960-1973), forerunner to today's independent Department of Ethnomusicology (Conner, 2011). Hood strongly advocated what he termed "bi-musicality"—the idea that if one wishes to research the music of another culture, one should learn to perform it and thus try to get to know it from the inside (Hood, 1960). Accordingly, Hood applied for, and in 1958 was awarded, a $39,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to buy musical instrument sets from Java, Sunda, Thailand and Japan (Conner, 2011). Intended as a "working collection" to be used in day-to-day instruction, these four sets formed the early core of what is now UCLA's World Musical Instrument Collection.

Instrument acquisition in the late 1950s and early 1960s was not a simple thing, and the complex logistics of how suitable instruments were located, purchased, cleared through Customs, and transported half-way round the world makes for a fascinating tale. Fortunately, most of the relevant paperwork is well preserved in UCLA's Ethnomusicology Archive, and the Thai instrument acquisition is especially well documented.

Back in the late 1950s, it was the professional and personal friendship of two men that made the purchase of eighty-four Thai instruments possible: on the Thai side, the prominent composer Prasidh Silapabanleng,[2] and at UCLA, David Morton. Prasidh Silapabanleng (1912-1999) was not only a renowned artist in his own right, but also the son of Luang Pradit Phairoh, the most famous Thai classical musician of the first half of the 20ᵗʰ century (Wong, 2001, pp. 166-186). David Morton (1920-2004) was a UCLA professor who specialised in both Thai classical music and American popular music. Following intensive work in Thailand, Morton filed his Ph.D. dissertation at UCLA in 1964 and taught there until his retirement in 1985 (Morton, 1964; Conner, 2011; Morton, D. D, 2004). Through the efforts of these two men, three separate sets of Thai instruments were acquired during the 1960s. The initial purchase took place in 1960, with the instruments shipped from Bangkok to Los Angeles. The second occurred in 1965, and comprised the transfer to UCLA of a set of instruments used in the Thailand Pavilion of the New York World's Fair. The third, which featured a set of Mon instruments, was undertaken in 1969, and once again involved shipping instruments direct from Bangkok to Los Angeles. In all three cases, the involvement of Prasidh Silapabanleng and David Morton was crucial.[3]

How were the instruments used once they had arrived in their new home? In 1964 twelve ethnomusicology performance organisations first appeared in the UCLA catalogue as course offerings, and one of these was the Thai ensemble, taught by David Morton. This course was discontinued in 1973, on the dissolution of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, and the instruments fell silent.[4] Some of them came out of retirement briefly in 1986 to be played by visiting Cambodian musicians (Catlin, 1987, pp. 30-31), but thereafter they resided inconspicuously in our Gamelan Room, mute neighbours to the heavily used Balinese gamelan and Indian tabla.

A new chapter in their lives opened unexpectedly in February 2014, when two UCLA students, two UCLA administrative staff members and I put together a roundtable for the local chapter meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Our topic was UCLA's World Musical Instrument Collection, of which I had just become the first faculty director; in particular, we spoke of our efforts to provide the entire collection with the dedicated and better-informed care it had lost in 1998 when the longstanding museum scientist position was abolished (Armstrong et al., 2014). Immediately after the panel, we were approached by Professor Deborah Wong from the University of California, Riverside, herself a specialist in Thai music. She was accompanied by her then advisee, Dr. Supeena Insee Adler. They explained that Supeena is a professional Thai classical musician and instrument restorer as well as an ethnomusicologist, and suggested she assess the Thai instruments, which she did that summer. I then requested $8,000 from our instrument repair fund, Supeena went to Thailand to purchase supplies, and she spent about ninety-five hours between January and March 2015 on the restoration and tuning of the instruments.

Figure 1. Supeena Insee Adler restoring the khawng wong yai gong circle, 10 March 2015. Photo by author.

I documented the process via detailed interactive note-taking and still photography. By May 2015 the instruments had sprung back to performative life, and were ready to make their re-debut.

With $2,000 of funding from UCLA's Thai Studies Fund, on 23 May 2015 we held an evening of enthusiastically received public performances and talks on the newly restored Thai collection, titled "Music of Thailand at UCLA." We invited nine professional and skilled amateur performers of Thai classical instrumental music from California and Chicago to participate.

Figure 2. Public performance on the newly restored instruments, 23 May 2015. Photo by author.[5]

In addition, UCLA's Thai language teacher, Dr. Jenjit Gasigitamrong, brought three of her students to sing for a couple of numbers. Since then, over academic year 2015-2016, we have organised several events showcasing the instruments for guests from the Royal Thai Consulate-General of Los Angeles, the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Thai Community Arts and Cultural Center of Los Angeles, and the local chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology (Armstrong, 2015; Rees, 2016). Best of all, with support from the Consulate, the Cultural Center, the Luang Pradit Phairoh Foundation in Bangkok, and UCLA itself, Supeena was able to teach a course on music of Thailand and Laos in spring 2016, combining an academic survey with hands-on experience. Twenty students enrolled, four of whom were ethnomusicology graduate students, while sixteen were undergraduates from a variety of majors; about half the undergraduates were of Thai or Lao heritage. In fall 2016, we are once again running a Thai ensemble class, taught by Supeena. We hope this will be the start of a new performing and pedagogical career for the Thai instruments, and that their long retirement is well and truly over.

Who are the Instruments?

The second question central to this essay, "Who are the instruments?," is prompted in part by my role since November 2013 as the faculty member responsible for the UCLA World Musical Instrument Collection, and by the many hours I have spent looking at our instruments as I clean round them and organise them for displays. The issue also arose because of comments present in the archival documents we have, and because of Supeena's spontaneous excitement at discovering tidbits of instruments' histories as we got on with the job of restoration. To invoke Xiao Mei's thoughtful essay inspired by her experience with Chinese collections, we need an ethnography—I would say biography—of each individual instrument, rather than just general descriptions of groups or categories of instruments (Xiao, 2008).

This is, of course, easier said than done, especially at fifty or sixty years' remove, but even at this point we can get a hint of the directions research could take. For example, a letter from Prasidh Silapabanleng to David Morton mentions the history of two Mon gong circles that had travelled from a village on the Burmese border to Bangkok some decades before leaving for Los Angeles;[6] and at least three of the instruments bear the signature of famous musicians or instrument-makers. A small drum (rammana) is signed by Chin Silapabanleng (1906-1988). She was a daughter of the legendary classical musician Luang Pradit Phairoh and sister to Prasidh Silapabanleng, and was herself a renowned musician and teacher (Wong, 2004, pp. 200-204). A set of xylophone (ranat ek) keys, made of bamboo, carries the name of Tuan Paattayakul, a famous instrument-maker. A second set of keys, made of wood, has Prasidh Silapabanleng's name on them.[7] There seems to be the potential here to find out more about the individual histories of at least some of the instruments before they arrived at UCLA.

Instruments as Social Actors and Cultural Archives

Finally, I turn to the question of the roles played by these instruments—and indeed instruments more generally—as social actors and cultural archives. My involvement with our instrument collection happened to coincide with the publication in the journal Ethnomusicology of two major articles on organology, and I found the directions they were taking not only thought-provoking, but also consonant with my own developing interests as a newly minted instrument care-taker. I found myself increasingly intrigued with the social roles of the instruments I was trying to look after, and with precisely how so many of them exerted such a powerful attraction for so many people.

Eliot Bates's 2012 article "The Social Life of Musical Instruments" picks up on the concept advanced a few years earlier by Partow Hooshmandrad of a "lived organology," and argues for "taking objects, and particularly musical instruments, seriously—but not simply as things that humans use or make or exchange, or as passive artefacts from which sound emanates" (Bates, 2012, pp. 370, 364). The most intriguing formulation of this idea comes from Bates's invocation of political theorist Jane Bennett's conceptualisation of the "vitality of matter," the "force of things," and "the curious ability of inanimate objects to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle" (Bennett, 2010, pp. ix, 1, 6). In effect, and without intentionality, musical instruments become actors in social networks that include themselves, humans, other inanimate objects, and sometimes the divine. In the case of our Thai instruments, by way of just one recent example, the simple fact of their existence has revived ties going back sixty years between what are now the Luang Pradit Phairoh Foundation and the UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology (both entities' forerunners went by different names in the 1960s). Foundation representatives—including a younger

relative of Prasidh Silapabanleng—have participated by video and in person in two recent Thai music events at UCLA, and on 28 July 2016 three of us from UCLA visited the Foundation in Bangkok to present our work and receive expert feedback. More joint events are planned for the future.

It was also the presence of the instruments that caused us to track down what had happened to David Morton, who, unlike many of his colleagues, seemed to disappear from the ethnomusicological picture on retirement. Ultimately, we found an obscure but informative obituary, and were able to relay the contents to Morton's Thai and American contacts (Morton, D. D., 2004). In addition, as noted earlier, the physical presence of the instruments has re-started the study of Thai music at UCLA. And our magnificent Javanese gamelan, our kulintang, and our Persian instruments have the Thai collection to thank for the fact that we are migrating the successful model of restoration and supervised use to these other greatly respected, but long silent, sets of instruments. This is without even beginning to consider the values ascribed to these particular Thai instruments by the Thai musical community, and the discussions that their presence in Los Angeles and recent restoration have provoked (Adler, 2016).

Turning to the second of the recent organological articles published in Ethnomusicology, Megan Rancier's "The Musical Instrument as National Archive: A Case Study of the Kazakh Qyl-qobyz," here the author looks at the ways in which a selected instrument type can contribute to nation-building through its ability to function as a kind of cultural archive—one that documents "historical, social, musical, and emotional information," accumulates meanings, and provides access to those "accumulated meanings for the purpose of (re)interpretation" (Rancier, 2014, p. 386). I would suggest that our Thai instruments fulfil a similar archival function—not so much for a nation, as for the different communities that have engaged with them over the course of the 20th century, and now well into the 21st. And while Rancier's approach is of necessity predicated on the idea of the qyl-qobyz as an instrument category, I would argue that in our situation, as suggested by Xiao (2008), attention to individual instruments' biographies would further enhance our understanding of the roles played by many of the inanimate yet influential "things" peopling our collection and demanding our attention.

We more or less fell into the Thai instrument restoration project by accident: a happy chain of circumstance brought together an increasingly wide circle of interested parties, and one that has now extended to Thailand itself, re-forging institutional, professional and personal links dating back sixty years and promising a fresh efflorescence of shared endeavour in the years to come. At the heart of it all sit the instruments themselves, inanimate objects that have nevertheless driven us to action, to thought, and to the activation of networks of communication whose effects go far beyond the lives of just this one group of cultural artefacts.

Endnotes

[1] The film A World of Music is now accessible online. See the link provided by Russell (2013); the Thai ensemble is featured between 2'40" and 4'06".

[2] Thai personal names are romanised here according to individuals' preferred spelling or the most commonly used form; romanisation of instrument names follows the Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Southeast Asia volume (New York: Garland, 1998).

[3] Documents relating to these three purchases are preserved at the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive in Folders 016a and 016b, Collection 2002.01 ("UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology Collection," Box 6, Record ID:8189).

[4] Information from the Schedule of Classes, University of California, Southern Branch and University of California, Los Angeles, 1920/1921-2012/2013 (LD781.L7 A34, Boxes 2 and 3, UCLA Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA).

[5] Highlights of the 23 May 2015 performance may be accessed via the following link: https://archive.org/details/MusicOfThailandAtUcla23May2015highlights

[6] Letter of 18 January 1969, Folder 016a (see note 3 above).

[7] Information about the signatures on these three instruments comes from observations and translations by Supeena Insee Adler over January-March 2015.

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PANEL: SOUNDING TREASURES FROM 1960S THAILAND: THE 2015 PROJECT TO RESTORE UCLA'S THAI INSTRUMENT COLLECTION AND REPATRIATE HISTORIC THAI MUSICAL MATERIALS

GIVING SOUNDS, GIVING STORIES: THE DAVID MORTON THAI MUSICAL INSTRUMENT COLLECTION AT UCLA

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Abstract

The Thai musical instrument collection at UCLA, assembled by Dr. David Morton, has a prominent place in the collective memory of the Thai musical community. My project to restore these instruments, carried out over 2014-2015, provoked a resurgence of interest among Thai musicians around the world as well as at the Thai royal palace. Their symbolic value, which had remained dormant for decades, was suddenly felt by musicians who desired to play these instruments themselves. I examine the layered notions of ownership that musicians ascribe to these instruments, ranging from desires for their repatriation to expressions of the necessity of their "proper" use. The instruments, having come from a prominent musical family central to the Thai classical tradition, become a material manifestation of musicians' beliefs about their tradition, regardless of the present realities of their context and ownership. I explore this international discourse through fieldwork in Thailand and ongoing electronic communications to reveal the emerging mythologies that surround this particular set of instruments, and juxtapose this discourse with the evidence from archival materials in the U.S. and Thailand.

PANEL: SOUNDING TREASURES FROM 1960S THAILAND: THE 2015 PROJECT TO RESTORE UCLA'S THAI INSTRUMENT COLLECTION AND REPATRIATE HISTORIC THAI MUSICAL MATERIALS

SOUNDING TREASURES: DAVID MORTON'S 1960s THAILAND FIELD RECORDINGS OF SIGNIFICANT COMPOSITIONS BY LUANG PRADITHPHAIROH (SORN SILPABANLENG)

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Abstract

Before the advent of recording technology, Thai music was transmitted and preserved through performance practices and human memory. Much has likely been lost as master musicians have selectively withheld knowledge from younger generations. Luang Pradithphairoh (1881-1954) was one of the most important teachers, composers, and musicians of the Thai classical music tradition, who left a substantial body of repertoire to his students through oral transmission. These complicated and advanced compositions are now regarded as being the pinnacle of Thai artistic values. However, his school did not survive long after his passing. Luckily, before the school closed in 1967 a recording session was conducted at the master's house with the collaboration of his descendants and his students who became the leading musicians of the late twentieth century. At the time, American ethnomusicologist David Morton was in Thailand conducting his research at the school for his Ph.D. dissertation at UCLA, and he was invited to join the recording project. Dr. Morton had worked with all of the top Thai musicians from Luang Pradithphairoh's school and recorded hundreds of compositions onto tapes, all of which are now kept at the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive. Today, the Luang Praditphairoh Music Foundation and the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive are cooperating to repatriate these recordings and make them available to the public. This paper surveys our efforts to make the master's knowledge accessible to a new generation of Thai musicians.

PANEL: SOUNDING TREASURES FROM 1960S THAILAND: THE 2015 PROJECT TO RESTORE UCLA'S THAI INSTRUMENT COLLECTION AND REPATRIATE HISTORIC THAI MUSICAL MATERIALS

DAVID MORTON: THE *FARANG* WHO SAVED THAI MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS

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This article is based on Panya Roongruang's research focusing on how efforts in the early 20th century to develop a written transmission of Thai classical music resulted in the production of now very valuable historical records of a tradition in a constant state of transformation. Thai classical music is typically transmitted by oral tradition, where musicians learn by rote without music notation. Thais adopted many Western cultural practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in an effort to resist direct colonisation—this included the establishment of many Western music ensembles within the government, including brass bands and an orchestra. In this context of increasing knowledge of notated music, and an emerging perception that oral transmission had resulted in works of the past being lost, Thai scholars increasingly perceived a need to preserve history. The proposal to preserve Thai music in written form was initiated by the founder of the Thai Music Manuscript Project, Prince Damrong Rajanuphap. Beginning on February 19, 1930, Thai music manuscript committee meetings were held at Woradit Palace Hall every Thursday and Saturday. Phra-Jenduriyang was the transcription director, and Thai musicians performed each composition for the western-trained musicians to transcribe. The first phase of the Committee's work lasted until 1932 and was stopped by a revolution and subsequent period of instability, and the second phase of the project lasted from 1936 to 1942.

The committee was divided into four working groups:

> 1) The Thai music performers which included 25 musicians (including many of the most famous and important teachers of the time)
> 2) The music transcribers
> 3) The performers of western music—together numbering 33
> 4) The Thai musical notation approval committee—a group of 9 or 10

The working process was divided into four steps:

> 1) Transcription of the large gong circle part (representing the principle melody), which was then played back on the piano by the western trained musicians for the approval of the Thai musicians

> 2) Transcription of the remaining instrumental parts based on the large gong circle part

> 3) Thai music experts approved each instrumental variation played by the western trained musicians

> 4) Score copying—after all the parts were approved by the committee, the full score would be played for the Approval Committee. A total of 475 compositions were transcribed into staff notation when the project stopped completely in 1942; about 100 of these were transcribed into full score, and the others in one or more parts.

The original manuscripts, which were kept at the National Theatre, were destroyed by fire in 1960. Fortunately, David Morton, a doctoral student from UCLA who had come to Thailand to study Thai classical music for his Ph.D. dissertation, was allowed to microfilm all of the original scores in 1958-59. He brought fives rolls of microfilm back to the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the University of California. Copies of these microfilms were deposited at other Institutions, including at the Center for the Study of World Music at Kent State University. It is there, in 1993, that Panya Roongruang found the microfilm and established "The Lost Thai Music Restoration Project."

The purpose of this project has been to enter the 3,887 pages of microfilms into the Finale computer program, print them in camera-ready form, and have them published in Thailand. The working process includes:

1) Hand copying the music from microfilm, being called "a hand written version,"—here are two examples from the microfilm—in this first example notice that useful information is recorded on the manuscript, including the names of some of the players written over the instrument names—and in this second example, you can see the challenging of working with the materials

2) Entering music into computer using Finale program

3) Printing out the music from computer using a laser printing machine and keep them as a master version for publication—as seen in this example of the same piece, *Choet Jin*

The expected result is to have thirty-eight music books published for public use especially for music departments in educational institutions. The expenses for this project are being covered by individuals who appreciate the goals of the Restoration Project and are willing to help, as well as some institutions. By December 1998, there were 787 digitised pages of music published in five volumes, representing scores and parts for four major compositions and three shorter ones.

The publication of these first five books was sponsored by Kasetsart University in Bangkok and they have been delivered to the main institutions in Thailand and abroad for public use, such as the national Library of Thailand (including two music libraries); Department of Music, Faculty of Education, Chulalongkorn, University; Department of Music, Srinakarinwirot University; the Royal Academic Institute of Thailand; and the Division of Music, Kasetsat University. Copies are also with Mr. Siri Yongyuth, an original transcriber member of the Thai Music Manuscript Committee (who has since passed away) as well as many universities around the world including Kent State University, the University of California, and Monash University.

The Thai Music Restoration Project is still ongoing but without support from any institution. As of today the print-ready versions of four more major music books are complete and await publication.

The efforts of the *farang*, the Thai term for "foreigner", David Morton coupled with fortune and timing, have resulted in this immensely valuable manuscript collection being preserved. Panya Roongruang now seeks to bring these materials into an up-to-date format so that musicians and scholars today and in the future can use it.

LOVE SONGS AND NEW MEDIA: ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL STUDY
OF *KHAP TAI DAM* IN LAOS, A GENRE IN MUTATION
(Lightning Paper)

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The *Khap Tai Dam*, Context and Issues

This paper describes the mutations occurring in the practice of *khap* singing in the Tai Dam (or Black Tai) ethnic group of Laos. It will focus on the disappearance of an important genre, the love songs, but also the emergence of a new kind of setting, far from the informal context of traditional performances.[1]

The *khap* singing of Tai Dam ethnic group, named *khap Tai Dam*, is a monody close to recitation. It is based on a fixed technique built around a musical model[2] with lyrics varying according to the context of the performance. The *khap tai dam* is performed by a soloist, but the refrain, recurring between every phrase, is sung in chorus by the audience. Performed during family or community gatherings, the *khap* entertains, gives advice to younger generations, enables the expression of personal feelings, and creates social cohesion.

The *khap tai dam* can be sung by any member of the community, young or old, man or woman. There are no professional singers in the villages visited. However, particularly talented singers are praised by the community and called *moo-khap*, "singing specialists." Although there are no teachers or formal transmission techniques of the *khap*, the mechanisms of apprenticeship can be described in three steps: (1) The implicit assimilation of the basic melody by immersion in the music and imitation; (2) The interpretation of simplified forms of singing, called *khap iin*; (3) The explicit learning of more complex lyrics composed of metaphors, comparisons, and embellished with rhymes.[3]

The interviews conducted in five Tai Dam villages of Laos show a decrease of *khap* performance, especially among younger generations. Compared with the generation before, today's teenagers sing very little, and are usually limited to the practice of *khap iin*, the simplified form of *khap tai dam* that all members of the community are able to perform. Today, most of the performers are at least in their forties. While several elements can explain this phenomenon, this paper will highlight two main factors influencing the performance of *khap tai dam* and its frequency: the disappearance of love songs, and the increasing availability of electricity and new media such as the VCD (Video CD).

Love Songs

Khap Tai Dam are often described as repartee songs between male and female singers. However, during five field studies done in Tai Dam villages of Laos, this was not seen. Traditionally, repartee songs (and love songs in particular) were performed in the village at the end of the day, or during parties. Single young men used to walk around the village with musical instruments to meet young women who were spinning cotton around the fire. A young man would play or sing to his sweetheart, who could answer by singing. In certain cases, the young duo would engage in a form of melodic duel, where one declares his or her love while the other might question these feelings or to the contrary, declare that she or he is not worthy of them.

Whether performed during parties or around the fire, love songs are generally associated with the younger generation. However, today's teenagers no longer perform those kinds of songs. Two main factors can explain the strong decline of repartee songs, and the near disappearance of love songs performed amongst young people. The first is the loss of one of the traditional contexts of the performance: with the arrival of electricity and manufactured clothes on the market, young women no longer gather around the fire to spin cotton. Secondly, we have seen a mutation of customs. Younger generations no longer use singing as a way to meet and discuss. Teenagers go to school, sometimes leave their village to work in cities, and listen to Lao and Thai pop music.

These developments disconnect the younger generation from the traditional mechanisms of transmission of the *khap Tai Dam*, and have led to a substantial decline in *khap* performance. Love songs are scarce. And while they used to be the first kind of *khap Tai Dam* performed by teenagers, young people sing less. With young people singing less or not at all, the traditional form of love song,[4] deeply connected to this generation, is slowly disappearing.

Electricity and New Media

The accessibility of electricity has also brought significant changes in the visited villages. This has a direct impact on the *khap* interpretation, and leads to the appearance of a new context of performance.

The *khap Tai Dam* is traditionally performed during or after a meal following a ceremony, or during parties and gatherings in the community. The setting is informal (see Figure 1), with everybody sitting on the floor around the food. On demand or spontaneously (and usually helped by alcohol), a person starts singing, but remains among the other guests, some of whom continue to eat and talk. Between every phrase of the song, the whole assembly sings the refrain in chorus to show their joy and encourage the soloist.

Figure 1. Informal setting of the *khap Tai Dam*.

However, a new setting is emerging with the increased availability of electricity. More formal, it is linked to important or official celebrations such as political events. In this setting, the singer does not sit amongst the other guests, but stands, alone or with other singers, in front of a banner describing the event (see Figure 2). The *khap Tai Dam* is sung into a microphone, the soloist's voice amplified by huge speakers. Isolated from the singer, the audience does not join in the refrain.

Figure 2. New setting of the *khap Tai Dam*.

This formal setting influences the role and the musical technique of the *khap Tai Dam*. First of all, it strongly reduces the role of *khap Tai Dam* as a creator of social cohesion by cutting off the collective performance of the refrain. The setting also influences the singing itself, as the performer, who often feels uncomfortable standing in front of a large gazing audience, shortens his or her song and leaves little room for improvisation and creativity.

With the availability of electricity, video CDs (VCDs) of *khap Tai Dam* produced in Vietnam have also quickly gained popularity in Laos, where they are described as showing "the real *khap*," performed by "real Tai Dam." The Tai Dam community in Vietnam, still living in what is considered the native region of the group, is seen as the symbol of an authentic Tai Dam identity. The VCDs of *khap Tai Dam*, depicting an idealised portrait of the community, contribute to the construction of this image and influence the *khap* interpretation in Laos. Although they often replace live performances, on the other hand the VCDs do offer high quality songs that inspire performers to emulate traditional singers in Laos. Conveniently, the VCDs can be taken by young people leaving for the city, helping them maintain a link with the cultural life of their community and its implicit mechanisms of musical apprenticeship.

Conclusion

The *khap Tai Dam* is a form of singing undergoing constant mutations, where genres tend to disappear (such as love/repartee songs) and others appear (including political songs, and staged songs in formal contexts). Today *khap Tai Dam* is at a crossroads, as the genre that is used to introduce young people to this tradition is performed less and less. The declining interrelation between Tai Dam youth and love song performance, has led directly to a significant decrease of *khap* performances, particularly among younger generations. Indirectly, it has induced a modification of the musical practices as well as the apprenticeship mechanisms (which have become more formal). The role of new media in this context is somewhat paradoxical, accelerating the decline of live performances, while at the same time inspiring singers and charming younger generations.

As the *khap* in its traditional form and setting remains an important source of entertainment and social cohesion, live performance, although becoming scarcer, is unlikely to disappear. However, one can forecast the prominence of two opposing forms of performance at the expense of the traditional one: the performance of *khap iin* (the simplified form of *khap Tai Dam* that can be performed by all), and performances linked to the more formal settings (usually political songs with little room for improvisation).

Endnotes

[1] This research is based on five field trips in Laos between 2008 and 2013 in five Tai Dam villages in Bolikhamsay and Hua Phan province (centre and north Laos).

[2] The musical model is a limited number of basic melodies, varied according to the context, the lyrics, the tones of the language, and the tastes and talent of the performer. See Lissoir (2016) for the complete development of this concept and its applications to *khap Tai Dam*.

[3] For more information about the apprenticeship of *khap Tai Dam,* see Lissoir (2016).

[4] The only kind of love songs that could be heard during fieldwork were fictional love songs, in which married singers would pretend to be single and perform a solo love song.

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FROM RURAL TO URBAN: TRANSITIONS IN REPRESENTATIONS OF IDENTITY THROUGH *LUK THUNG*

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The folk-turned-pop genre of *luk thung* (ลูกทุ่ง) has been the subject of interest in recent studies of Thai music. The researcher James Mitchell (2015), in his recently published book, "Luk Thung: The Culture and Politics of Thailand's Most Popular Music," focuses on how *luk thung* has been used in recent political expression and how the genre's association with the rural, northeastern or Isaan region coupled with the genre's popularity, has helped spread and commodify regional identity. Expanding upon Mitchell and others' work (see Siriyuvasak, 1990; Jirattikorn, 2006; Lockhard, 1998) this paper seeks to show how the portrayal of that identity in contemporary *luk thung* songs exhibits a resistance against the northeastern region's assimilation into national narratives. In the past *luk thung* has served as a medium for the expression of feminine power and sexuality of northeastern artists. In contemporary *luk thung* the expression of regional identity has become more pronounced, but the expression of feminine sexuality has become more subdued in conjunction with symbols of rural, Isaan identity. In addition, many contemporary songs displaying a rural identity also present a negative picture of urban life.

Before examining musical examples, I would like to give a brief history of *luk thung* and its connection to the northeastern region of Thailand. *Luk thung* is a fusion genre of popular music that emerged in Thailand in the mid-1900s. While it developed out of musical elements from varying traditions including both rural, folk traditions and court traditions associated with urban centres of central Thailand, *luk thung* first gained its popularity in rural areas, such as Isaan. The northeastern region of Thailand, or Isaan, is primarily dependent upon agriculture and can be seen in the shaded section on the following map.

Figure 1. Isaan, northeastern region of Thailand (Open Street Maps by M. DeKievit, 2016).

The dry nature of the land on the Korat plateau, which defines the landscape, also makes agricultural pursuits difficult and has greatly contributed to the northeast being one of the poorest regions in the country. This region has long been populated by Lao communities and many cultural traits of the region are still very similar to those of their neighbours to the North. The regional Isaan dialect is similar to Lao, although its written language differs thanks to 20th century policies of nationalisation that introduced the Thai alphabet and language in schools. Due to cultural and subsistence differences, there have historically been biases held by central Thais toward people of the northeastern region. Because of the economic difficulties of this region however, increasing numbers of Isaan people have travelled to urban areas of central Thailand for work beginning in the early 1900s. It is this trend that brought regional cultural traditions, such as music to the capital of Bangkok.

Since then, *luk thung* has become a nationally popular genre of music, but is still heavily associated with the northeastern region as can be seen through many of its typical musical characteristics. I have elaborated on the distinctive characteristics of *luk thung* outlined by Amporn Jirattikorn (2006) in her paper, "Authenticity and Modernity in Thai Country Music" (pp. 24-50). The first is a focus on economically or socially disadvantaged groups within society, which includes the romanticisation of country life or longing for a travelling lover, who has gone to work in the city. Second, singers with rural origins. Third, the use of unique vocal ornamentation styles, two of the most important being *euan* (เอื้อน), a style of melodic

ornamentation, and *luk khor* (ลูกคอ), a type of heavy vibrato. Examples of these ornamentations can be heard in "Nam Da Sao Wieng" (น้ำตาเสาเวียง,) or "Tears of a Vientienne Girl," by Suraphon Sombatcharoen (สุรพล สมบัติเจริญ) (see Pansuwan, May 2011), a well-known, early singer of *luk thung*. In this example the main melody is first played by a *saw duang*, then by the singer who adds ornamentation. Next, the use of simple and direct language, and also the use of regional, Isaan words. And finally, the use of Northeastern, regional instruments, such as the *khaen* (แคน) mouth organ, and *pin* (พิณ), a three-stringed lute.

Some of these elements have changed as *luk thung* has moved farther into the popular sphere. For example, many present day singers of *luk thung* are not from the Isaan region, and therefore do not sing using the aforementioned vocal techniques. When present, these musical characteristics remind listeners of *luk thung*'s strong historical association with Isaan identity and rural life.

Recordings of *luk thung* began appearing in the 1950s. It did not become widespread until the 1980s, largely due to the popularity of one of the genre's biggest stars, Phumpuang Duangjan (พุ่มพวง ดวงจันทร์), the first "Queen of Luk Thung." Ethnomusicologist Andrew Shahriari (2015) explains that "[she] crafted an onstage persona that appealed to the fashion-conscious Bangkok urbanites while maintaining pride in her upcountry roots" (p. 187). One of the traits of this iconic singer was that her songs often expressed an unashamed assertion of feminine sexuality and desire, which is clearly reflected in her song *Pu Chai Nai Fan* (ผู้ชายในฝัน), or "Man of My Dreams" (see กรุงไทย มิวสิคออนไลน์, August 2014). The first verse opens with the lyrics:

> Since I'm such a full-bodied woman,
> I haven't found a man who satisfies me.
> Last night I had a dream so good, I should be slapped.
> I dreamt that I met the perfect man. (Pumpuang, 2004)

Pumpuang goes on to further to describe this amazing man from her dreams as the perfect partner, both romantically and sexually. Consistently throughout the song she almost falls asleep, only to wake up bothered by dreams of desire. She displays sensuality not only through lyrics however, but also through her vocal delivery. This can be observed most clearly in a line that appears at the end of each verse, where she sings: *sia dai jang* (เสียดายจัง), or "What a shame!" Each time she sings this line, the music stops momentarily and she sighs in regret as she remembers this fictional man that she longs for.

Pumpuang's extraordinary popularity among diverse audiences is not matched by *luk thung* artists today. Mitchell (2015) writes that there is a divide among *luk thung* fans who favour newer artists and those who view modern artists as having lost authenticity in their music (pp. 126-127). In addition to newer songs leaving out traditional musical elements, which have led to a perceived loss of authenticity, newer songs often feature expressions of sexuality in a similar fashion as urban, popular music. At the same time, many songs including markers of rural identity have strayed away from the same expression of sexuality.

One example of an artist who combines rural and urban themes is Khaothip Thidadin (ข้าวทิพย์ ธิดาดิน). The music video for her song "O.K. B'ai" (O.K.บ่อ้าย) opens with her riding through a field on the back of a buffalo. Musically, this song shows signifiers of Isaan identity in its use of vocal ornamentation, Isaan words, and inclusion of Isaan instruments. The music video also features several visual elements of rural identity, including country backdrops, people doing farm activities, and regional patterns on clothing. Khaothip has several hand motions that are associated with this particular song, but does not dance much besides (see GMM GRAMMY OFFICIAL, November 2012).

In contrast to Khaothip's songs, which display a rural identity, but are not highly sexualised, the artist Ying Li Srijumpol (หญิง ศรีจุมพล) displays a much different persona. While Ying Li is a *luk thung* artist who hails from Buriram province in the northeastern region and sings using vocal ornamentation, her performances share more similarities to popular music styles. Unlike many *luk thung* songs, which feature stories in their music videos, emphasising the narrative quality of the genre, the majority of Ying Li's music videos show her and backup dancers on a stage with flashing lights, or in an urban backdrop. Her clothing is also less representative of regional identity, but is instead very modern, often consisting of miniskirts or shorts, crop tops, high heels and glittery fabrics. Additionally, the dancing element of Ying Li's performance is more active and sexualised, featuring hip thrusts and upper body arches. One example of this is the stage performance of her song, "Kor Jai Tur Laek Bur Tor" (ขอใจเธอแลกเบอร์โทร). This performance replaces elements of regional identity with a more urban, sexually aggressive persona (see GMM GRAMMY OFFICIAL, January 23, 2013).

The contrast of these two artists displays the tendency of sexuality to be coupled more with urban identity and to pair rural, Isaan identity markers with modesty and practicality. This trend also coincides with a trend in music videos of some *luk thung* artists to symbolically vilify urban life. One example of this is the song "Jao Glap Ma Ay Dee Jai Daa Glap Bai Ja Dee Gwa" (เจ้ากลับมาอ้ายดีใจ แต่กลับไปจะดีกว่า) by Man Maneewaan (แมน มณีวรรณ) (RsiamMusic:อาร์สยาม, July 13, 2014). This music video tells the story of a father and his young daughter, living on a farm raising chickens. Tension builds when the viewer learns that the mother of the child left the father for a rich individual wearing a suit and driving an expensive car. In contrast to the father, who is always shown wearing simple clothing, and most notably, a checked pattern cloth that is traditionally worn by men in the Isaan region called a *pakama* (ผ้าขาวม้า), the mother is shown in high heels and short, fancy dresses, along with heavy make-up and jewellery. Her choice in lifestyle is clearly more suited to an urban landscape, while his reflects country living and Isaan identity. Throughout the video, the mother is portrayed as a villain, constantly trying to take the daughter away, believing that she would be better off in a rich home in the city. At one point her antagonism toward the father is so great that she begins to throw eggs, his livelihood, at his face. The conflict is resolved when the daughter chooses to stay with her father in the country. The symbolism of this relationship can represent the pressure felt by rural communities to assimilate to a more urban way of life and the response that country living is wholesome and not in need of change.

This type of sentiment is also shown in the music video for the song "Hua Jai Pigan" (หัวใจพิการ) by Nut Wilawal (นุช วิลาวัลย์) (RsiamMusic:อาร์สยาม, April, 2013). This song relates the tale of heartbreak for the singer, who has been dumped by her boyfriend in favour of "someone better." The narrative progresses as the new girl he met in the city is brought to see his country home, tripping on multiple occasions throughout the visit while attempting to traverse grass fields in her high-heeled shoes. The choice of attire for the main character, long skirts and collared shirts up to her neck, contrasts drastically with the new girlfriend's miniskirts and crop tops, showing not only a difference in identity, but also in modesty. At the end of the video, she tries to ask her ex to take her back only to be pushed away, falling to the ground and cutting her hand on a piece of wood. The singer thus becomes victim of both her ex, and the perceived corruption of the city that has seduced him and turned him against her. Through its romanticisation of simple living, the video associates modesty and honesty with rural life, while problematizing the pop-cultural and political, "modern is better" rhetoric that is encroaching on rural spaces.

In the present day, Thailand has spent a great deal of resources on efforts to promote nationalism. This is mainly done through language and national history education programs that are required in classrooms around the country, which seek to give Thai people of different regions and cultural backgrounds a single narrative of nation. The changes in musical and visual characteristics used in contemporary *luk thung* music show however, that this region still seeks to maintain a separate, rural identity. Historically rural music genres like *luk thung* have not shied away from expressing sexuality, but now songs with traditional musical characteristics are less sexualised than those with a popular, urban style. In addition, many contemporary music videos express the pressure felt by people in the Isaan region to modernise and assimilate to a national whole. Throughout the past century, central Thailand has absorbed northeastern food and music traditions, which has helped to ease the bias held against people from that region. Despite the incorporation of many Isaan traditions into mainstream Thai culture however, the shifts in sexualisation and the vilification of urbanity in contemporary songs shows a push back against assimilation into central Thai culture and a desire to maintain a discrete and separate regional identity.

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CONTEMPORARY CROSS-CULTURAL COMPOSITION FOR THE FREE-REED MOUTH ORGAN *KHAEN*

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The *khaen* is a bamboo free-reed mouth organ prominent among people of Lao ethnicity in Laos and Northeast Thailand, which now circulates throughout mainland Southeast Asia as an instrument in traditional and modern ensembles. I discuss my ongoing project, now two decades long, to promote the *khaen* as an instrument in the international contemporary concert music tradition through composing, commissioning and performing original music for the instrument. In this paper, I focus on the musical material and compositional strategies employed in the existing repertoire. My reflections on the ethical and cultural aspects of my cross-cultural composition practice may be found in Adler (2007).

In Laos and Northeast Thailand, the *khaen* is traditionally employed as the primary instrumental accompaniment to a solo singer, called *maulam*. Both *maulam* and *maukhaen* (*khaen* player) perform in an interactive, improvised manner, in a variety of performance genres each with characteristic melodic and rhythmic patterns. Performances for entertainment take place at temple festivals, in public markets and other public settings, and the *khaen* is also performed in spirit healing rituals. Today, the *khaen* is also a prominent component of folk music curricula in public schools and universities where it appears in ensembles that accompany dance—these include *khaen wong*, ensembles of many *khaen*, and *poong laang*, a widely popular ensemble including *khaen*, *woot* (panpipe), *poong laang* (xylophone), *phin* (lute), and percussion. And it is frequently seen in popular music performances with amplified *poong laang* ensemble or rock instruments (drum, bass, guitar, or keyboard) that often leave it sonically overwhelmed, functioning more as a visible symbol than an audible component of the music. While traditional performance practices and contexts are in decline, and popular performances leave the *khaen* functioning more visually than sonically, the *khaen* remains recognised as the preeminent musical instrument of the Lao in Laos and Isaan and a symbol of ethnic and linguistic identity.

Other mouth organs from Asia have been internationally recognised as concert instruments for contemporary composition for decades. Due in part to the efforts of Mayumi Miyata, composers including John Cage, Toru Takemitsu and Toshio Hosokawa have written works for the Japanese *sho*. The Chinese *sheng* has been championed by players such as Hu Jianbing and Hong Wang the United States, Wu Wei in Germany, Wang Zheng-ting in Australia, and many others in China, and it is included in internationally touring multi-cultural ensembles such as the Silk Road Project, the Asian Art Ensemble and the Atlas Ensemble. Many composers have written for *sheng*—just a few of the better-known ones include Tan Dun, Huang Ruo, Unsuk Chin, Yuji Takahashi, Kee Yong Chong, Zhou Long and Chen Yi. Domestic players trained in both traditional playing and contemporary concert music, and who read Western musical notation, have made these instruments commonplace in the contemporary music scenes in Japan and China. In addition, the artist Gamin has performed collaborative improvisations and original compositions on the Korean *saenghwang*, the Korean version of the *sheng*.

My work with the *khaen* began in 1994 with learning the tradition through fieldwork, library research and transcribing recordings, and continued with developing a personal vocabulary of traditional and outside-traditional improvisations that eventually led to a number of original compositions in different forms of Western musical notation. After composing and performing a number of solo and ensemble works for *khaen*, I began to commission other composers to write for the instrument. To facilitate this, I prepared a written guide for composers to help them understand the *khaen*, the basic materials of traditional playing, and its non-traditional capabilities. This guide is available for free on my website.[1]

My repertoire now includes seventeen works by six different composers: eleven solo compositions, one solo with electronics, and five ensemble works. Recordings of these works have been released on four compact discs, as well as on YouTube and Instant Encore, and I have performed them in the U.S., Thailand, and Singapore. In addition, collaborative improvisations including the *khaen* appear on CD, and on the websites CDbaby and YouTube.[2]

Khaen Construction

The *khaen* is a bamboo free-reed mouth organ with sixteen pipes mounted in two rows into a wooden wind chest that is held between the hands. It is played by blowing or drawing air through the wind chest. An air

release hole in each pipe prevents the reed from sounding unless the hole is covered by a finger or stopped mechanically. The *khaen* is a polyphonic instrument as any or all of the pipes can sound simultaneously. It plays a two octave diatonic minor scale (with one pitch duplicated on each side) and is built in a range of sizes and pitch levels. It is therefore best understood and notated as a transposing instrument. I recommend notating the instrument in A minor (using treble clef), and this convention is also employed by ethnomusicologists who have written about the *khaen* (for example, Miller, 1985). The layout of the pitches is somewhat counter-intuitive at first but facilitates the easy performance of the five different pentatonic or hexatonic modes that are used in traditional playing. Specifically, ease of performance results from fingers not needing to change position at all, or having a few fingers that cover only two adjacent pipes—because the hands and pipes are too close to the players' face to be visible while the instrument is being played.

Traditional *khaen* playing is a combination of drone and elaborated melody. Each of five available melodic modes calls for one or more fixed drones (played by the fingers or stopped with wax), and an improvised melody that is linearly and harmonically elaborated. Creative playing involves the effective use of melodic cells and short conventional melodic patterns, effective embellishment and idiomatic rhythmic character. *Khaen* construction and traditional music have been discussed in other sources and so are not discussed further here (see for example, Miller, 1985).

Contemporary Compositions for *Khaen*

Contemporary compositions written for *khaen* reflect strategic use of the construction of the instrument and relation to aspects of traditional playing. I have employed the combination of drone and melody. Some works, such as *The wind blows inside* (1997) and *Three Lai* (1996), include explicit reference to traditional genres using traditional mode and drone combinations and melodic patterns. In other works, I select drone pitches that are not traditional, and hold these with the fingers, thus constraining the other fingers to certain pipes. This results in non-traditional melodic or harmonic patterns that can inspire new melodies or chords. I have employed this technique in the compositions *Epilogue for a Dark Day* (2001) and *Tashi Delek* (1998) (Adler, 2002).

The structure of drone and melody is expanded in Sidney Marquez Boquiren's composition *Angel Music* (2007). In this work, two independent melodies, one played by each hand, circulate in loops of differing lengths as one or more drones are held. To facilitate reading, the hands are notated on separate staves. This approach combines the traditional structure of drone and melody with a polyphonic conception and a form inspired by American minimal music.

Another aspect of traditional playing that is reflected in contemporary composition is the use of structured improvisation. Traditional playing is improvisation structured according to conventional genres, as discussed above. My contemporary practice includes open-ended (free) improvisation, as well as compositions that call upon the performer to improvise using given materials, as in *Epilogue for a Dark Day*, *Tashi Delek*, and *Telemetry Lock* (1999).

Because the reeds are contained inside the wind chest of the instrument and do not make physical contact with the player, the *khaen* has few capabilities for so-called extended techniques—techniques of playing that fall outside of traditional playing. However, techniques of playing other mouth organs may be applied to the *khaen*, such as fluttertongue, and fluttertongue-attack. Fluttertongue (the Chinese *sheng* technique is called *hua-she*) may be sustained during a blow (as opposed to a draw), as in measure 50 of Christopher Burns' composition *Triangulation* (2009) (Figure 1). Fluttertongue-attack involves a brief fluttertongue preceding an accented note or chord, and also must be performed with a blow.

Chord-on-attack (Chinese *da-yin*) is a traditional technique that has also been employed in contemporary compositions. A chord is played and some of the notes are immediately released while others sustain. The result is a dynamic accent with harmonic content. Examples may be seen in measures 44, 46, 51, and 52 of Figure 1, where each chord-on-attack is followed by a progressive release of sustaining tones akin to the decay of a bell in which different harmonics decay at different rates.

Figure 1. Christopher Burns, *Triangulation* (excerpts), ©2009, used by permission of the composer.

While the structure of traditional *khaen* playing is drone-and-melody, the instrument is also capable of supporting polyphonic textures. Such a texture can be difficult to maintain from a compositional perspective, because the narrow range limits melodic compass or results in frequent voice-crossings or overlaps. Measure 45 of Christopher Burns' *Triangulation* (Figure 1) illustrates two-part polyphony against a sustained third voice, where narrow melodic compass and distinct rhythmic values keep the voices distinct. In Sidney Boquiren's *Angel Music*, the two cyclic melodies are each confined to being played on one side of the instrument. Because the range of pitches on each side of the instrument spans nearly the entire range of the *khaen*, the two melodies frequently cross or overlap. The sounding result is more of a cyclically patterned texture than of two independent melodies.

In two of my compositions, I have sought to develop the polyphonic capability of the instrument by utilising textural strategies to keep voices distinct. Figure 2 is an excerpt from *The wind blows inside* demonstrating the simultaneous juxtaposition of four distinct sonic entities: a drone (indicated by a diamond-shaped notehead), a harmonic supporting voice played with a rapid unmeasured tremolo, and two melodic voices that move first in counterpoint, and then join to play in parallel octaves. Sustaining one layer with tremolo allows it to remain sonically distinct from the other moving melodic voices despite frequent overlaps.
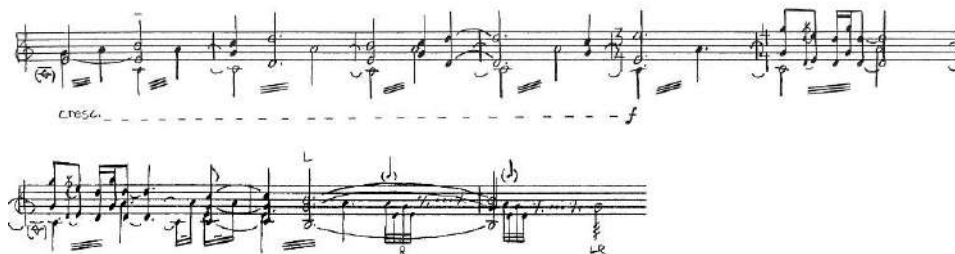
Figure 2. Christopher Adler, *The wind blows inside* (excerpt), 1997.

A similar strategy is employed in my composition *Telemetry Lock* (1999), which includes a sustained polytextural structure combining two drones, a rapidly moving melodic line, a registrally-distinct slowly moving melodic line, and sporadic, accented, rhythmically isolated chords. Some of these layers are improvised using given content, while others are through-composed.

The *khaen* has also functioned in a chamber setting, in works such as my *Three Lai*, for *khaen*, violin and viola, *Three Body Problem* (1999), for *khaen* and cello, and David Loeb's *Three Friends of Winter* (2004), for *khaen* and ensemble. It is beyond the scope of this paper to cover the compositional approaches to combining *khaen* with Western instruments, although there is some discussion of *Three Lai* in Adler (2007).

Jeff Herriott has treated the imprecise tuning of the *khaen* in *Patterns in a Wide Field* (2011) by combining *khaen* with a pre-recorded audio track that includes sampled *khaen* sounds as well as electronically generated sounds that are detuned, creating a broader field of microtonal pitch activity that recontextualises the *khaen*'s slight out-of-tuneness.[3]

The composer David Loeb has composed a number of works for solo *khaen* that employ somewhat conventional Western classical melodic and harmonic writing, but are especially effective due to a sensitive use of the *khaen*'s simultaneous harmonic and melodic capabilities. In these works, the number of independent voices freely changes, supporting harmonies appear above, below, and around melodic voices,

and expressive dynamics are intensified by accumulating or dispersing textures. All of these techniques are very idiomatic to the *khaen* and help to compensate for its relatively limited pitch and dynamic ranges.

At my suggestion, David Loeb also composed a trio for three *khaen* at different pitch levels, *The Maltese Plaza in Fog* (2010). He selected three instruments from those I had available (D minor, G minor, and B-flat minor). In combination, they offer an expanded pitch range as well as chromatic capabilities over some of the range. I currently perform this work by playing one part live along with pre-recorded versions of the other two parts.

In the future, I hope to perform this work live with three *khaen* players, although at present I am the only one performing most of these compositions. Two *sheng* players in Hong Kong have recently begun playing two of my compositions, and it is my hope that this is a sign that the *khaen* will gain more performers and increasingly become a part of the international contemporary concert music scene.

Endnotes

[1] http://christopheradler.com/khaen-for-composers.pdf
[2] Links to all published recordings may be found at http://christopheradler.com
[3] In my experience, although *khaen* are carefully tuned when constructed, *khaen* players and listeners tolerate some degree of imprecision in the tuning, and over time instruments can go a little bit out of tune and remain in use. In practice, *khaen* exhibit variation in timbre and effective tuning.

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WRITING FROM ABOVE ABOUT DANCES FROM BELOW: NOMINATING THE B'LAAN INDIGENOUS GROUP FOR UNESCO'S REPRESENTATIVE LIST

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Abstract

From August 10 to 18, 2015, the local government of Koronadal City in the southern region of Mindanao, Philippines hosted Pyesta Kolon Datal, an international dance festival that prominently featured the B'laan indigenous group. The B'laans are believed to be the original settlers in this part of the country before the Muslims came, and the influx of Christians from the central and northern Philippines. Therefore, they provided for the festival autochthonous legitimacy.

Because of the support Koronadal received from UNESCO's CIOFF (International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts), the festival was able to bring in dance groups from eight countries. The B'laans found themselves performing their traditional music and dances, alongside members of visiting foreign and national dance companies. What are the gains and losses in Koronadal's decision behind featuring the expressive culture of the B'laans?

In narrating the author's experience as an invited speaker for the festival, this paper articulates the challenges of writing from a position of power and yet also of an "insider", as a Filipino and a former member of a national dance troupe. It is from this multiplex positionality where the author will talk about his experience as the lead researcher and writer in nominating the B'laans for the UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Representative List.

In the early twenty-first century, the ways by which marginalised communities are represented through international events and culturally governing bodies are continuously reworked, finessed, and even resisted and questioned. The 2015 Pyesta Kolon Datal, the participation of the B'laans in it, and the ensuing UNESCO nomination of their intangible cultural heritage are cases that might be instructive in coming to terms with what it means to represent indigeneity on a Western stage and through written and visual means.

INDIGENEITY AS A MEANS OF DECOLONISING: AGNES LOCSIN'S FILIPINO NEO-ETHNIC BALLET *ENCANTADA*
(Lightning Paper)

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For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

LANGUAGE CONVERGENCE AND IDENTITY IN PERFORMANCE: EXPLORING INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTER IN THE SAMA-BAJAU *SANGBAIAN PANGIGALAN* TRIBUTE SONGS

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Introduction: Sama Language Convergence and the *Sangbaian Pangigalan*

The Sama-Bajau constitute a highly diverse group of related ethnolinguistic communities who live in the central region of maritime Southeast Asia. Kemp Pallesen (1985, pp. 45-50) identifies 10 major groupings of 44 distinct languages within the family of languages which he labels "Sama-Bajaw" (pp. 1, 43). Pallesen mainly examines the phenomenon of language convergence in the region of the southern Philippines through a study of cognates via instruments such as, among others, Swadesh word-lists. His data interestingly points to the idea of two or more languages acquiring shared vocabularies through cultural contact in a shared space of living. This article picks up from the work of Pallesen and proposes that the idea of language convergence can best be understood and appreciated through studies embedded in the context of performance. Although word lists provide fundamental linguistic data on cognates or shared vocabularies, studies of language in the context of performance provides greater descriptive value and nuanced observations on language use. This article looks at the performance of the *sangbaian pangigalan* as a dynamic site of language convergence where nuanced usage may be observed.

The *sangbaian pangigalan* is a contemporary, linked song-and-dance expression found among the Sama-Bajau (Sama or Sinama-speaking) peoples of the southern Philippines and Sabah, Malaysia. It is usually performed during *maglami-lami* or merry-making sessions that precede wedding evening celebrations. Unlike the *pagsangbay*, the *sangbaian pangigalan* is not accompanied by a *gabbang*. Instead, it is accompanied by a synthesiser or electronic organ that have in recent times largely replaced the *gabbang* bamboo xylophone and *kulintangan* knobbed gong ensemble traditions (Ellorin, 2011). Recent developments in digital technology have rendered video-recording affordable to many practitioners in the field. The next section will look into the verbal texts excerpted from four *sangbaian pangigalan* songs from three VCD/DVD albums.[1]

The *Sangbaian Pangigalan* and its Visual and Verbal Contents

The first *sangbaian pangigalan* song to be examined in this piece is titled "Arung" (Jasnie M. Yaakub & Kamis Sanaili, 2008). The song in Sinama language is sung by a popular Sandakan-based Tausug (aka Suluk) singer named Kamis Sanaili. In the case of this video, the singer is the same as the lyricist, the performance of this particular *sangbaian pangigalan* is disembedded because the context and the site of the performance is one that is re-created rather than during a *maglami-lami* evening of a wedding or a similar occasion. This is apparent in the opening lines where the song starts with a dedication to one whose "skin [is] so smooth…face so beautiful like and Indian lady" [*Lanu mukha nu dayang pamagai ku Hindustan*] (Jasnie M. Yaakub & Kamis Sanaili, 2008). This Indian-looking lady is found nowhere in the video. In the refrain of the song, along with the generic *igal-igalin* (which may be interpreted as simply "to make someone dance" or "to dance for someone") and *kejut-kejutin* (aka *kidjut-kidjut*, the dance term for "shrugging one's shoulders") is the rather American pop-retro derived term of *disko-diskohin* (which could mean "to dance disco" or "to dance disco for someone"):

Igal-Igalin aku, Dayang.	Dance, dance for me, dear.
Manis-Manisin aku Dayang.	Sweet, be sweet to me, dear.
Kejut-Kejutin aku, Dayang.	Shrug, shrug [your shoulders] for me, dear.
Disko-Diskohin aku Dayang.	Disco, [dance] disco for me, dear.
(Jasnie M. Yaakub & Kamis Sanaili, 2008)	(Translation by MCM Santamaria)

A slightly different set of lyrics is observed in the second instance of the refrain. It goes through a litany of generic and specific dance terms. The imperative "*igal-igalin aku*" is uttered along with "*joget-jogetin aku*" which is more particularly nuanced, that is, "to partner or to pair up [with] me in dance." The second half of the chorus urges the dancer to show beautiful curves in the phrase "*lantik-lantikin aku*" (of what may be

assumed to refer to elbows, palms or fingers) and "to fly" for the singer in "*leyang-leyangin aku*" which apparently alludes to the mimetic flapping of the arms, like wings of the *linggisan* or frigate bird (Jasnie M. Yaakub & Kamis Sanaili, 2008). In the first line of the fourth stanza, the singer appears to be relating to the dancer, what the members of the audience, who are referred to in this song as "relatives", want her to do. He then shifts to his own perspective and tells the dancer not to leave yet "…as young men are coming in droves" [*...subol mag olang-olang*] (Jasnie M. Yaakub & Kamis Sanaili, 2008). After a few words, he then announces the impending end of his song, upon which he expresses thanks to the female dancer. To an outsider who is not familiar with details of what happens in a *maglami-lami* evening, the lyrics reproduced above may appear to be fragmentary or to not make sense at all. What is the significance of "young men coming in droves?" One practice consistently found in *maglami-lami* evenings is the *mag-panji*[2] (aka *magsabod*). This is the practice of rewarding *igal* dancers by inserting folded bills in between their fingers. Friends and relatives are expected to shower dancers with monetary gifts. More importantly, prospective mates are also allowed to make their intentions known via this practice. The idea of culturally-sanctioned actions of social intercourse between opposite sexes explains the situation quite well.

The second *sangbaian pangigalan* song to be analysed is titled, "Lagu Karamaian" (Mohd Rashdey Hj. Sabardin, 2008). The first stanza begins with a traditional Islamic greeting of "*Assalammu alaikum ni kaam saga ranakan*" [Peace be to you my relatives] (Mohd Rashey Hj. Sabardin, 2008). This greeting is followed by a description of, "*Sinangbai rangan dangan budjang lanuh lingkatan*" [a beautiful lady who is in the dance] (Mohd Rashey Hj. Sabardin, 2008). In the fourth stanza, the singer urges the ladies to perform a "soft" or "supple" *igal*. This may be gleaned from the imperative "*palammaun*". *Lamma* or *lammah* means soft or supple, a word that hints at the aesthetic quality of softness or smoothness in movement. In the second line of the same stanza, the singer commands the ladies to shrug their shoulders using the dance phrase "*kidjutin baha nu*." The frequent use of this imperative in *sangbai* songs strongly supports the idea of a presence of an indigenous movement terminology in the *igal* tradition:

Sambungan kalangan palammaun igal nu	As the singing goes one, soften your dance
Kabudjangan kidjutin baha nu	Ladies, shrug your shoulders
Pagsambatan saga ka lallahan	[for] the men are talking [about you]
Oh... magkalasigan, Oh...magkaramaian	Oh be happy! Oh be joyful!
(Mohd Rashdey Hj. Sabardin, 2008)	(Translation by MCM Santamaria)

Interestingly, in the refrain, the singer shifts from Sinama to the Tausug language. "*Mag-igal*" or "*angigal*" (Sinama: to dance) becomes "*mangalai*" (Tausug: to dance). Several possibilities may explain this shift in language use. First, the dancer being described by the singer may be of Tausug ethnic background. Second, the singer may at this point have taken time to address or to accommodate Tausug members of the audience. Third, a combination of the first and second reasons cited may also be possible. Fourth, Rashdey, the singer, is known to be of both Tausug and Sama lineages, and can therefore be seen as simply affirming his mixed ancestry. What is clear is that the singer has the ability (and compunction) to sing in both languages within a singular performance. Cultural accommodation, multiple identities, and inclusiveness appear to be well-indicated in this example of shifting. The fifth stanza reprises cultural accommodation via bi-lingual expression or instant translation from Sinama to Tausug:

[*Sinama, then **Tausug in the 5th Stanza]	
Kami itu moleh na kaam lu piinggana	We are here, [but] you have left…
Bangkam bilahi na takka kam ni Sampulna	If you wish, then you can go to Semporna
**Kami ini muih na kamu bia bi inga na*	We are here, [but] you have left…
**Bang kamo miagad na katung kamu pa Sampulna*	If you wish, then you can go to Semporna
(Mohd Rashdey Hj. Sabardin, 2008)	(Translation by MCM Santamaria)

The third *sangbaian pangigalan* song to be analysed in this piece is titled, "Igal-Igal Rasa Sayang" (Samiun Dandun, 2008). It is a Sinama song that appropriates the refrain of the popular Malaysian song, "Rasa Sayang." The song is performed in the music video by Rashdey, while the song and lyrics are created by Samiun Dandun. Rashdey does not start the song like the usual *sangbai* which normally announces the beginning of its performance. Instead, he begins it with a poetic recollection of a love vow made in a romantic setting of sea and sky. In the second stanza, however, Rasdey self-reflexively refers to the *sangbai* and the *sangbai igal*. He metaphorically describes the beauty of the dancer and asks her to perform a "supple dance."

Manisan lanuh	Beautiful and flawless one
sinangbaian anganda rahulu.	I gaze at you and sing a *sangbai*
Sahaya ni langit ibarat	Like the colours of the sky
Rayang ku manik-manik	You, my love, shimmers like a diamond
Bang sab niah aseh nu reon atai nu,	If you have pity in your heart
subai ba hogot atai baran nu,	Take stock of your body and your mind
Sangbai igal, si baran lantik igalan	[Heed] the *sangbai igal*, and perform a supple dance
(Samiun Dandun, 2008)	(Translation by MCM Santamaria)

The translation of "supple dance" for the phrase *lantik igalan* is admittedly, like many things inter-cultural, rather inadequate. The term *lantik* refers to the suppleness of several body parts in hyper-extended curves or flexion that constitute foci of attention in any *igal* performance. Among these parts are the fingers, wrists, elbows, and torso. Indeed, what is meant by a "supple dance" or *lantik igalan* is a dance performance or dancing that shows as much *lantik* of several body parts as possible. Concluding the song and dance performance is an inlay of the famous "Rasa Sayang" chorus or refrain which is repeated three times.

The fourth *sangbaian pangigalan* song to be analysed in this piece is titled, "Love Letter" (A. D. Rashied Hj. Julkarnain, 2005). It is sung by a Sama artist named Boy Jonson. "Love Letter" starts with the usual self-reflective declaration of beginning the performance:

Tagnaan ta pagsangbai	Let us begin the singing of the *pagsangbai*
Lolai na magpangalai	[A song titled] Lolai for the purpose of dancing
Duwa ruwa magabai,	[Here we have] two persons [dancing] together
Sali-ali ah pandai	And both of them are truly good
Lagu iti lingkatan igal	This song [is for] the beautiful *igal*
ba palenggang-lenggang	that tilts and undulates
Lila...lila...lala, lila, lila, lala	*Lila...lila...lala, lila, lila, lala*
(A. D. Rashied Hj. Julkarnain, 2005)	(Translation by MCM Santamaria)

In the first stanza, the use of *magpangalai* (Tausug: to dance) and *igal* (Sama: dance), in two sentences next to each other, appears to support the idea of Pallesen's language convergence. Their usage in this stanza appears to indicate that both are accepted as interchangeable generic terms for "dance" (which ought not to be confused with the idea that each may refer to a specific dance tradition, *pangala*y for the Tausug and *igal* for the Sama). It should also be noted that the use of *magpangalai* at the end of phrases, lines or sentence seems to facilitate rhyming. The specific movement term "*lenggang*" (tilting or undulating) indicates the aesthetic quality of *lingkatan igal* (beautiful *igal*) as a dance that sways or "undulates" like many of the physical aspects of the tropical sea environment from which it comes. In the refrain, the singer emphasises the bond between "the song for the *igal* dance that tilts or undulates" [*Lagu iti lingkatan igal ba ni lenggang-lenggang*] (A. D. Rashied Hj. Julkarnain, 2005). He encourages the dancer to continue as he declares his faith in their joint performance. This he does as he announces his name for all to know. This bond between dancer and singer is re-emphasised in the third stanza. Interestingly, a Malay-derived term "*tukang panarik*" (*tari*: dance, *panari*: dancer) is used this time around. A few lines later, a Sama-Malay-Tausug compound term, "*danda tukang pangalai*" (*danda*: Sama "woman", *tukang*: Malay "doer/artist or artisan", *pangalai*: Tausug "dance") is used to refer to a female dancer "who is truly famous." This motley group of words from various origins indicates the fluid character of cultural borrowing in the Sulu-Borneo area where the Malay, Sama and Tausug worlds meet, collide and (re)create forms:

Hangkan na annuli-nuli untok tukang panarik	Thus, this song is narrated for dancers
Bang niyah lami-lami ka-a ru paglagi	Who are always needed during merry-making
Lagu iti lingkatan igal ba ni lenggang-lenggang	This song is for the beautiful undulating *igal*
Lila...lila...lala, lila, lila, lala	*Lila...lila...lala, lila, lila, lala*
Danda tukang pangalai asal bantog	[Performed by] a lady dancer of great fame
A pandai hangkan leh ku sinangbai	so talented, and thus I sing for her
Para sannang rom atai	So that [all] hearts will be gladdened
(A. D. Rashied Hj. Julkarnain, 2005)	(Translation by MCM Santamaria)

Analysing Convergence: The *Sangbaian Pangigalan* as a Linguistic Register

Since many of the lyrics of the *sangbaian pangigalan* revolve around the dancer and the dance event, the genre may very well be construed as a veritable linguistic register for dance.[3] One well known definition of a linguistic register is put forward by Trudgill (1983) referring to it as "linguistic varieties that are linked…to occupations, professions or topics have been termed *registers*" (p. 101). Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964) emphasise that a register is "distinguished by use" (p. 32) rather than by a specific class or type of users. *Sangbaian pangigalan* literally means "accompanying tribute songs/singing" (*sangbaian*) for the *igal* dance/dancing (*pangigalan*). As such, the songs contain the linguistic register for this particular tradition of dance. This register reveals processes of language convergence which in turn imply cultural contact that relate to the fluid character of Sama-Bajau culture and identity. Language convergence and cultural contact are best seen in the use of multiple dance labels, in the aesthetics of the *igal* dance tradition, in the dance or movement terms contained in the *sangbaian pangigalan*, and in the general use of language to describe the themes of the dance songs and its contexts.

    Disko, *joget*, *pangalai* and *tari* dance labels that appear along with *igal* in the lyrics of the *sangbaian pangigalan* songs were analysed in this study. The joint appearance of Filipinized American-English, Indonesian-Malay, Tausug and Sama terms in these songs is most indicative if not emphatic of the presence of language convergence. In terms of usage within the context of the lyrics of the *sangbaian pangigalan* songs, the first two of these terms, *disko* and *joget* may be understood to be specific names of genres or styles of dancing, while the latter two, *pangalai* and *tari* along with *igal* may be deemed to be generic terms for dance or dancing. In the sites of contemporary dancing particularly in *sangbaian pangigalan* events, it does appear that the Sama *igal* and the Tausug *pangalai* overlap or likewise converge to the point that they become indistinguishable from each other. This observation however does not preclude that the two traditions maintain their distinct styles in other events such as in rituals.

    Sangbaian pangigalan songs also reveal aesthetic concepts that define good *igal* dancing. In this sample of songs, good *igal* dancing is characterised by the phrase *lingkatan igal*, literally meaning beautiful *igal*. *Lingkatan* has to be operationalised or reduced to observable indicators in order to be appreciated. *Lamma(h)* and *lantik* are two aesthetic concepts that appear in the *sangbaian pangigalan* songs that help operationalise *lingkat*(*an*). *Lammah* refers to the softness of the dancer's lines or angles of the body as well as to the softness or smoothness in the execution of movements. *Lammah* appears to be a function of the sea environment of the Sama-Bajau. Like water, all movements must be soft. Broken movements or those that favour extreme angularity are avoided. More importantly, transitions from one pose or posture to another must be done as smoothly as possible in a well-articulated manner. *Lantik* refers to the curves and flexion or hyper-extension of the fingers, wrists, elbows and arms. In the *igal* dance tradition, the dancer's body appears to mimic the curves and flourishes of the *ukkil* or local wood carving tradition. Floral and wave-like curvilinear forms (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2011, pp. 8-9) constitute the vocabulary of this local tradition. A study of a larger sampling of *sangbai* songs will almost certainly uncover aesthetic concepts associated with *igal*.

    Sangbaian pangigalan songs also constitute a rich treasure chest of *igal* dance movement terms. This researcher has studied *igal* dance terms in the past through interviews with field informants, and observed that such dance terms have several cognates in several maritime Southeast Asian languages (see Santamaria, 2013). The appearance of dance terms in the songs confirms its value as a linguistic register of *igal* dance. It also confirms the existence of a functional dance vocabulary, at least for this contemporary performance song-dance form. The dance terms are mostly in reduplicated forms such as *kidjut-kidjut*, *lantik-lantik*, *leyang-lleyang* and *lenggan-lenggang*. Reduplication in this set of dance terms refer to a set of actions done in a series. The fact that these dance terms are used in these songs, strongly indicate the existence of a system of *igal* terminology that is familiar to the singer, dancer as well as to members of the audience who derive entertainment from the inter-active processes between the singer and the dancer.

    The reality of language convergence and cultural contact is well-validated by the highly multi-lingual character of the *sangbaian pangigalan* texts. Words of foreign origin are incorporated into the songs in three ways. First, this can be seen in the utilisation of loanwords in essentially Sinama sentences. This is seen in the use of *disko-diskohin* and *joget-jogetin* in "Arung" (Jasnie M. Yaakub and Kamis Sanaili, 2008) and in the use of *tukang panarik* and *tukang pangalai* in "Love Letter" (A. D. Rashied Hj. Julkarnain, 2005). Second, it can be seen in the alternate-sentence code switching reminiscent of simultaneous interpretation in "Lagu Karamaian" (Mohd Rashdey Hj. Sabardin, 2008). The sudden shift from the Sinama body of the song to a Tausug refrain in this same song is also an example of code switching. Third, it can also be seen in the

instance of a full inlay of a refrain from a traditional Malay song in "Igal-Igal Rasa Sayang" (Samiun Dandun, 2008).

Conclusion

The multi-lingual character of the *sangbaian pangigalan* says much about the multicultural characteristics of Sama-Bajau communities in terms of their openness and ability to take in foreign influences into their respective cultures, and in the long run making these foreign influences their own through processes of appropriation. The *sangbaian pangigalan* as embedded in weddings and other festivities are therefore not simply performance events where families and friends meet to celebrate special occasion. They may be seen as performance events where cultures encounter each other and in the long run change each other through sustained engagement.

Given the vast amount of data uncovered in this limited scholarly exercise, this researcher can say with a great degree of confidence that more knowledge about Sama-Bajau culture and performance traditions can be uncovered and created through future studies that involve bigger sample sizes of *sangbaian pangigalan* songs. At this point, however, some questions need to be aired: what variations in language use and convergence may be observed if *sangbaian pangigalan* samples were to be collected from the field, in actual contexts of weddings and other festivities, rather than from commercially-recorded sources? What are the possible effects of extremely popular commercially-recorded versions on the highly improvised *sangbaian pangigalan* songs in the field? How do Sama *sangbaian pangigalan* songs compare to Tausug contemporary *pagsangbay* songs? These important questions cannot be answered immediately today. Most fortunately, the field awaits tomorrow.

Endnotes

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Adzmail A. Tahamil, a Sama who hails from Bakong, Simunul, Tawi-Tawi for translating the sangbai songs in this piece from Sinama to Filipino. The methodology for translation is as follows: (1) A literal word-for-word translation of all lyrics is first done; (2) A literary translation is done for each sentence or autonomous phrase; (3) An English translation is done from the Filipino text while doing a word check via the on-line Summer Institute of Linguistics Sama Sibutu and Central Sinama dictionaries.

[2] The term literally means "to install flags." In this case, flags come in the form of bills inserted in between the fingers of performing dancers.

[3] I owe the use of linguistic register in this article to Dr. Casilda Luzares Nebres who introduced me to the concept.

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PERFORMING THE "INDIGENOUS": MUSIC-MAKING IN THE KATAGMAN FESTIVAL IN ILOILO, PHILIPPINES
(Lightning Paper)

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In contemporary discourse, the notion of the "indigenous" which is traditionally equated to traditions associated with nature is challenged with multiple and complex ontological disjuncture in theory and praxis as sites of culture have dynamically oscillate in and out of conventional boundaries. Now, it becomes open to a manifold of interpretations as modernity and cosmopolitanism share in this "permissiveness" of meaning-making.

Being central in musical performances of the annual Katagman Festival in Iloilo, Philippines, this notion is imbued with varying degrees of meanings as the festival becomes a space of musical discourse. In this light, this paper explores how local festival performers recontextualise musical practices by interweaving myth and history to negotiate their understanding of the "indigenous" and elicit distinct sonic imprints in creating a heterotopia where an imagined pre-colonial Katagman community is presented as a public spectacle.

The Katagman Festival

The Katagman Festival is the flagship festival of the municipality of Oton in the province of Iloilo in western Visayas, Philippines that marks the town's foundation day that begins on the 28th day of April and culminates on the 3rd day of May every year. The festival intends to develop awareness on local history and cultural heritage primarily through the participation of different communities in the town which are clustered into several competing groups called *tribu*. These clusters stage performances with references to a pre-colonial village and community called Katagman. In local narratives, Katagman[1] is an islet formed by the curving of the Batiano River in the south-eastern part of the town. Archaeological excavations in 1973 of the area, now Barangay San Antonio, show that Southeast Asian merchants have actively traded silk and porcelain wares with the locals (Tiongco, 1969; Wickerberg, 2000). Among the excavated items, a golden death mask, one of the pre-colonial face masks found in the Philippines, which locals attribute to people found in mythic-historical accounts such as the Maragtas[2] becomes a central cultural icon of the town.

In turn, festival organisers composed of the local government through a local arts council and in partnership with national agencies have advantageously used the golden death mask as symbolic evidence of the existence of the imaginary Katagman community. This led to the creation of mytho-historical storylines which are then translated into musical, dance and theatrical presentations that attempts to reify the notion of the "indigenous" past.

Musical Concepts, Styles and Aesthetics

Musings on the pre-colonial Katagman community shape the groundwork of musical performances in the festival. Sourcing from the imagined conceptions of this village, musicians who have had prior exposure to various regional festivals with attributed "tribal" themes overtly imbibe the notion of "indigenous" soundscapes in what Falconi (2011) terms as "festivalscape".[3] Festival participants equate, conceptualise and appropriate these "indigenous" ideas to reproduce in the Katagman Festival by creating musical themes, notation and instruments that are in consonance with the preconceived pre-colonial imaginary. Each musician in a *tribu* selects various "indigenous" instruments, which are referred to any sound-producing item made of wood, metal, skin or fibre that conveys historical and cultural value, to craft ensembles that suit the demands of the performance narrative.

Generally, musicians classify the instruments into two sections namely: basic and special. Basic instruments provide the general rhythmic base of the festival music. These include the cylindrical or barrel-shaped oil drums (base, *babang* and tom-tom). Special instruments, on the other hand, are small to medium sized melodic or non-melodic percussive instruments that include bamboo xylophones (*gabbang*), wide-rimmed bossed gong (*agong*), bamboo stamping tubes (*atong-atong*), conical drums (*surdo*) and bamboo slit drum (*kalatong*).

Figure 1. Musicians play the *kulintang*, djembe, bongos and *surdo*. (J. Taton Jr., 2014).

From this list, musicians extend the selection of "indigenous" instruments appropriating cultural items from regional sources such as the Kalinga *tongatong*, the Panay Bukidnon *tulali* and the Maguindanaon *kulintang* to foreign origins such as the Australian didgeridoo, the African djembe and the Latin American bongos. This clearly features how musicians generate and reinterpret new meanings as they integrate prior knowledge, experiences and creativity to ideologically manifest the Katagman community imaginary and to artistically "indigenise" the festival with a mixture of local, regional and foreign soundscapes. Using these different instruments, musicians combine rhythms and timbre to induce a sense of "sonic indigeneity" that functionally articulates particular sections on the theatrical narrative. They invent novel notations called "nota" that resourcefully incorporate musical elements which they perceive and attribute to as "tribal" and explicitly manifest their understanding of the "indigenous".

Figure 2. Samples of notation with transcription.

Depending on the narrative flow, musicians permutate different sets of instruments that can elicit variegated textures and stylistic varieties that enable them to compose music in three ways: "business", "travel" and "group". "Business" music features a moderately dense musical texture that uses a small number of special instruments such as the *surdo* and *gabbang* suspended on the steady djembe or base drum rhythms. It accompanies scenes depicting village activities such as fishing and farming. On the one hand, "travel" music has a thinner texture characterised by rhythms coming from a minimal number of special instruments without the rhythms of basic instruments. It is used as a transitional interlude as performers enter and exit the stage for the next scene. Lastly, "group" music synchronises group dances with the heavy texture of the basic instruments augmented by special instruments.

Creating the Heterotopia: Music, Myth and History

By performing the "indigenous" in reference to the pre-colonial Katagman as well as in articulating the symbolic and cultural value of the golden death mask, musicians create musical (re)imaginings and (re)interpretations that extensively permeate the festival soundscape. They reify how they understand Oton myth, history and music through the creation of musical objects, and performance of unique compositional techniques and local musical styles. The ensuing musical environment in turn transforms the public stage as a site that permits the performance of a heterotopia. Foucault (1984) describes such places as "counter-sites" where facets of culture "are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (p. 24).

The Katagman Festival and its music thus function as a time lapse between the past and the present that reorients the public specific sections of myth and history through highly expressive and animated

performances. It leads public consciousness to a rediscovered history as sonic imprints of the "indigenous" are delivered, absorbed and remembered consciously or unconsciously. Musical performances in Katagman thus simultaneously intertwine two sonic spaces, the "indigenous" past and the dynamic present in a public space where the heterotopias effectively manifest. The heterotopic space therefore brings local consciousness into a unified perspective of Oton mythic and historic culture. And by creating a shared cultural history, a distinct community identity emerges.

Summary

In this paper, I focus on how "indigenous" notions in music have influenced the production of musical imprints as well as the construction of mythic-historical reality in the Katagman Festival. By looking at the vague portrait of an imagined community's musical life world, musicians try to dialogue, negotiate and reconcile their notions of the "indigenous" to fit performances within festival protocols which are continuously influenced by local and global forces. As a result, specific constructions are engendered and expressed in the public sphere. Thus, by evoking memories of the mythic and historical past and by performing the "indigenous", participating artists create a heterotopic sonic space where imagined soundscapes permeate the spectacle of the Katagman Festival.

Endnotes

[1] Katagman is also referred to as Catalman (Regalado & Franco, 1973) or Catarman (Olivares, 2004).

[2] Maragtas is a local folk narrative that recounts of the story of the coming of the ten Borneans *datu*s to Panay Island who subsequently bought it from the Ati natives. See Monteclaro (1907).

[3] Falconi (2011) asserts that "festivalscapes" are "permeated by conflicting ideologies…impelled by local national and transnational practices and discourses at a festival" (p.5).

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DIS/RE-INTEGRATION OF TRADITIONAL VOCAL GENRES: CULTURAL TOURISM AND THE *AYTA MAGBUKUN'S KORO BANGKAL MAGBIKIN*, IN BATAAN, PHILIPPINES

(Lightning Paper)

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Bataan, in Central Luzon, Philippines, is one of the provinces that has conceptualised, organised, and developed several events and tourism spots in the country in the last ten years. With the local government's vision of a global Bataan, simple town fiestas became local festivals, historical landmarks were remodelled and renovated, and tour packages for both local and foreign tourists were launched in order to set the province in the national and international scene. Along with these many initiatives, performances of the *Ayta Magbukun* were staged. Tourism, in effect, becomes a social and cultural phenomenon that plays a key role in the transformation of the lives of the local people particularly the *Ayta Magbukun*.

The *Ayta Magbukun*

The *Ayta Magbukun* living in the province of Bataan is considered the least known among Aeta groups in Central Luzon in terms of ethnographic studies (Badilla, et al., 2012). They are one of the twenty-five known ethnolinguistic subgroups of Aeta racially known as Negritos in the country. The name *Magbukun* comes from *nagbukod*, which means "separated from." In the past, the *Ayta Magbukun* are nomadic groups who roam around the forest areas straddling the different towns of Bataan until the establishment of permanent village settlements called *bayan-bayanan*. The *bayan-bayanan* in Barangay Bangkal located in the town of Abucay is one of the largest community settlements of the *Ayta Magbukun* with a population size of about thirty families. The local government of Bataan envisions developing Barangay Bangkal as a model *Ayta Magbukun* community preserving and maintaining its unique traditions and practices for appreciation of the larger public.

Traditional Vocal Genres of *Ayta Magbukun* Today

There are four *Ayta Magbukun* vocal music genres namely *uso*, *amba*, *ingalu*, and some folksongs that are still sung today.

The *uso* is a traditional chant of the *Ayta Magbukun* used for entertainment, giving advice, and most importantly in the healing ritual called *kagun*. It is rendered extemporaneously and is sometimes accompanied by the *pangagung pantugtuugan*, a 4-stringed guitar, during the *kagun* ritual. The *amba*, on the other hand, are chanted advice for couples performed during traditional weddings. Lastly, the *ingalu* are chants of lament for the dead and a type of sung form of invocation. Today, only few members of the *Ayta* community know how to perform these vocal genres and most of the singers are elders. In spite of this fact, the vocal genres continue to be familiar among the young *Aytas* of Bangkal but they lack the confidence in rendering them. Lowland popular music now dominates the musical landscape of the community as it can be heard all over the place, through their television sets, radios, videoke machines, and mobile phones. According to an *Ayta* cultural master, the change in the musical tastes of the young generation is the primary reason for the lack of interest in learning and performing the traditional vocal genres in community.

Koro Bangkal Magbikin and Cultural Tourism

Barangay Bangkal in Abucay, Bataan is the home of a well-known choral group called *Koro Bangkal Magbikin*. Consisting of twenty to twenty-five young male and female *Ayta*, the *koro* is initially a parish choir at the St. Thomas Aquinas Church in Bangkal. It was in 2010 that the governor of Bataan discovered the *Koro Bangkal Magbikin* in a Christmas serenade event held at his residence. Since then, he supported the group and provided for them different performance engagements, in addition to education scholarships with weekly school allowances. He also hired a choir conductor to hone the talents of its members. The governor envisions promoting the musical heritage and culture of the *Ayta Magbukun* through performances of the *Koro*. Today, *Koro Bangkal Magbikin* is placed under the management of the Bataan Tourism Council and performs in different places in and outside of Bataan. Their notable singing engagements include singing of the national anthem in one of the sessions of the Senate of the Philippines, a television performance in a

nationwide talent search and a special performance at the 2015 APEC Summit at Las Casas Filipinas de Acuzar in Bagac, Bataan.

For figures see published Proceedings

The musical repertoire of the *Koro Bangkal Magbikin* consists mostly of popular songs, some religious music, and standard Filipino folksongs. However, traditional *Ayta Magbukun* vocal genres are not included in any of their programs. The *Koro* also uses Filipiniana costumes and casual clothes, rather than their traditional attire in their performances. Because of this, some members of the *Ayta Magbukun* community in Bangkal questioned the capacity of the *Koro* to represent their indigenous culture. So, in the summer of 2012, most of the members of the *Koro* were chosen to attend the School for Living Traditions and were taught traditional *Ayta Magbukun* vocal music. The cultural master of Bangkal community also urged the conductor to include *Ayta* folksongs in the group's repertoire. However, there is refusal by the *Koro* conductor to include the community's vocal genres due to varied reasons. For one, he believes that *Ayta Magbukun* folksongs are too simple for a choir performance. In addition, the group connects better with their audience when they sing popular songs. As a consequence, the *Koro* faces challenges and dilemmas being an object of cultural tourism themselves and as designated representatives of *Ayta Magbukun* culture.

Dis/Re-integration of Traditional Vocal Genres

In this context, one may easily say that the *Ayta Magbukun*'s engagement with cultural tourism becomes a catalyst for the disintegration of their traditional vocal genres. Although there are still many things to consider before arriving at a sound conclusion, I am looking at Huib Schippers' concept of music ecosystems to confront this complex process involved in the emergence, disappearance, and sustainability of vocal genres. He defines music ecosystem as:

> the whole system, including not only a specific music genre, but also the complex of factors defining the genesis, development, and sustainability of the surrounding music culture in the widest sense, including (but not limited to) the role of individuals, communities, values, and attitudes, learning process, context for making music, infrastructure and organizations, rights and regulations diaspora and travel, media and the music industry. (Schippers, 2015, p. 137)

This paper is merely a part of a greater endeavour to understand the dis/re-integration of the vocal genres of the *Ayta Magbukun* as it only focuses on the context of cultural tourism. Upon exploring the other factors that I am currently engaged in, I hope to craft measures on ensuring the sustainability of the vocal music of the *Ayta Magbukun* people of Bataan.

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TRANSCENDING MINORITY STATUS THROUGH MUSIC: THE POLITICS OF ETHNO-CULTURAL INDIGENEITY AND PLURALITY IN LAMPUNG'S KRAKATAU FESTIVAL

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Abstract

The annual Krakatau Festival held in Lampung, the southernmost province of Sumatra, capitalises on the renown of the nearby Krakatau volcano, which famously exploded in 1883 with massive local and worldwide impact. More recently, Lampung has been the site of interethnic tension and some violent conflict due to massive transmigration from the neighbouring islands of Java and Bali as well as other parts of Indonesia, such that the indigenous ethnic groups of Lampung now represent less than 25% of the Lampung population and Lampung language and local indigenous culture have experienced a marked decline.

Following the introduction of regional autonomy laws during the post-1998 reform era, provincial governments in Indonesia acquired new powers that have led to a florescence of local (as opposed to national) culture allied to promotion of regional cultural identities. In Lampung, one vehicle for this is the annual Krakatau Festival, which is intended both as a promotional event to draw tourism and investment and a showcase of local regional culture and vitality. The paper investigates what is meant by local regional culture through an examination of music and performance in the massive carnival-like parade that is the festival's centrepiece event. In considering how Lampung's multi-ethnicity and cultural diversity played out musically at the 2015 festival, it also examines the role of popular musics in the festival mix. The paper further considers how the parade represents different notions and relations of "majority" and "margins", drawing on the concept of "minor culture."

REMEMBERING KRAKATAU: INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND DISASTERS IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

In Indonesia holders of indigenous knowledge about natural disasters are often musicians and storytellers, who perform the information, as both historical fact and personal reflections on recent events (Fraser 2010, Kartomi 2012). Music is a very powerful way of ensuring that indigenous knowledge about disasters is transferred across generations and in this paper I look at how influential performers reference moveable messages across multiple performance genres, beloved by local populations. Through performance, important environmental and humanitarian reflection remains circulating for a long time in the oral memory of a community and in my paper I will explore examples from Sumatra including the eruption of Krakatau in 1883, the Tsunami on Simeulue Island, Aceh in 1907 and 2004, and the earthquake and flash floods in West Sumatra in 2009 and 2011.

In an academic world encouraging inter-disciplinary research can ethnomusicologists, and popular culture scholars usefully contribute to knowledge about disaster risk reduction, through music? In 1994 the UN Yokohama Strategy expressed the value of indigenous knowledge for natural disaster prevention, preparedness and mitigation, as did the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015. It is difficult, however, to intersect indigenous knowledge with scientific processes such as risk modeling, multi-hazard risk assessment and hazard mapping. In this paper I will also look at the collaborative practicalities of inter-disciplinary research on music and disasters. For scientists, successful engagement with indigenous knowledge, such as messages contained in sung narratives and pop songs, requires an epistemological shift, towards an acceptance of other ways of knowing. As Indonesia emerges from over a decade of socio-political *reformasi* how can local intersections of music and disaster inform current global debates on environmental and cultural resilience in Asia?

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SOUND FROM WITHIN AND SOUND FROM WITHOUT: MAINTAINING INDIGENOUS MEDIA SOUNDSCAPES IN CIPTAGELAR, WEST JAVA, INDONESIA

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Abstract

In the mountains of the Sukabumi region of West Java, Indonesia, digital media is being used to preserve and visually "advocate" local traditions, especially those connected to annual rituals related to rice agriculture and cooperative social life. In community life, agricultural knowledge celebrated with bamboo-based ensemble music and sacred ritual is generally passed down by family connections from one generation to the next. By various means, musicians and ritual practitioners are recognised and valued by these communities. Although this occurs today as a kind of living archive, there is another element of cultural preservation that has entered the scene: digital media. In Ciptagelar, one of the central villages in this mountainous and remote region, village elders have created a local "micro TV" channel, known as CigaTV, that maintains a 24/7 visualised local presence in the otherwise global onslaught of satellite and cell phone technologies. While watching CigaTV it is not unusual to see videos of daily agricultural or other village activities paired with soundtracks by Philip Glass, a Bandung fusion rock band, or local *angklung* music. The channel is maintained by an earnest team of young digital editors and VJs, who maintain the channel from the home of a committed artists and cultural advocate, Yoyo Yogasmana, known in the region for his commitment to the visual and acoustic preservation of indigenous Sundanese music and ritual traditions.

This presentation will explore the boundary between the "living archive" of generational knowledge and the digital preservation of traditional practices, especially looking at the overlay of visual and musical montage as influenced by both local (sound from within) and globally mediated elements (sound from without). The presentation is based on field research conducted in West Java in 2014 and 2015.

ASSESSING THE VITALITY OF TRADITIONAL MUSIC PRACTICE IN SOUTHWESTERN TIMOR-LESTE

(Lightning Paper)

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In 2015, I was part of a three-person research team that travelled to Suai in southwestern Timor-Leste to study traditional music. In this paper I will introduce our research with the *Heritage Inventory of Suai-Camenaça*, and I will use Catherine Grant's (2014) *Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework* to offer preliminary assessment of the state of traditional music practice in Suai.

The Heritage Inventory

Our team was invited to Timor-Leste as part of a multi-disciplinary research project called the *Heritage Inventory of Suai-Camenaça* (Sarmento, 2015). Timor-Leste is investing heavily over the next 15 years to develop capacity for domestic petroleum production. The centrepiece of this strategy is the *Tasi Mane* project, which involves the construction of extensive infrastructure to support petroleum extraction, refining, and export on the south coast (Republica Democratica de Timor-Leste, 2011).

The Tasi Mane construction and renovation involves the displacement and relocation of many families and communities in Suai (Timor-Leste Institute, 2015). A Timorese NGO called Timor Aid created the *Heritage Inventory* to assess the impacts of this displacement on local traditional cultural practices (Sarmento, 2015). The Heritage Inventory included research into language, archaeology, textile arts, cultural anthropology, and music.

Music Research Summary

Location	Events	Genres Recorded	Genre Names
Suai Loro	9	10	*tanis mate, metisere, uma lulik ritual, holalia, beluk, tebe lilin (songs), tebe lilin (dance), likurai, bidu tais mutin, lakumerin*
Camanasa	4	6	*tanis mate, metisere, koremetan, lakumerin, mauwe, lumak gol*
Holbelis	2	1	*tei (7 types)*
Matai	1	2	*beluk, tebe lilin (songs)*
Zumalai	1	2	*mauwe, holon dok*
Maucatar	1	1	*beluk*
Debos	5	1	*likurai (rehearsals & performances)*
Fatumea	2	1	*lakumerin*

Table 1. Music research summary.

Our music research team, headed by Dr. Philip Yampolsky, pursued two goals: 1) To create documentation of the musical heritage of the area, and 2) To assess the impacts of recent developments on musical practice. We spent 58 days living in Suai, from July-October 2015. We recorded and documented music and dance at twenty-five events in eight different communities (see http://aaronpettigrew.com/timor-leste for musical examples).

Assessing Music Vitality and Endangerment in Suai

In her book, *Music Endangerment: How Language Maintenance Can Help*, Catherine Grant (2014) presents her "Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework" (MVEF) (p. 106), a tool that offers twelve criteria for assessing the vitality of a given music practice. At present, our research allows us to offer preliminary assessments concerning four important factors from the MVEF: intergenerational transmission; change in

performance contexts and functions; governmental policies affecting music practices; and the amount and quality of documentation that exists.

Factor 1: Intergenerational Transmission

According to Grant's (2014) scale, the evidence we gathered suggests that the intergenerational transmission of most traditional music genres in Suai is somewhere between "severely endangered" and "critically endangered" (p. 112): that is, most traditional music is performed almost exclusively by people over fifty, and while funeral music is, unfortunately, practiced relatively frequently, other genres appear to be performed far less often.

We don't know exactly what is at the root of this situation, but in broad terms we suspect that "the enormous social changes of recent decades…have disrupted what was the normal progression of village life and the expectations of elders raised in an earlier time. New systems of transmission may be necessary to pass on traditional culture, but these new systems," it seems, "have not yet been devised" (Yampolsky, Yampolsky & Pettigrew, 2015, p. 7).

Factor 5: Change in Performance Contexts and Functions

Data from Timor-Leste's National Statistics Directorate (2013) suggests that there is currently "a large and rapid movement of people away from the agriculture sector" in Suai and throughout the country (p. 72). For musics like *Beluk* and *Anin Foré*, which are intimately tied to agricultural activities, this shift away from agricultural labour suggests that the contexts for the performance and transmission of this music are becoming increasingly scarce. Currently, the contexts and functions of these musics remain static in relation to their changing environment; unless something changes, we can expect these musical genres to move down the scale toward inactivity as agricultural labour in the district diminishes.

Factor 9: Governmental Policies Affecting Music Practices

There is currently no explicit government policy dealing with the genres we encountered. Grant (2014) refers to this situation as one of "passive assimilation" (p. 121). The lack of explicit policies in support of these genres may well act against their continued practice (see Grant, 2015). As an example, traditional homes in Suai are being torn down and rebuilt elsewhere as modern homes to make way for the Tasi Mane developments. This is for the good for many residents who prefer sturdier concrete walls and metal roofs, but each new, metal roof also represents at least one less opportunity to sing the songs that people sing when tying new palm roofs on traditional houses. These sorts of impacts are not reflected in the compensation plans drawn up by the government of Timor-Leste (Timor Gap E. P., 2014). That said, the Government of Timor-Leste (2015) recently ratified three UNESCO conventions related to the protection and promotion of cultural and natural heritage. It will be interesting to see how this might affect policy and practice in coming years, both in Suai and around the country.

Factor 12: Amount and Quality of Documentation

Documentation of these genres was minimal before our trip. In summer 2016 our research team delivered copies of all the music and video we recorded to community members in Suai, and we deposited copies with Timor Aid for inclusion in local and national archives. There is still much to be done.

In our report to Timor Aid, Dr. Yampolsky (2015) proposed a program that involves training locals, especially young people, to document the practices of their communities. Whether documentation is created by locals or by outsiders, it is important that documentations be carried out soon, before the generation of elders who still remember these musical traditions dies out. Creating good documentation will not necessarily impact the vitality of these traditions either way, but it may well represent an important intermediary step toward revitalization later on (see Grant, 2014, pp. 23-28).

Conclusion

Grant's (2014) MVEF helps us to see that genres of music connected to activities of ritual and work in Suai are seemingly in a precarious state. The Tasi Mane petroleum developments are contributing to changing

labour trends in the area, while new construction and incentivised relocation are changing the landscape and local infrastructure. These changes create potential challenges for continuing music practices bound to contexts of agriculture and community labour. While government has settled on remuneration amounts for material goods and policy-makers have made recent steps toward safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, officials do not appear concerned by the cultural, let alone the musical, impacts of oil and gas infrastructure developments on the south coast.

A larger problem is the issue of intergenerational transmission. It is clear to our research team and to locals that young people are for the most part not learning traditional music, and it seems that this has likely been the case for a long time now, almost certainly since well before the recent petroleum developments.

While we hope that our preliminary work to document music in Suai will, at the very least, help to keep some genres from disappearing from memory entirely, these efforts are clearly just a beginning. If genres like *Beluk* and *Tua Lekik* are to survive into the future in any meaningful way, we will need to look at how and why processes of intergenerational transmission are not working, and to think about what can be done to get them working again.

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THE PERFORMANCE OF *GENDRANG LA BOBO* IN SOUTH SULAWESI AS SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN ARTS AND RELIGIOSITY
(Lightning Paper)

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For article see published Proceedings

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**PANEL: SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:
CURRENT CONCERNS AND NEW DIRECTIONS—PART I**

**"RE-CULTIVATING LOCAL" AS A SUSTAINABLE APPROACH TO THE
BALI ARTS FESTIVAL**

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Introduction

One of the most significant developments for Balinese performing arts in recent decades has been the number of privately owned and administered music and dance troupes called *sanggar* (Weiss, 2013; Hood, 2013). Paralleling growth in the economic, business and educational sectors on the island*, sanggar* are relatively free from the bureaucracy of group consensus associated with traditional village-based groups. *Sanggar* members are often themselves free agents, outsourcing their skills and performing, teaching and collaborating in other independently run *sanggar* (Harnish, 2013). While economically viable for the individual, many feel this has weakened community relations at the village level.

In this paper I discuss the revival of a type of traditional village-based performing arts troupe called *sekaa sebunan desa*. In 2014, a group called Saptana Jagaraga from the village of Singapadu in Bali, Indonesia revived the village-based troupe to represent their district of Gianyar in the Bali Arts Festival. What is interesting to note is that the formation of this village-based group was in response to discontentment with *sanggar* and the privatisation, commercialisation and tourism pressures that have strained social bonds at the village level. With the revival of a village-based troupe, Saptana Jagaraga intends to help sustain and empower their local art forms while innovating virtuosic and dazzling theatre productions. What initiated the revival of a village-based performing arts troupe? What were the aesthetic, logistical and economic reasons for rejecting privately run *sanggar*? Are village-based troupes sustainable in Bali's increasingly commercialised and privatised market-driven arts economy?

In order to address these questions, I will first examine discourses surrounding revivals and sustainability to consider the implications for re-cultivating local forms against the backdrop of global cultural flows. I am particularly interested in how their revival is less concerned with preservation and maintenance and more geared towards creating and innovating through strengthening shared social bonds. Then I will discuss some criticisms members received when limiting themselves to only local arts resources. Despite these criticisms, I argue that Saptana Jagaraga's involvement in the festival has helped them re-cultivate interest in their own local ecology by drawing on arts resources from their immediate surroundings.

Performing Arts Revivals

For Saptana Jagaraga "re-cultivating local" and reviving the bonds broken by the proliferation of *sanggar* is not isolated from other social, political and religious revivals. A revival in the performing arts is often linked to other social movements happening concurrently in society. For example, Philip Bohlman notes that nationalism's revival in Europe and the Mediterranean was mirrored by a revival of religious devotion where, "these two forms of revival conjoin to shape a complex counterpoint in which the voices of one form of revival respond to those of the other" (2013, pp. 185-186). As Richard Fox notes, Bali's revival of Hindu-Balinese religious identity in an Islamic majority Indonesia carries with it strong sentiments of "Balineseness" or Ajeg Bali (2013, p. 49). One voice responding to the other, there is very likely a strong interdependent relationship between religious awareness and re-cultivating local art forms.

Also important is that revivals are phenomena that take place largely among middle-class cosmopolitans. Tamara Livingstone observes revivals as "cosmopolitan participatory music making" in her chapter in the Oxford Handbook of Music Revivals (2014). She says the participatory aspects of music revivals are significant because the very act of participation is, "a critical site for the intersection of musical practice and social signification" (Livingston, in Bithell et al., 2014, pp. 60-61). Livingston is inspired by Thomas Turino's work on social constructions and participatory music making. She goes on to say that, "revivalist ideologies tend to be constructed on certain modes of thinking and structuring of experiences shared by middle-class people in consumer capitalist and socialist societies" (Livingston, in Bithell et al.,

2014, p. 64). The rise of the Balinese middle-class largely corresponds to the decentralisation of government systems through Bali's designation as an autonomous region in 2001.

Revivals are also led by a middle-class demographic in response to cultural tourism in Bali. Tourism, according to Michel Picard, has persuaded cosmopolitan Balinese that culture is both a commodity and a heritage. As Picard writes, "Cultural tourism convinced the Balinese people that they have culture, something precious and perishable that they perceive as a capital to be exploited and as a heritage to be protected" (Picard, 2008, p. 155). Indeed, Balinese have increasingly become "self-aware" of their culture and must negotiate the moral dichotomy between culture as commodity and culture as heritage.

The use of the term "re-cultivating" in this paper draws upon ecology studies. From food ecologies we know the carnivore is any meat-eating organism that gets its nutrients from the flesh of other animals. Also from food ecologies is the term "locavore", a neologism coined in 2005 by San Francisco-based Local Food Wheel co-founder Jessica Prentice. A locavore refers to people who are interested in eating food locally grown, distributed and consumed. A locavore supports a local ecology of farmers, retailers and restaurants within a 100-mile radius. Today, environmentally conscious consumers are increasingly "buying local." But for this to be sustainable, there is a need to be constantly "re-cultivating local" to support the "nutrients" in local resources.

As we will see, the revival of a village-based group was wholly dependent upon "re-cultivating local," where local arts resources are nurtured in the village of Singapadu. Instead of outsourcing costumes and set design to artisans in distant parts of the island, locally sourced tailors and designers were used. Instead of bringing in teachers, dancers or musicians from other parts of their district, they challenged themselves to use all village resources to prepare for the Bali Arts Festival.

The Bali Arts Festival

I turn now to the Bali Arts Festival and competition. Over the past decade, participants in the Bali Arts Festival have increasingly abandoned traditional local aesthetic forms in favour of large stage props, glamorous costumes, and compositional techniques that aspire to emulate existing global forms. While fusing local aesthetics with global forms stimulates growth and creativity, for some, consciously taking counter measures against such innovations is an important step to take to sustain music, dance and theatre forms rooted in local culture. For the village of Singapadu, reviving a village-based youth troupe or *sebunan desa*, was a necessary step to take to rekindle relationships between village youth (see Figure 1, map of Gianyar). Competition is fierce among groups who represent the eight districts that compete in the Gong Kebyar contest. Typically, a *sanggar* core group like the one circled in the map will compete for Gianyar district. This core group will select the best teachers, musicians, dancers and drummers from all throughout its district. Often professional make-up artists, set designers, and even religious offerings are outsourced from all around the island.

In contrast, the village of Singapadu pictured as a small grey box in Figure 1 used locally sourced artisans for virtually every aspect of their performance. All teachers, musicians, dancers, costume and set designers were sourced locally from within a 3-kilometer radius. Singapadu has at its disposal many senior conservatory-trained teachers such as Made Bandem, Wayan Dibia, Nyoman Windha, Nyoman Cerita, and Ketut Kodi among others. Some of the key communities include Br. Kebon, Mukti, and Sengguan as well as GEOKS which hosted one of the 2014 PASEA workshops in Singapadu.

Figure 1. Map of Gianyar.

Windha and Kebyar

The "re-cultivating local" movement began in the village of Singapadu in late 2014 when a gamelan group auditioned to represent Gianyar District in the upcoming 2015 Gong Kebyar Festival. World-renown composer and Singapadu native, I Nyoman Windha composed the piece "Singanada" that was used to win the nomination. Local youth in Singapadu were buzzing with excitement because they knew it was the first time in almost eight years that the great maestro Windha had composed for the Gong Kebyar competition. For eight years Windha avoided featuring his own compositions because he was personally dissatisfied with the way *kebyar* was developing. As Wayan Dibia explained in an interview, the competition was the perfect opportunity for Windha to rally local support for his native village of Singapadu:

> Because *sanggar* were not successful, we were motivated to use the village-group models as a new concept. We decided to use our art resources however limited they may be. Our results will be special if we can come together in the most optimal way. At the very least, after representing Gianyar we will have a fine village-based group…Regardless of what happens, we will utilise our teachers, musicians, dancers, artisans and designers from our village of Singapadu. (W. Dibia, personal communication, 2015)

This is what lit the fire among the youth to re-cultivate a sense of local pride in their gamelan group. Here Windha and his reputation served as what Tamara Livingston calls a "core revivalist" where the authenticity of a living master of the heritage of *kebyar* generates the momentum needed to revive the form.

Other Village-Based Youth Groups

Saptana Jagaraga is not the first village-based group to focus on recultivating local resources towards sustaining social bonds between its members. 18 years ago, Dewa Beratha started Çudamani in the village of Pengosekan. Many youth from Pengosekan at this time were less interested in bonding together and spent more time profiting from the lucrative tourist industry. Today Çudamani is the pride of the village, a non-profit organisation that serves as a nexus for generations of village youth to learn their local culture (Harnish, 2013).

A second successful, but perhaps more commercial village-based group is Sanggar Paripurna (SJ). As much a professional production company as it is a village-based community group, Paripurna led by its charismatic leader Made Sidia is one of the pioneers of property. Both Çudamani and Paripurna are examples of variation to the village-based troupe that Saptana Jagara may choose to emulate in the future. The major difference at the moment is that unlike Çudamani and Paripurna which were instigated from a single family (Dewa Beratha, 1998; I Wayan Sidja, 1990), Saptana Jagaraga currently falls under the administration of a co-op between several community wards and belongs to no one single entity. Property is the term used by Balinese to describe large stage props such as horse-drawn chariots, or mythical battle elephants. Considered a "global form" and not indigenous to Balinese theatre, SJ leaders avoided using "property". Instead they designed and locally produced their own purpose-built costumes and stage props.

SJ avoided using large stage propos for two important reasons: (1) They wanted to produce a show that could be performed in small and medium sized stages such as local halls and outside village temples. It is impossible to parade a life-size horse-drawn carriage through a local community ward stage; (2) They wanted to design original, purpose-built costumes for their dancers. This is apparent in the original dance excerpt called Barong Api. The story tells how the first *barong* mask was carved by a local Singapadu palace resident inspired by a mystical image he saw in the face of the moon. In the drama, three dancers seamlessly merge their costumes into the head, torso and tail of the iconic *barong* mythical lion. By telling this story, Singapadu claims ownership of being the first village to perform the *barong* dance that is now the most popularly performed entertainment for tourists on the island.

Summary

The initial impetus for the revival of Saptana Jagaraga's village-based troupe was centred on a celebrated local composer writing a gamelan piece after a long hiatus. I do not believe participants intentionally set out to revive a village-based ensemble. Rather the excitement surrounding the composition challenged Singapadu youth to rally behind him. The revivalist ideologies soon followed. These ideologies were constructed on

modes of thinking and shared experiences projected on the composer and the village. Windha the local composer is what Tamara Livingston would call a "core revivalist," helping inspire a sense of authenticity to serve future innovations, in this case local pride in a composition written, produced and performed from local artisans.

Why were "property" or large stage props rejected as global forms? Accepting or rejecting global forms was based on aesthetic, logistical and economic criteria. Dibia distances himself from global forms and insists on a return to Sendratari's original aesthetic format where all characters dance their roles. In his eyes, a dependency on stage props makes dancers lazy and downplays the importance of moving bodies on stage. The *barong* costume, however, does not stick to local tradition. Instead, the usually heavy traditional two-person *barong* costume was designed to be light, portable and repositionable. By dividing the role of head, torso and tail among three dancers, the dancers could quickly reconfigure the large *barong* to virtually any part of the stage. Therefore, the rejection of large stage props required innovation of an existing local form, rather than simply maintaining a traditional one.

Reviving a village-based troupe also meant limiting arts resources to Singapdu's immediate village local. Similar to the dietary consumer habits of a locavore, musicians, dancers, teachers and costume designers are sourced from within a 3-kilometer radius of the village. Can Saptana Jagaraga sustain the village-based troupe into the foreseeable future? Now one year on, they have only made periodic appearances at temple festivals and social events. As is the case, Saptana Jagaraga members have returned to being independent contractors, free agents busy making a living teaching, performing their art forms. Whether or not they are able to continue to re-cultivate local art forms under the banner of a village-based troupe remains to be seen. For the moment however, a solid foundation is being maintained and sustained.

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PANEL: SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CURRENT CONCERNS AND NEW DIRECTIONS—PART I

RETIRING THE SPIRITS: ISLAMIC ACTIVISM AND CULTURAL REVIVAL IN SOUTHWESTERN THAILAND

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In May 2008, I attended a rare event in the small village where I was living at the time in southwestern Thailand. An 82-year-old man, one-time leader of a folk theatre troupe, and in his final years (as it would turn out), decided it was his social responsibility to end his association with his supernatural spirit companions. He would do so with one final ritualised performance, a *rong khru*, dedicated to the ancestral teachers of his *like pa* (pronounced *li-gay-pa*) folk theatre genre. That this *rong khru* took place in an entirely Muslim community meant there were special implications to the staging of its performance, which I shall relate to changing beliefs and practices of Muslims in this region over the past half century.

I begin with a personal observation that the Andaman Coast of Southwestern Thailand (henceforth "the Andaman," though not to be confused with the Andaman Islands) is as complex and distinctive an environment for Islam as I've encountered in Southeast Asia. And being quiet and peaceful—unlike the Patani region on the east coast, made infamous because of its long-running conflict—it gets relatively little attention. It is not just war and peace that separates the Andaman from its neighbours, but culturally, linguistically, and religiously, it has had a very different historical trajectory from other Muslim communities on the Malayan Peninsula.

The village at the centre of this study is Ban Khrang.[2] In terms of regional performing arts, is distinctive in two respects: first, for decades—from the 1920s until the 1960s—it produced performing troupes in several genres (*like pa, makyong* folk theatre, *ronggeng* social dance, and *silat* martial arts), which were well-known around the Andaman; and second, Ban Khrang is one of the few remaining Muslim villages that in recent years has tried to revive those traditions amidst and against a rising tide of Islamic consciousness.

The broader issues that Ban Khrang presents for this paper and panel on endangerment and sustainability are how village performers negotiate religious changes when pressured by increasingly conservative community norms, and the types of work they do to preserve endangered traditions. And perhaps lessons drawn from their experiences might offer useful models for the wider region, because despite the distinctiveness of this case, the trends and factors found in this study are not unique to Ban Khrang, but are challenges faced by Muslim performers throughout Southeast Asia. I focus here on two separate, but interrelated revivals: one is the revival of Islamic identity that began in the early 1970s, and continues to be embraced enthusiastically by many Muslims today; the second is a revival of cultural identity that began taking root just over a decade ago, partly in response to the cultural impoverishment left in the wake of the aforementioned Islamic revival.

My point of reference is the *rong khru* mentioned earlier, which was perceived to be a transition between old and new guards. However, my purpose here is not to talk about what took place in the performance, but rather discuss the transitions it exemplified for Muslim performing arts as a whole in the region. To put it briefly, the "retiring" of the spirits from the village allowed a new generation of performers to emerge, unburdened by past practices. This liberated them, in a sense, to rearticulate the community's cultural identity within the new conservatism.

Performing Artists and the Supernatural World

I now return to discuss the troupe leader, Pak Dun, whom I mentioned earlier, and the village. Pak Dun was the *nai rong* "troupe leader" of the village *like pa* theatre. The group was founded in the 1920s by his uncle and other village players, and his personal involvement dates back to 1947 when he assumed the principle role, held previously by his uncle, of Khaek, the Indian trader: a character that dresses colourfully, wears a bearded mask with a large nose, and speaks a pseudo-Indian patois, while being playful, comedic, and a bombastic singer and dancer (see Ross, 2017).[3]

Pak Dun was a respected elder of the close-knit Ban Khrang community (population: approximately 1,000), but his practices had become anachronistic, and provided something of a conundrum for the

contemporary, transformed social environment. As a shaman and folk performer (roles that are very often indistinguishable), his position was special, yet marginal. He was said to *kanlieng* spirits (meaning "raise" or "take care of" them)—not an unusual practice in this region, especially among traditional artists, but one that had becoming less acceptable among the general Muslim population.

The supernatural beings that were his responsibility belong to one of two types and have two major roles. A top-level taxonomy may be divided into: (a) *Jaothi*, one of many local terms for various guardian spirits, which are often represented as animal figures and associated with a particular locality; and (b) Spirits of the ancestors, or *thuad*, which for many performing artists represent the "ancient" or "original" teachers of their forms. Folk performers of Pak Dun's standing possess a deep "indigenous" knowledge of these "subtle creatures," which speaks to their individual characters, temperaments, physical qualities, and biographies. They intercede between natural and supernatural worlds, beseeching the *jaothi* for protection for the players and audience from harm. To the *thuad*, they make entreaties to be made better singers and actors, more mellifluous as musicians, and more attractive to their audiences.

Leaving aside Islamic pronouncements of such activities for now, locals consider raising spirits as an exceptional burden, which cannot be taken lightly. Spirits require regular feeding, (i.e., propitiations with offerings), and when the person raising them passes away, it is traditionally believed that the spirits will then choose a new patron from the immediate family. However, if that person fails to propitiate them, then mischief and misfortune can ensue, which might affect not only the family, but the village at large.

An Islamic Revival and the Tablighi Jama'at

Although the burden of raising and passing on spirits to the next generation may have been one (personal) motivation for the retirement performance, the transitional nature of the occasion is interwoven with the decades-old Islamic revival that, by that time, was well entrenched in the community. The most important agent of the Islamic "revival", and the movement that best symbolises it is arguable the Tablighi Jama'at, or as locals refer to them, *da'wa* (from Arabic: used generally for "missionary," in Malay, *dakwah*). Farish Noor and Alex Horstmann, who have both written studies of the Tablighi Jama'at in Southeast Asia, describe them as among the world's largest—if not the largest—Islamic missionary movements, with origins dating to the 1920s in northern India where they began as reformists in the ideological lineage of their forbears, the North Indian Deobandis and Arabian Salafis (see Noor, 2012; Horstmann, 2007). But they have been ostensibly apolitical and confined their preaching to Muslims, and thus less controversial than those other two groups when operating in Southeast Asia. Noor's definition of them as "itinerant lay Muslim missionaries" (Noor, 2012, p. 18) concisely describes their activities in South Thailand, which by multiple accounts appear to have begun in the late 1960s or early 1970s.[4] From that point onward, the region experienced a sustained influx of Tablighis that continues unabated today.

The word "ubiquitous" fittingly illustrates the presence and influence of the Tablighi Jama'at throughout the Andaman. In fieldwork in southern Thailand between 2005 and 2010, I would pass pickup trucks overflowing with Tablighis on the roads on a daily basis. They were a common sight in the villages, where they walked single-file, house to house, in their *khuruj* missionizing. And through my close interactions with them, I learned that their saturation of the south was carried out in a methodical, deliberate manner, through missionary teams dispatched to every corner of the region from a *markaz* "headquarters" in Yala Province. Each team is sent to spend several days in a village, making camp in the local mosque and spending daytime hours walking door-to-door greeting locals. After that, they move on to a neighbouring village and repeat the process, and as one team leaves, another arrives to take its place. As time has passed, the movement has become indigenised: the first Tablighi Jama'at in the region were South Asians (Indians and Pakistanis), mostly, but today the majority are Thai Muslims.

Regardless of their background, the Islam preached by the Tablighi Jama'at is rather austere and generally rejects pre-Islamic traditions. This is very much in contrast with the early Islamic missionaries in Southeast Asia (such as the Wali Songo in Java) who adapted and reframed traditional performing arts to help propagate their religious worldview. The Tablighi Jama'at have made no such efforts in their missionizing in southwestern Thailand; to the contrary, they actively press for the abandonment of local traditions. And judging by the numerous stories told by villagers to me about their once-thriving folk theatres and dance troupes ceasing to exist after the arrival of the Tablighi Jama'at, this *da'wa* project has been extremely successful. Although Ban Khrang also experienced a similar increase in religiosity during the '70s, the *da'wa* were largely absent there, making the village something of an outlier with the rest of southwestern Thailand. Some villagers told me that they made it clear that they didn't want the *da'wa*, and the *da'wa* must

have obliged them because they mostly stay away. As one village performer in his fifties, Amin, explained to me: "We have our own way of being Muslim. [*da'wa*] are outsiders who don't understand our culture."

A principle argument against the Tablighi Jama'at was that they—as lay missionaries—did not have a good understanding of religion themselves. Some villagers were particularly critical of their use of the term *syirik* (an Arabic term meaning polytheism) applied indiscriminately against anything they deemed forbidden as one of their methods of persuasion. Through my conversations with Tablighi Jama'at, I found them inclined to use this argument against any and all forms of performing arts (excluding the Islamic praise songs found elsewhere in the Islamic world, such as *nasyid*, which were not a deep-rooted local practice).

A Cultural Rebirth

The Ban Khrang generation that came of age in the era of Islamic *da'wa* did not follow in the footsteps of their parents' generation as performers, a consequence of both changing generational tastes and the rediscovered religiosity that had spread region-wide. As a result, *likay pa* and other village traditions in Ban Khrang fell dormant. Although Pak Dun continued with his annual *rong khru* observances during that period—as he was obliged to keep propitiating the spirits—even those ceremonies became smaller and more private. At the time I first began my research in the village I was informed that such practices belonged to the past, that they had been discontinued; however, in actuality I found out them still being performed, but indiscreetly, and generally not spoken about with outsiders.

Around the late-1990s, early-2000s, the village became more introspective about its past identity and nostalgic for a time seen as having fewer social challenges. In part, this was a reaction to the economic conditions of the day: the late 1990s were a difficult period for Thailand and the country was encouraged to follow Thai king Bhumiphol's concept of a "self-sufficiency economy" (*setakit pho phiang*). Ban Khrang embraced this movement, and saw a number of cooperatives pop up, a number of which still remain active today including a coffee co-op (producing a coffee powder that has become famous in the region), a shellfish cultivation co-op, and one that I came to know best: the performing arts co-op, Klum Fuenfu Mitaphap, or the "Friendship Revival Group."

Another factor that may have indirectly contributed to changing attitudes toward preserving performing traditions in Ban Khrang, and the overall blossoming of local expression throughout Thailand. This was the loosening of centralised control over the educational system that took place around the turn of the millennium. It was a rather modest change: according to Fuenfu Mitaphap's leader, Ma'arof (who is also a school teacher and community leader), public schools were directed to dedicate five percent of their syllabi to local content (*lakasut thong thin*). However, this mandate was intentionally ambiguous; schools were expected to decide individually how to fulfil it. Thus, Ban Khrang and other rural schools turned to their aging performing community to train their students, by mostly preparing them to participate in cultural performances. As a result, a renewed interest in folk arts was beginning to develop over the same period that I was conducting fieldwork. Fuenfu Mitaphap formed mainly of descendants of the erstwhile Ban Khrang groups of the 1920s and 1940s. They enlisted elders to help them revive their defunct genres. For *likay pa*, Pak Dun became their principle mentor, but he was not involved in their performances in any capacity.

In the many Fuenfu Mitaphap performances I have attended—most of which took place at cultural shows or municipal festivals—Ma'arof has typically begun with a brief introduction to the group and their mission, stating how it aims to revive and preserve their village's performing traditions in a manner deemed acceptable to contemporary Muslim audiences. Although his words are intended to mollify conservative resistance, they are sincere and speak to his own religious sensibilities, as well as his personal reflections upon identity. He enumerates the way they endeavour to be acceptable: by using modest dress and language, performing only during times that do not conflict with religious occasions, and by not carrying on the past practice of associating with the supernatural world. In private, he and other group members tell me that much of the religious establishment (mosque officials and Islamic activists) remain reticent about the permissibility of performing arts, but they are hopeful that their alternative voice is well-received among their audiences.

There are other signs of adaptations that the group feels necessary to carry on the *like pa* tradition: for example, their performances are much briefer than in the past, and have shed some of the more controversial sections such as the ritual opening songs and the meandering folk legends that once formed the greater part of past *like pa* performances. What remains is basically a narrative overview of the performance (*Phleng Bok Chut*) sung at the outset, and a fixed dramatic scene called *Ok Khaek*, which features the Indian character mentioned earlier.

Concluding Thoughts

I conclude by returning to the earlier story of the retirement performance. In the days preceding it, I was interested to know how the regular stream of villagers who stopped by my rented home in Ban Khrang felt about the *rong khru*, and whether they planned to attend. The response was quite muted. They seemed unwilling to acknowledge it—a very different reaction compared to the enthusiasm and teamwork that always accompanied other village events such as the annual circumcision parade, old folks' day, sports day, and other celebrations. The fact that this would be absolutely the last staging of such an event ever in the village did not elicit any nostalgia. More than a few called it *syirik* or *haram* "forbidden". To complicate the issue even further and inject more controversy into the performance, Pak Dun chose to hold it on a Thursday night, a sacred time when pious Muslims typically recite the Quran and perform *zikir* invocations. Because of this, even those who saw themselves as "less devout" told me they stayed away for fear of being party to something with negative associations.

On the night of the performance, a small group of people gathered to participate in the event. They included several members of Fuenfu Mitaphap whom I would describe as "traditionalists" (meaning they had not abandoned their extra-Islamic practices as many others had), and members of a troupe of Buddhist *likay pa* players from a village roughly a thirty minutes away. The latter group were led by an old friend of Pak Dun. He would "adopt" the spirits and bring them back to his home, thus formally transferring them not only outside the village, but outside of the religion as well. As if exemplifying the whole transition, toward the conclusion of the occasion, a woman from that Buddhist village, but a Muslim convert who had been married and living in Ban Khrang for decades, became possessed by the *khru mo* "ancestor spirit" of *likay pa*, Nang Yuan. Her trancing was not seen as odd or un-Islamic, but accepted as a natural part of such situations.

The retirement of the Ban Khrang *like pa* troupe leader and transfer of his spirits reflects a type of solution that is taking place throughout the region amid changing religiosities. As spirits become abandoned by Muslims, they are being re-adopted by adherents of other religions. In some cases they are "transferred" for the sake of maintaining harmony with the supernatural world, such as with the Ban Khrang community. Here in Penang, there are similar cases. You might come across *datuk* shrines whose custodians are Chinese, but which house spirits that purportedly descend from Muslim ancestors, and whose former caretakers were Malays.[5] The Chinese still celebrate these spirits' "birthdays", and decorate the shrines with sensitivity to their residents, by providing Malay clothing and halal food. Thus, the currents around traditional practices are dynamic and complex, and although abandonment and cultural impoverishment has been a hallmark of the era of Islamic *da'wa* in many regards, there are new spaces opening for Muslims in southwestern Thailand to find ways to reconcile their religious beliefs in distinctive and diverse manners.

Endnotes

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[2] All names of places and people in this article are pseudonyms.
[3] Khaek is Thai for "guest", but frequently is used in reference to Indians, Malays, and Arabs. Sometimes this character is referred to as *Khaek Daeng*, (where *daeng* means "red"). The counterpart in Malaysian *likay pa* (known there as *jikey*) is called "Bengali", as in "one originating from Bengal."
[4] The earliest oral narratives I have recorded on the da'wa in southwestern Thailand place them there in the early 1970s.
[5] See Rashid and Karim (1988), pp. 26-41.

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PANEL: SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CURRENT CONCERNS AND NEW DIRECTIONS—PART I

CELESTIAL HORSES IN THE LION CITY: MALAY IDENTITY AND THE SUSTAINABILITY OF *KUDA KEPANG* IN SINGAPORE

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The sustainability and transmission of performance forms has long been a topic of discussion by folklorists and ethnomusicologists (Lobley, 2014). Expanding fields like ecomusicology explore relationships between music, materialism and the environment (Lobley, 2014; Guy, 2009). Folklorists and ethnomusicologists concerned with the issue of the sustainability of performance forms have become increasingly critical of international heritage proclamations like UNESCSO's Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in which a "safeguarded" tradition is often dislocated from its original context and repackaged into a heritage commodity incorporated into tourist displays and nationalist productions (Lobley, 2014; Titon, 2009; Chen, 2015). Indeed, Jeff Todd Titon argues that scholars interested in musical sustainability should "step outside of ownership and ask instead "Who are the stewards of culture?"" (2009b, p. 135). Discussions of ownership, continuity, nationalism and heritage politics are particularly relevant to the sustainability of traditional forms of performance in Southeast Asia. Rapid modernisation, urbanisation, political movements, and debates regarding appropriate forms of religious practice influence the transmission and transformation of these forms. Performance forms that are economically unsustainable or deemed irrelevant to current cultural concerns are discouraged while performance forms that have been recognised as "intangible heritage" are transformed in the process of branding them as national heritage or tourism commodities.

This paper explores the controversies surrounding *kuda kepang* as an articulation of contemporary Singaporean Malay identity and investigates how and why individual *kuda kepang* performers work not just to sustain, but transform its performance. Like the practitioners of many traditional performance forms in Muslim Southeast Asia that incorporate indigenous forms of mysticism with localised forms of Islamic religious practice, Malay practitioners of *kuda kepang* in Singapore work hard to justify the sustainability of their art when confronting religious authorities and Singaporean Malay community leaders who promote more normative, globalised interpretations of Islam (Hardwick, 2014). Unlike many marginalised Southeast Asian forms of performance that incorporate local mysticism and localised interpretations of Islam, the performance of Singaporean *kuda kepang* is rapidly expanding among Singaporean Malay youth who feel marginalised by mainstream Singaporean society. I examine how Singaporean *kuda kepang* performers, acknowledging concerns of Muslim religious authorities, are working to reform *kuda kepang* from the inside out, replacing problematic trance states with spiritual highs obtained through *zikir*, Islamic prayer, and theories of self-confidence. I also explore how performers engage this dynamic form as an urban ritual that allows them to maintain a sense of Malay cultural heritage and social space in modern Singapore. Although these performances challenge the status quo of upper class Singaporean Malay Muslim identity, a large number of female performers engage in these performances to forge a sense of connection with their ethnic identity, create and reinforce community networks through performance, and challenge traditional gender roles through their performances.

Singapore is a multi-ethnic island nation state separated from Peninsular Malaysia by the narrow Straits of Johor. 13.3% of Singapore's residential population of 5.54 million people is recorded as Malay (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2015). In Singapore, the term Malay refers to the Muslim descendants of the pre-colonial inhabitants of the island of Singapore, Muslim immigrants from the Malay Peninsula and insular Southeast Asia, and can even include the descendants of Muslim immigrants from India and the Hadhramaut.

Kuda kepang is a hobby-horse trance dance first performed in Singapore in 1948. Javanese immigrant Haji Dahlan began to organise performances in Singapore's Javanese settlements with two dancers, a *gendang*, *saron*, and *jidur*. Haji Dahlan's early *kuda kepang* performances are said by performers to have been similar to those found in Javanese villages in Johor Malaysia, whose origins are often traced to Central Java where the form was known as *Jaranan Jowo* (Hardwick, 2014). In the 1980s, there were five recorded *kuda kepang* troupes in Singapore, but this figure is now estimated to range from 40 to 60 with more than 1,500 practitioners, the majority of whom are young people (Bharwani, 2010, p. 2; Iswandiarjo bin Wismodiarjo, 2012).

While contemporary Singaporean *kuda kepang* performances share similarities with Javanese *jaranan*, *kuda lumping*, *reog*, and *jathilan*, the performances have been localised by Singaporean Malay practitioners, and have become a unique, highly contested expression of Singaporean Malay identity (Harwick, 2014). Despite the objection of MUIS—the Islamic Religious Council of Singapore—to elements of *kuda kepang* performance thought to be against Islam, these performances continue to take place regularly at birthday parties, weddings, circumcisions, and even Chinese religious festivals throughout Singapore. *Kuda kepang* performances also face civil censure as Singapore town councils have banned public performances. *Kuda kepang* performances are often linked by popular media with vandalism and fights between rival troupes and at minimum are often viewed by some members of the public as a nuisance due to the noise of the *gamelan* reverberating off the walls of Housing Development Board apartment blocks. Young people, particularly young Singaporean Malay men and women who feel disenfranchised in the modern Singaporean economy are drawn to observe and participate in these performances. Older established members of the upper class of the Singaporean Malay community often view these performances and performers with derision. The date and time of performances is spread via word of mouth, assisted by instant message, Twitter and Facebook. Video clips of the performances are captured by smartphones and posted to YouTube by avid fans.

Figure 1. Kuda kepang troupe Astina performs for the Five Ghost Festival. Photo Credit: Lim Chuen Ming, Singapore, 2013.

So what is Singaporean *kuda kepang*? The details of a Singaporean *kuda kepang* performance vary according to individual groups, but follow a similar structure. It begins with a *buka gelanggang* ceremony consisting of prayers that are performed to safeguard the performance space and to protect performers from negative spiritual influences. The *buka gelanggang* is followed by a dance performance of choreographed movements in front of a *gamelan* (orchestra) that can contain instruments from a variety of regions in the Indonesian archipelago. For example, the gamelan of Kensenian Tedja Timur includes a *saron pekin*, a *saron barung*, a *saron demung*, a *bonang*, a *kempul*, a set central Javanese and Sundanese *kendang*, and a bass *jidur*. During the choreographed opening dance, the dancers wear a woven bamboo or wooden horse, which they sit astride and hang from their shoulder via a strap. The performers then begin the *tarian mabuk*, a dance of intoxication in order achieve an altered state of consciousness in which they are aware of their actions, but unable to speak.

Performers describe *mabuk* as feeling like they themselves have become horses, their movements driven by the sounds of the *gamelan*, their speed moderated by the tempo of the *kendang*, and the change in their movements directed by the *jidur*. As horses, performers gallop around the *gelanggang*, some are drawn to the offerings or *sajinan*, while others choose to dance on shards of broken glass, chew the thin glass of kerosene lamps, drink pails of water, or open coconut husks with their teeth. Group marshals crack horsewhips to get the attention of their charges, and whip them to demonstrate the ability of performers to withstand pain or to discipline them for their antics. Performers dismount from their hobby-horses near the end of their performance. Standing over a burning pot of frankincense the *dukun besar* or *dalang* entices the performer to return home. The performer takes this opportunity of freedom from their horse to embody the actions of mischievous monkeys including Hanuman and his band of warriors, take up the mask of the *singa barong*, imitate the refined dance of a *wayang wong* hero, demonstrate their ability to withstand pain by being hit with bamboo poles and fire whips, or engage in *silat* movements punctuated by the interlocking rhythm of the *kendang*. Once a performer has been drawn to the *dalang*, they are released from their intoxication

with a series of prayers whispered in their ear, and the spirit that was borrowed or character that was impersonated appears to be dramatically removed from the performer's body as they lie on the ground covered with a piece of batik.

Kuda Kepang as an Articulation of Singapore Malay Identity

I will now turn to explore how three Singaporean Malay *kuda kepang* practitioners understand their own ethnic identities and how these perceptions reflected in their performance practice. Julienne binti Amir is a female *kuda kepang* practitioner who currently performs with Cahayo Senopati Sakti. Julienne choses to describe herself as "pure Malay," elaborating: "actually, my background in the family, my mother is actually from Bugis. And my father is actually from Malacca. So I am more on the pure Malay. And there is no background of Boyenese and Javanese" (Julienne binti Amir, personal communication, January 17-18, 2013). Julienne went on to describe Cahayo Senopati Sakti as "comprised of different-different types of Malays. They have the Javanese, they have the Boyenese, they have the Bugis, and they also have the Malaccans, they also have the Penang. So it is different-different type of Malay culture" (Julienne binti Amir, personal communication, January 17-18, 2013).

Julienne emphasised that Cahayo Senopati Sakti had chosen to focus on *kuda kepang* as a form of entertainment that mixed the study of *silat* martial arts with *kuda kepang* performance. According to Zaki bin Ismail, the leader of Cahayo Senopati Sakti, the form of *silat* that his group practices is Seligi Tunggal, a Boyanese form taught to him in Singapore. Although Zaki acknowledges the Boyenese origins of his *silat* style, he explains that "[w]e don't distinguish between Boyanese and Javanese. Regarding the study of *persilatan* it is all the same" (Zaki bin Ismail, personal communication, January 17, 2013). Julienne echoes Zaki's sentiments when she identifies the *silat* practiced by her group as a Malay art. Julienne feels that the inclusion of *silat* in their group's performance makes their *kuda kepang* performance style more acceptable to the larger Singaporean Malay community. She defines this creative amalgamation of cultural traditions from insular and peninsular Southeast Asia as being a hallmark of Singaporean Malay identity.

> [M]ost of our members actually have the background of *persilatan*, so we actually mix *persilatan*, which actually is the Malay culture, together with the Javanese culture, so to put in that the *kuda kepang* and the *persilatan* can be together…It is to show that we can mix the *cara persilatan* together with the Javanese. So it is two different type of cultures that actually can move together in one beat. (Julienne binti Amir, personal communication, January 17-18, 2013).

Reactions to MUIS

From 1997-1999, *kuda kepang* troupes were unable to obtain performance permits due to the opposition of MUIS, the Islamic Religious Council of Singapore. MUIS cites the trance states, the invocation of *jinn*, and the performance of self-mortifying feats that often take place during *kuda kepang* performances as issues of concern. "These elements are against the teachings of Islam and must be avoided at all times."

Obtaining the required permits for *kuda kepang* performances from Singapore Town Councils and the local Police Department remains difficult. Popular press articles link *kuda kepang* performance with the destruction of public property, gangsterism, and the spontaneous occurrence of violent trances of teenagers involved in *kuda kepang* (Bharwani, 2010, p. 2; Zubaidah, 2010, p. 6). I attended several *kuda kepang* performances that were interrupted by visits from local police, who would invariably suspend the performance until they could confirm that the required permits had been registered with Town Council authorities and the local police department.

Kuda kepang practitioners are well aware of the articles in the popular press that emphasise the destruction of public property by entranced performers, noise disturbances, and gang fights (Hardwick, 2014). Despite the MUIS recommendations against *kuda kepang*, problems obtaining performance permits from Town Councils, and negative publicity, many practitioners continue to find value in the performance of *kuda kepang* as they feel that the study of this currently controversial form of traditional "Malay" performance enriches their understanding of themselves, their community, and their heritage. Performers argue that public *kuda kepang* performances provide an opportunity for Singaporeans from all cultural and socio-economic backgrounds to gather, eat, talk, socialise, and perform in a public space. For the duration of the performance, performers and spectators create a small-scale, highly personalised, village atmosphere

reminiscent of the *kampung* that formed the fabric of the social landscape of Singapore less than thirty years ago. Julienne explains:

> [W]hat is still bringing me back to be involved in *kuda kepang* is that we are more like a family. The closeness that we share with each other…then we can share what is our experience. And the most important is your enjoyment…[I]f one *kumpulan* [group] does a *gelanggang* and then another *kumpulan* starts to come, and then we meet in the *gelanggang*, so it is like one big community of Malays is there, we get to meet each other, and ask about our wellbeing, you know and get together and feel like we are back in a village environment. (Julienne binti Amir, personal communication, January 17-18, 2013)

Tok Ayah Kromo Pawiro, the leader of *kuda kepang* troupe Kromo Pawiro Nogo Sostro Kabupaten, argues that the practices of his group are not contrary to Islam as verses from the Qur'an, not Javanese *mantera*, are employed by his performers to achieve states of heightened awareness during performance. Tok Ayah elaborates that he traces the origins of *kuda kepang* performance to the Wali Songo, nine Javanese saints, who are said to have utilised traditional performing arts to convert Javanese Hindus to Islam. Tok Ayah views the performances of his hobby-horse riding dancers as evocative of the history of horse-mounted warriors of Islam fighting for the faith. While he acknowledges that the performance of *kuda kepang* is compelling, he argues that performance itself does not have the power to call *jinn* or provoke possession by supernatural beings.

> The Wali Songo began this performance, half of the community, we like to follow the history of the Wali. The nine Wali. We dance with nine girls, the horse dance is done with nine people, because there are nine Wali. And we follow the history of how the warriors fought for Islam. So we follow that history…It cannot be said that *kuda kepang* itself can call the spirits down. It is not *kuda kepang* that causes trance. Not so. It is only that it causes intoxication following the spirit or the movement of the body…When those people are intoxicated, they recognise who their mother is, who their father is, who is their elder brother. (Tok Ayah Kromo Pawiro, personal communication, January 15, 2013)

In response to the common accusation made by MUIS that *kuda kepang* practitioners allow supernatural beings to possess them when in trance, some practitioners argue that they are merely achieving a heightened state of awareness through the simple recitation of Islamic prayer. Julienne, a Singaporean Malay Muslim woman with children who often choses to wear *hijab* as a reflection of her faith in daily life but removes it when performing *kuda kepang* states "[a]t the time when we want to *tarian mabuk* we actually do *baca doa*, That means recite Al-Fatiha, Sura Al-Anas and PulAllah and then after that we will Salawat Nabi all the way" (Julienne binti Amir, personal communication, January 17-18, 2013). Julienne emphasises that Islamic prayer is also used to return the performer to their normal state of awareness: "so we are actually using more on the prayers [*bacaan*] like from the Qur'an, you know, *yasin* to actually bring back those horses [*kuda*]" (Julienne binti Amir, personal communication, January 17-18, 2013).

When asked her opinion regarding why female *kuda kepang* performers in Singapore engage in trance states and feats of self-mortification when this is less common in related hobby-horse traditions in Indonesia and Malaysia, Julienne replied:

> Ok, maybe it is due to because the modernisation of the world, right now, I mean, those women in Singapore are more open-minded…And then, because also they feel that as a modern womens, then they can get involved [sic]. And as we are staying in Singapore every woman have their own rights. And so it is much more open.

Julienne views her participation in these marginalised and in many cases, illegal urban rituals that take place regularly in the heart of Singapore as a means to simultaneously express her identity as a modern, liberated woman with independent rights, as well as a way to connect with her heritage and ethnic identity. She also notes that these performances are a means by which the Malay community can be ritually recreated and reinforced in an environment in which the physical infrastructure of Malay village life has been obliterated by modern development.

Replacing Mystical Invulnerability with Islamic Theories of Confidence

Iswandiarjo bin Wismodiargo, also known as Wandi, is the fifth generation leader of Kensenian Tedja Timur, one of the oldest and most respected *kuda kepang* troupes in Singapore. Wandi attended the Indonesian Institute of the Arts in Yogyakarta, where he obtained his diploma in Javanese classical arts. Wandi has strong personal convictions regarding the combination of religion and art and argues against the inclusion of Islamic prayer in *kuda kepang* performance described by Tok Ayah and Julienne and practiced by many *kuda kepang* troupes in Singapore. Wandi argues that the conflation of religion and culture is itself the problem, and that cultural performances like *kuda kepang* should not seek legitimacy with the Islamic authorities through the inclusion of Islamic prayers.

> Why? Because, culture and religion cannot be regarded as equal. Culture is culture. Religion is religion. If you want to become an artist, then straightaway become an artist. If you want to be a religious figure, then you straight away become a religious figure. (Iswandiarjo bin Wismodiargo, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

Wandi has developed his own vision of how to reform *kuda kepang* practice in Singapore to facilitate its acceptance by sceptical members of Singapore's Malay community, MUIS, and the Singaporean Government. He is working to register all *kuda kepang* troupes in Singapore, in the hopes of consolidating them under an umbrella organisation that would promote a performance practice that eliminates mystical elements like trance and the invocation of *jinn*. To this end, Wandi has developed a form of *kuda kepang* similar in appearance to traditional *kuda kepang*, but that promotes the use of *keyakinan*, which he translates as self-confidence, as opposed to *kebatinan* or mysticism. While older *kuda kepang* practitioners attribute their invulnerability to physical damage when performing to mystical knowledge and supernatural assistance, Wandi attributes the ability of the younger members of his troupe to perform feats of super-human physicality like chewing glass and dancing on glass shards to strong mental awareness, self confidence in their abilities, and the study of specific performance methods that make these feats possible. Wandi notes that the Islamic theory of confidence has three degrees: *ilm-al yakin*, *ayn-al yakin*, and *haqq-al yakin* and that his students progress from one level to another as they go through their training. Wandi explains:

> So certainly those older people, they used mysticism. So they used whatever *lah*. The knives would not cut them, because they were invulnerable. So that is from the last era. But now they want things like that. But how can we not use mysticism? Meaning that they must practice. Practice all the time. Practice, practice, practice. It is only when they are *yakin*, confident, that they can do it. So this is the *kuda kepang* that is now in Singapore, the majority of what they do, it is using self-confidence. (Iswandiarjo bin Wismodiargo, personal communication, September 25, 2012).

Conclusion

As Singaporean *kuda kepang* practitioners encounter resistance from religious and civil authorities they evolve their performance practices as a means to sustain their art. Performers desire to ensure the sustainability of *kuda kepang* performance in Singapore as it allows them to create a Malay cultural space, reinventing the ethos of the *kampung* through ritual in the heart of urban Singapore. Female Singaporean *kuda kepang* practitioners view their involvement both as a means to engage with cultural heritage and embody "modern" notions of women's rights and female empowerment. While the external performance of Singaporean *kuda kepang* may appear the same to non-initiated observers, the mystic interaction with the unseen realm of *jinn* is fast being replaced with heightened states of awareness obtained through Islamic prayer, and supernaturally obtained invulnerability makes way for training in self-confidence and performance methods to prevent injury when performing dangerous stunts that involve eating or dancing on glass and the lashings of horsewhips (Hardwick, 2014). Singaporean *kuda kepang* practitioners also refashion narratives of the origin of their art, linking *kuda kepang* not with Java's pre-Islamic past, but with the *dakwah* of the Wali Songo, nine Javanese saints said to have used Javanese performance forms to spread knowledge about Islam.

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PANEL: SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CURRENT CONCERNS AND NEW DIRECTIONS—PART I

STRATEGIES AND CHALLENGES FOR MUSIC SUSTAINABILITY IN LOMBOK, INDONESIA

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Music sustainability is a complicated initiative in a traditional society that is rapidly modernising, globalising, urbanising, and changing politically and religiously. The "traditional" arts are sometimes no longer perceived to fit with the resulting more urban, cosmopolitan population. As a subfield within applied ethnomusicology, music sustainability has primarily arisen from viewing music culture as an ecological system or ecosystem— music as a "biocultural resource" related to intangible cultural heritage—though it can be used to advocate sustaining musician livelihoods, transmission, live performance as a medium, or links to one's ancestors, among other possibilities.

When sustainability is invoked, concerns may be that "traditional" musics are endangered; that the processes of globalisation have decreased local musical diversity; that local cultures are overwhelmed by hegemonic forces; and, that local musics then change or homogenise. Since the middle of the 20th century, it has been a challenge for developing nations to maintain traditional arts as global capitalism, often parallel with political pressures, opened new markets and foreign goods and influences spread worldwide. Music hybridisation—either globalising the local or localising the global—is a frequent result. Hybridisation has helped preserve traditions throughout the world, though some "traditional" elements are necessarily discarded for new, "global" ones, and perhaps not all art forms meet the essential aesthetic criteria to survive or be modernised and sustained.

Huib Schippers (2010) of the *Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures* project lists ailments that afflict local traditional musics as a result of processes of globalisation.

- Loss of prestige
- Loss of instruments
- Poor music education
- Socio-economic change
- Infrastructure challenges

These ailments are all apparent on the island of Lombok, where arts officials, educators, and artists are struggling to maintain traditional arts. To Schippers' list, I would add "socio-religious change" and "government neglect" as other causes of music decline or change. While the national and provincial governments sought to shape and unify the new country through the arts, some local educators and musicians feel that the government has now largely turned against the arts—denying resources for instrument upkeep, performance opportunities, ensemble or instrument purchase, dance costumes, masks, transport, training, and so forth—thus making traditional musics not only vulnerable to neglect but also open to scrutiny from religious authorities.

To measure music endangerment, Catherine Grant (2014) developed the Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework (MVEF), which consists of such factors as intergenerational transmission, changing numbers of proficient musicians, change in performance contexts and functions, infrastructure and resources, responses to media, governmental policies, community assessments, and the amount and quality of documentation, among others. To these factors I would add "status of material culture," meaning musical instruments, as a measurement of music "health". Few instruments used in traditional ensembles in Lombok are being produced, wide-ranging deforestation has resulted in less material for instruments, and extant instruments are rarely repaired or replaced; this attrition factor triggers decline, particularly within *gamelan*-type ensembles due to the complexity and expense of forging bronze keys and gongs. With diminishing traditions comes diminishing demand. Economic hardship has often compelled families or villages to sell their instruments or sets of shadow puppets to buy foodstuffs.

Like many Indonesian islands, Lombok had a pre-modern, traditional society that underwent momentous shifts over centuries: Javanese hegemony off-and-on during the Middle Ages, Balinese occupation over hundreds of years; Dutch colonisation for 50 years; and Japanese occupation—all by 1945. Post WWII the island, joined politically with Bali, began modernising. Following the national anti-leftist

upheaval in 1965-1966 in response to an attempted communist coup, Lombok, now part of a new, largely Islamic province, began to globalise and underwent changes in political and religious ideation and behaviour. Like elsewhere, the traditional arts were often held to no longer to fit with the increasingly urbanising and modernising population. The majority of educators and artists I have met with over past decades are concerned about the rate of change and how certain traditions, part of a rich cultural heritage, are neglected, underappreciated and disappearing.

Religious and Political Histories

Primarily inhabited by the indigenous people, the Sasak, Lombok has often been overlooked nationally for cultural development. Further, as a result of the late 1990s policy of regional autonomy, allowing provinces to set their own priorities, arts education in schools has progressively decreased. Educators and performers have had a difficult time maintaining their arts and finding performance opportunities and students willing to learn. While some arts are associated with a pre-orthodox Islamic historic era and thus disavowed by religious leaders, others are secularised and inspire erotic dance forms, problematizing the positions of "traditional arts." Consequently, these arts have been dubbed *kampungan* (backward). As elsewhere in Indonesia, youth in Lombok prefer global pop, Indonesian pop, sexualised social dances, or pan-Islamic styles. The concern among educators is that, if only global and Islamic forms are available, the Sasak people will lose their cultural identity and values, a phenomenon found throughout much of Indonesia, though many of the issues in Lombok are specific to the island, its histories and peoples.

The majority Sasak population is Muslim; most of the minority populations are Muslim. Religion is a big issue in the arts and the reason is historical: Lombok was colonised by Hindu Balinese for 200 years until 1894. Rule by a non-Muslim people gave rise to Islam as a bulwark of Sasak pride, resistance, and identity; populist leaders still invoke this external control by non-Muslims, as a strategy for local control. Reformist clergy entered government in Lombok in the 1950s and recently religious leaders known as Tuan Guru are prioritised for posts or win elections due to their religious appeal. Today, the governor—Tuan Guru Hajji Bajang—has developed mosques and Islamic schools, has perhaps one million followers, and is grandson of the most influential Muslim leader in Lombok's history. Tuan Guru Bajang has tremendous political capital, based upon his ancestry of religious capital, and he wields considerable power. He hates the Balinese arts that remain in Lombok, yet he also dislikes Sasak traditional arts that emerged in an earlier non-orthodox era. He does not allow the performance of traditional Sasak arts at any event he is involved with.

Due to the politicised religious history, many leaders have prohibited Sasak art forms similar to Balinese forms with the rationale that Sasak art forms cannot not be similar to those of the Balinese, despite the shared cultural history. Islamic evangelicals came to Lombok in two waves: one earlier from Java based on a Sufic model in the 16th century and another more scripturally based. The two types of followers were labelled Wetu Telu, who combined Sufic Islam with *adat* customary laws, and Waktu Lima, who are orthodox Muslims. Some of the Wetu Telu Islamic art forms, such as *wayang* Sasak, the local *wayang kulit* or shadow play tradition, popularised Islam in earlier centuries. But these forms, when not supported by the local government, have been targeted by religious leaders who want to eliminate pre-Islamic reform arts. State support is necessary today because the previous patrons, the Sasak rulers and elite, were eclipsed by Tuan Guru reformists long ago and their descendants have lost their privilege and resources.

The governor permits only pan-Islamic forms such as *zikr*, *qasidah*, and *sholowat* praise songs at state events, and has stated that Islamic values trump any local values in regional development, much to the dismay of Sasak music educators, who fear an "Arabization" of Sasak culture, and fear that Sasak people will then lose their identity and cultural values and either westernise or become fundamentalist Muslims. What is particular to Lombok and what is particularly Sasak will then disappear. Here I slightly disagree with my Sasak friends. These pan-Arab or Arab/Indic forms such as *zikr*, *qasidah* and *hadra* have been in Lombok well over a century and are firmly embedded in Sasak culture; they constitute another type of "traditional music." Nevertheless, I concur that valuable pre-reform Sasak music forms, such as *wayang* Sasak, should be sustained and that the government needs to play a role.

Indonesia operationalised Arts policies to maintain, transmit or to innovate art forms. Arts academies were established and leaders used the arts as agents of nationalism and unity and to promote cultural preservation as society modernised. The Arts Office in Lombok initiated projects for music development and preservation from the 1970s-1990s. The office endeavoured to find arts that "stuck out" and exuded "*khas* Sasak" (original/authentic Sasak), and then to "cultivate" those arts to represent the island and to attract artists, tourists and new audiences. Most of those arts originated within pre-modern Wetu Telu villages, used

for pre-orthodox rites and communal events, and were declining in the modern, more Islamic era. These arts were secularised and decontextualized, and then made spectacular by accelerating tempi, enhancing dynamics, adding new costumes and choreography, and retuning instruments. The main form targeted, *gendang beleq* (big drum), was successively "developed", and exploded in popularity. In the 1980s *gendang beleq* consisted of two drummers and about five other musicians on gongs, kettle-gongs, and cymbals, and the Arts Office knew of only 12 groups. Thirty years later the office counted 5,000 groups and there are often 4 drummers and 15-20 additional musicians (see Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1. 1980s *Gendang Beleq* with six musicians. Praya, Lombok. Photo by author, 1983.

Figure 2. Twenty-first Century *Gendang Beleq*. A youth group, with about 25 musicians, performs at the Lingsar Festival, Lombok, 2002. Photo by author.

Since regional autonomy began around 2000, the Arts Office was downsized, budgets were slashed, and few projects have since developed. The director has managed to train and take some troupes on tour and this has galvanised some aspiring musicians, dancers, composers and choreographers to produce performing arts. But, the office does not receive support from the governor and must collaborate to develop projects. One other government supported office, *Taman Budaya* (Culture Centre), was charged with the mission to mount cultural programs, but also has been downsized since autonomy. Officials now only help produce events that are initiated elsewhere and provide technical assistance. Some officials are Balinese; they often create entirely new works to prevent their work from being denounced as "Balinese".

City and Village Organisations

Here I discuss a few of the organisations—*sanggar* (private arts clubs), *yayasan* (social organisations) and *lembaga* (institutions)—I have dealt with over past decades. Before regional autonomy, public schools included music programs. After 2000, this funding was decreased or cut. A well-known Indonesian dancer and ethnomusicologist, Endo Suanda, in Bandung, West Java, established an organisation called *Lembaga Pendidikan Seni Nusantara* (Institute for Arts Education of the Archipelago) in 2002 to maintain the arts in Indonesian schools. A local teacher and arts advocate, Mochammad Yamin, opened a branch in Lombok in 2005. The national organisation was awarded a Ford Foundation grant. The Lombok branch received assistance from 2005-2007 and invited over 100 teachers in Lombok to train in the arts, learn how to produce

such artefacts as masks (*topeng*), *gambus* (lutes), and small gongs, and receive materials for classrooms. Since the grant expired in 2007, the training has not been free, but provided for a nominal cost, and the numbers of participants have sharply declined.

There are many *sanggar*, particularly singular performing troupes, though the economic crisis, lack of governmental support, and ignorance about the arts have led to a decline of those *sanggar* dedicated to Wetu Telu music and dance forms. *Sanggar Seni Kayangan Sasak*, once a *yayasan* in the East Lombok village of Lenek, has discontinued. Musicians there taught a wide variety of Sasak arts to villagers and youth and established a self-sufficient agricultural cooperative. The founder, Amaq Rahil, died in 1990. Due to financial shortfalls, the *sanggar* later sold its instruments, *gamelan*s and shadow-play puppets. A village elder told me that there are now attempts to revive the *sanggar*.

Amaq Senen is the music teacher at *Sanggar Teater Lombok*, found within a *Yayasan* social organisation initiated 20 years ago by a Dutch citizen, who funded an *ashram* to house abandoned children to attend elementary school. The *sanggar* emphasises performing arts, trains students and provides occasional performance opportunities at hotels and for local officials. The money earned goes to their schooling. While Amaq Senen and others have done a superior job with the children, they lack funds for dance costumes and needed instruments for ensembles. Amaq Senen is hopeful that the graduates will remain artists and become performers in their own villages. The program is somewhat crippled without sufficient funds.

In the remote village of Batu Pandang is *Sanggar Wayang Wong* (human shadow dance), a theatre form with unique *gamelan* accompaniment found only here. The village suffered a loss with the death of the senior dancer and many men departing for work in Malaysia, a common phenomenon during the economic crisis. The *sanggar* has not performed for years. The featured *Menak* stories about Amir Hamza (the uncle of the Prophet), is known in a few areas of Java, but this Sasak medium exists only in this one village. Leader Amaq Sukiman says that it is endangered. The village of Bayan is the last major outpost of traditional Wetu Telu culture. There was a *sanggar*, supported by the Arts Office, to train youth in music and dance, but it disbanded years ago. A reformist Tuan Guru established a mosque right next to the traditionalist Bayan mosque for the sole purpose of converting locals to reformist Islam. The impending loss of Bayan's musics and dances will mean much of the end of the older stratum of Sasak performing arts in Lombok.

In summary, there are issues eroding traditional arts in Lombok that are shared with other developing world cultures—loss of support, instruments, and prestige; poor or no music education, and socio-economic change, for example—and other issues that are unique to Lombok, such as the past Balinese colonisation, the problem of the *kampungan* (backward) perception, the impacts of regional autonomy, and the forceful unity of religious and political authority.

One thing to make clear, however, is that not all traditional musics are disappearing. One of my teachers, Pak Kantun, proclaimed that music activity is as high as it has ever been and that families needing music for ceremonies like circumcisions and weddings have more troupes to choose from than ever. He is correct, though other teachers respond that those forms, such as *gendang beleq*, had been supported by the Arts Office, were decontextualized and aestheticized, and had lost the element of "*khas* Sasak." And other forms were declining or had already disappeared.

The commitment of these educators and musicians to the arts and to the youth of Lombok was moving. I knew that Sasak music was in almost constant flux and that religious leaders wielded an unusual level of power in shaping music. I knew also that most urbanites had little interest in these traditions—they are too *kampungan*—and that these forms were endangered. While I was impressed that so many admirable people valued heritage and ethnic identity to such a degree that they would dedicate their lives to supporting artists and transmitting arts to the next generation, I also have known that politics and religion, though they may have some control, cannot fully restrain music and music-making.

Endnotes

[1] For a related and longer article on the same subject, see "The Challenges of Music Sustainability in Lombok, Indonesia," *Performing Indonesia*, Washington DC: Freer Sackler, http://www.asia.si.edu/research/performing-indonesia/article-harnish.php

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**PANEL: SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:
CURRENT CONCERNS AND NEW DIRECTIONS—PART II**

**SUSTAINABILITY OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE BADUY MINORITY
GROUP IN WEST JAVA, INDONESIA**

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Introduction

The Baduy are a minority group of about twelve thousand people in west Java, Indonesia. They live in Kanékés village, which has had only Baduy inhabitants for at least two hundred years. Baduy people should live in a ritually pure way, according to the Baduy religion *Sunda wiwitan*. In the first place this means that they have to grow rice on non-irrigated fields without using fertilisers. Further, this means, among other things, that they are not allowed to go to school, that they are not allowed to possess hand phones, television, a motorbike or a car. In reality these rules are often broken; these days almost every grown-up Baduy has a hand phone and many Baduy men have a motorbike that they use outside Kanékés village. Although the Baduy are a very special group, they have much contact with the Sundanese Muslims surrounding Kanékés. This is also caused by the fact that there is not enough land available for their way of living inside Kanékés village. The question I will address here is: how sustainable is the Baduy way of living and what are the consequences for their music?

For a discussion of the future and sustainability of the Baduy community and their music I shall look at the interaction between the Baduy and the Indonesian authorities, and ecological issues, in particular the shortage of agricultural land. I shall then shortly discuss the impact of socio-economic changes on different types of music, such as: the *angklung* set of shaken bamboos (used for rice rituals and also entertainment), and *pantun* storytelling (for rice rituals, weddings, circumcisions and purifications (Van Zanten, 2016), *gamelan* (for weddings and circumcisions) and other music for entertainment outside a ritual context.

In a direct line, Kanékés village lies about 80km southwest of Jakarta and its area is about a rectangle of 10km in north-south direction by 5km in west-east direction. There are two main groups of Baduy: (1) About 1,200 people living in three hamlets (Cikeusik, Cikartawana and Cibéo) and occupying about half the size of Kanékés village, called the Inner Baduy (*Pajéroan, Urang Tangtu*), who are, to the north, east, and west, surrounded by; (2) About 10,000 Outer Baduy *(Baduy Luar, Panamping)* living in the other ca. 60 hamlets of Kanékés village.

Further, there are also about 700 Baduy living in hamlets outside Kanékés (*dangka*), who follow the rules of living in Kanékés and take part in the rituals. This system used to be more elaborate in the past: the Inner Baduy surrounded by the Outer Baduy and another "circle" of *dangka* hamlets north of Kanékés to protect the sacred places and the ascetic way of life in the southern part (Van Zanten, 2015, pp. 117).[1] Inner Baduy should follow the ancestral rules more strictly than Outer Baduy.

Relations with Indonesian Authorities

The Baduy have always recognised that they were part of a larger system. Their ascetic life is for the well-being of the world and they could live this life, because the sultans of Banten have guaranteed the borders of their village Kanékés. In return, the Baduy have paid their respect to the sultan by offering agricultural products (like bananas, palm sugar, *petai* beans) and handicrafts (like cloths, kitchen utensils) during the yearly *séba* ceremony after the harvest. These days the Baduy are "protected" by other "rulers of the north," in particular the regent of Lebak in Rangkasbitung, the regent of Sérang and the governor of Bantén Province in Sérang. Although the Baduy have been granted a great deal of autonomy in their village, in colonial times and also in the independent Indonesian state, the relation between the minority group of the Baduy and the Indonesian authorities showed serious shortcomings with respect to sustainability (Van Zanten, 2004).

Around 2001, the Banten provincial government declared the Baduy area an "object of cultural tourism" (*obyek budaya wisata*), and this encouraged visits from outsiders (Van Zanten, 2004, pp. 145-147). Undoubtedly there were some benefits for Baduy: they sold more locally woven cloth[2] and knives made by their smiths to tourists. In 2015, the blue-black printed batik (*mérong*) used by Outer Baduy for the men's

head cloth and women's long skirts and produced outside Kanékés, was patented as Batik Lebak[3] (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The blue-black *mérong* cloth Batik Lebak worn by women, men and children at the *keromong* (gamelan) playing during a circumcision in Cicakal Leuwibuleud, 5 July 2016.

However, these developments also had negative effects. The accommodation of an increasing number of tourists visiting Kanékés village became a burden for the Baduy. For instance, hamlets of about 400 people in Kanékés were sometimes asked to accommodate a group of tourists of the same size for one or two nights. In a newspaper article former Minister of Education and Culture, Fuad Hassan was quoted as saying in 2002 "The Baduy area and the Naga village in Tasikmalaya seem to be only exploited, without any benefit for them" (Van Zanten, 2004, pp. 145-147).

During the last decennium Banten province very much promoted Baduy people to participate in the yearly *séba* ceremony. This ceremony fits very well with its policy of making the Baduy an object of cultural tourism. Whereas in 1905, the *séba* delegation consisted of seven Baduy (Pleyte, 1909, p. 494), about a century later its size increased from about 500 to 600 Baduy participants in 2003 to almost 2000 in 2015.[4] Participating Baduy men are paid for taking part in the *séba* ceremony (during the last few years about 50,000 to 100,000 Rupiah, or between 3½ and 7 Euro) and the governmental authorities promote the ceremony to tourists.

Indonesian Angklung[5] was proposed by the Indonesian government and in 2010 inscribed on the Representative List of the 2003 UNESCO convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In the 10-minute film on the UNESCO site,[6] the emphasis is very much on the diatonic *angklung* as practiced in the Saung Angklung Udjo. This is a group of well-known performers and makers of *angklung* instruments in Bandung that regularly performs for Indonesian and foreign tourists. However, this film also includes a small section "old *angklung*" (*angklung buhun*) and that is on Baduy *angklung*. I have shown several shortcomings in the representation of the Baduy *angklung* by Indonesia, especially in this film. The most important shortcoming of the film is that "the pictures of men planting rice in wet rice fields (*sawah*), just before the Baduy *angklung* is shown (minutes 3:37-4:04), suggest a wrong association, as the Baduy only use dry rice fields (*huma*)" (Van Zanten, 2012, pp. 138-139). The use of irrigated rice fields is strictly forbidden to the Baduy and it is one of the core elements of their religion *Sunda wiwitan*.

The limited understanding of the Baduy minority group by the Indonesian authorities is a serious problem for the sustainability of the Baduy society. It seems as if the authorities are not really interested in fostering cultural diversity (although the official national motto is: "unity in diversity" (*bhinneka tunggal ika*) and rather aiming for integration of the Baduy in the larger Indonesian society. The cultural policies of the authorities seem to reflect that they think that most problems would best be solved if the Baduy would become Muslims and if they would start using irrigated rice fields. Below I shall present a recent example that seems to confirm this absence of a serious dialogue between the Baduy leaders and the Indonesian authorities.

The President Who Did Not Come

On 1 July 2016 I arrived in Kanékés and stayed at the house of the secular village head (*jaro pamaréntah*) Saijah in Kaduketug. Soon I heard that the President of Indonesia Joko Widodo (Jokowi) would visit the

Baduy on Wednesday 20 July. It was said that he also wanted to visit the Inner Baduy area and spend one night in Kanékés village. On 14 July village head Saijah had organised a group of men who paved the area in front of his house with flat natural stones. This was in preparation of the coming visit of the regent (*bupati*) of Rangkasbitung, Ms Iti Octavio Jayabaya, the following day and the visit of the president a few days later. The regent indeed arrived with her party that Friday morning at 7:55 and walked around Kanékés village up to Kadujangkung for about one-and-a-half hours. Such visit of the Rangkasbitung regents had been rare and this was the first time that the present regent visited Kanékés. The regent selected and bought ten pieces of Baduy woven cloth exposed on the veranda of the village head.

Outside Kanékés village there were also clear signs of an upcoming important event. The many holes and bumps in the road from Leuwidamar to Cibolégér, just outside Kanékés were repaired with stones and asphalt, and the grass and shrubs along the roadside were cut. Cibolégér bus terminal was cleaned and the statue on the square was freshly painted. It was clear that some important person(s) would visit the area. Even if the president would not come, people were happy that they also benefitted from the improved road. The Baduy women of Kaduketug did what was expected from them: on 18 July 2016 they communally pounded rice (*gendék*) in preparation for the festivities.

Village head Saijah had expressed his doubts about the desirability of a visit of Indonesia's president to the Inner Baduy area. Was this a good idea, as there would be many people accompanying the president: his staff, ministers, security people, journalists, etcetera? This party would greatly disturb the ascetic way of living of the Inner Baduy. A meeting of Inner and Outer Baduy officials was called to discuss the matter at Saijah's house[7] in the evening of 19 July. That evening the Baduy officials were also entertained with music of the *go-goongan* group, newly established two to three years ago[8] (see Figure 2). The meeting of Baduy officials and elders decided that the president would be welcome, but not his party. The president could even go to the Inner Baduy area as an individual and with his wife, but not in his function as president, with a large group of security people and journalists. On the day of the planned visit (20 July 2016), it was said that there was an important cabinet meeting that lasted longer than planned and that the presidential party was not able to come to Kanékés.

Figure 2. Celempéng of the *go-goongan* ensemble in Cipondok at rehearsal on 1 July 2016. The man in the white shirt also sings with the accompaniment of the ensemble.

It is said that the Indonesian government is presently interested in increasing the socio-economic development of Banten Province, especially the southern part, and a visit of the president would have helped to reach such goal. I do not yet know what really happened at that time in July 2016. It was a kind of theatrical show. The regent of Lebak apparently wanted the president to visit the Baduy, probably for her own prestige and for boosting tourism. At the very last moment the Baduy elders rejected this. Why did they not decide much earlier? Were the Baduy more or less forced to accept this arrangement by the regent, and if so, why? Whatever the case, this episode clearly indicates the poor communication between the Baduy and the Regent's office in Rangkasbitung.

Ecological Problems and Religion

The main problem for sustainable development is the shortage of land for non-irrigated farming in Kanékés. Much of the Inner Baduy area consists of sacred forest and cannot be used for agriculture. That was no

problem a few centuries ago, but it became a serious problem since the 1970s, because the number of Baduy increased rapidly (refer to table below).

Table: Increase of number of Baduy in Kanékés village and *dangka* hamlets from 1928 to 2016					
The numbers in square brackets […] are my estimates.					
Year	Number of Baduy				Source
	Inner	Outer	Total in Kanékés	In *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés	
1928	140	740	880	639	Van Tricht (1929, p. 78)
1983	472	4102	4574	[400 to 500?]	Garna (1988, p. 59)
2016	1212	10455	11667	[about 700]	Kanékés village secretariat (July 2016)

Whereas the recognition of the borders of Kanékés village by the sultan of Demak around the year 1800 was a great help for the Baduy to protect their sacred forest and agricultural land from outside intrusion, these borders now no longer guarantee sustainable development because of the increased number of Baduy in Kanékés. In 1978, the Indonesian authorities opened the first Baduy transmigration hamlet Cipangembar in an old rubber estate Gunung Tunggal, about 15 km from Kanékés. However, this transmigration project failed almost entirely (Bakels & Boevink, 1988, pp. 66-121; Garna, 1989, p. 28; Persoon, 1994, pp. 309-372; Van Zanten, 2004, pp. 130-134). The great pressure for agricultural land remained and was even enlarged by the many *dangka* inhabitants that moved to hamlets inside Kanékés village.

In 2016, there was about 2000 hectare of land in Kanékés available for agriculture on dry fields (*huma*) and Baduy also possessed or hired 3000 hectare of land around Kanékés village. However, at the moment there are Baduy families that do not have any agricultural land and they are forced to live from weaving cloths and/or trading. The farming on non-irrigated rice fields is closely connected to the Baduy religion *Sunda wiwitan*. During the 2016 *séba* ceremony the secular village head Saijah addressed these important problems and asked the regent (*bupati*) of Lebak in Rangkasbitung on 14 May 2016:

> (1) That on Baduy identity cards (KTP) in the column "religion" would be written "Sunda wiwitan," as happened between 1972 and 2011 and that it would not remain empty as was the case since 2011;
>
> (2) That the Baduy would be involved in "protecting the sustainability of nature" in the Gunung Halimun National Park;
>
> (3) Help in obtaining six hectare of land to be used for agriculture, because there is a shortage of land.[9]

The Lebak regent Iti Octavia Jayabaya answered to these questions of the Baduy community that her local government, like other Lebak governments before, supports the Baduy request that "Sunda wiwitan" would appear on their identity card. However, this was a matter under the judicial power of the Minister of Religion of the central government. Further, she supported the efforts of the Baduy for sustainable development of nature in Banten.[10] I did not find newspapers that reported on the regent's answer to the question of support to the Baduy efforts to obtain six hectare of land for agriculture.

The shortage of agricultural land remains a major problem for the sustainability of the Baduy community and its music. Village head Saijah told me that for this reason the Baduy leaders had started again to encourage people to move from Kanékés to the *dangka* hamlets outside Kanékés. However, until July 2016 this remained without much success.

Different Types of Music

How does the land shortage affect the intangible cultural heritage of the Baduy? Most music and dance is connected to the agricultural seasons. After the rice harvest and the May 2016 *séba* ceremony the season for circumcisions and marriages took place from June to mid-August. *Keromong* (gamelan) and *pantun* storytelling are used for these rituals. Half of August 2016 the *angklung* season would be opened in the Inner Baduy area with the marriage ritual (*ngarérémokeun*) of the goddess of rice Nyi Pohaci Sangiang Sri and the

earth Pertiwi. This ritual is one of the most important parts of Baduy religion (Van Zanten, 1995, pp. 532-537).

The sustainability of these types of music (*angklung*, *pantun* and *keromong*) very much depends on the availability of agricultural land for dry-fields farming. Many Baduy families already work on land that lies about 7 to 8 km outside Kanékés. In the high farming season they usually stay for several weeks in the temporary house that they have built there (*saung huma*), and only now and then go back to Kanékés. In this way they are less closely connected to the life, rituals and music of Kanékés than when they would have a field inside Kanékés.

In this situation it may be expected that there will be less changes in the music and dance connected to the major rituals, and more in those forms that are just used for entertainment. The Baduy guard their rituals against outsiders "with little knowledge." However, several music forms may be used in different social contexts. For instance, *angklung* may be used for the ritual marriage of the rice goddess, but also for entertainment in the Outer Baduy area. These days the Baduy even perform *angklung* music for entertainment outside Kanékés and outside the *angklung* season that in most years runs from about August-December. Officially this is still forbidden, but there are many examples of a Baduy *angklung* group playing outside Kanékés and outside the season. It was said that on 20 July 2016 the Kaduketug *angklung* group would have played in Cibolégér, just outside Kanékés, to receive Indonesia's president, if he had come (see above). This date fell outside the *angklung* season[11].

Like before, there also are new experiments with music. The newly formed *go-goongan* ensemble of Cipondok (Figure 2), established around 2014 and led by Kurdi, uses some instruments that have been around already for some time: the mouth harp (*karinding*), violin (*viol*), *kacapi* zither, *rendo* (two-string bowed violin) and *suling* (bamboo flutes). The use of *celempéng* an idiochordal struck bamboo tube zither, that has not been played in Kanékés before as far as I know, already existed in other Sundanese areas for a long time under the name *celempung*, also called *kendang awi* (bamboo drum). This instrument was also used in ensembles similar to the Baduy *go-goongan* ensemble (Kunst, 1973[1934], pp. I-369, II-451; Soepandi, 1995, p. 49).

Conclusion

The availability of sufficient land for the non-irrigated rice fields seems to be a major factor for sustainability of the Baduy belief system and music for rituals. However, I have argued that the sustainability of Baduy community and their music also very much depends on the way the Indonesian authorities communicate with the minority group: do they listen and understand what the Baduy say and do they act accordingly, also in the interest of the Baduy? Are their cultural policies right? There is no simple answer to the question of sustainability. The Baduy ascetics are also tempted by the possibilities of the outside world and we do not know how fast they will give in to the many temptations of the outside world.

Endnotes

[1] See for more elaborate introductions to the Baduy and their music, for instance, Van Zanten, 1995, pp. 516-522; 2004, pp. 124-130).

[2] E-newspaper *kompas.com*, 29 October 2014 [last accessed 26 September 2016]: http://travel.kompas.com/read/2014/10/29/194100627/Wisatawan.Mulai.Lirik.Kain.Tenun.Baduy and *kompas.com* 28 October 2015 [last accessed 26 September 2016]: http://travel.kompas.com/read/2015/10/28/071200827/Tenun.Tradisional.Baduy.Disukai.Wisatawan

[3] E-newspaper *Lifolitan* 26 January 2016 [last accessed 26 September 2016]: http://lifolitan.com/2016/01/26/kementerian-hukum-dan-ham-banten-serahkan-sertifikat-hki-batik-lebak/

[4] This number of *séba* participants also fluctuates for other reasons. If the harvest has been good, there are many participants and it is called a "great *séba*" (*séba gedé*); if the harvest is not so good there will be less participants and it is called a "small *séba*" (*séba leutik*).

[5] *Angklung* is a set of shaken bamboo idiophones, or just one of such instrument.

[6] See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00393#video [last accessed 26 September 2016].

[7] For this reason my assistant Mumu and I moved from Saijah's house to the house of the former secular village head Asrab and his family in Kuduketug Géde on Tuesday morning 19 July 2016.

[8] The *go-goongan* ensemble of Cipondok is unique in Kanékés. It was created 2 to 3 years ago and is led by Kurdi. It includes *celempéng*, and may also include mouth harps (*karinding*), *viol*, zither (*kacapi*), and flute (*suling*), accompanying the singing.

[9] E newspaper *JPNN.com*, 14 May 2016 [last accessed 26 September 2016]: http://www.jpnn.com/read/2016/05/14/408449/Masyarakat-Baduy-Punya-3-Permintaan-ini-

[10] E newspaper *JPNN.com*, 15 May 2016 [last accessed 26 September 2016]: http://www.jpnn.com/read/2016/05/15/408609/Masyarakat-Baduy-Punya-3-Permintaan-Begini-Tanggapan-Bu-Bupati-

[11] See also the article with photo of a Baduy *angklung* group playing in Jakarta on 6 April 2016 (that is, outside the *angklung* season) in the E newspaper *kompas.com* [last accessed 26 September 2016]: http://entertainment.kompas.com/read/2016/04/06/205912410/Pertunjukan.Angklung.Buhun.Buka.Rayakan.Perbedaan.Baduy.Kembali

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**PANEL: SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:
CURRENT CONCERNS AND NEW DIRECTIONS—PART II**

**AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO SUSTAINING MUSIC WHILE SUSTAINING
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES**

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Introduction

Here I will briefly describe an integrated approach to sustaining music while sustaining indigenous communities. I will focus particularly on my experiences with the Tampuan people of Northeast Cambodia over the last 16 years, but their situation has many similarities with other indigenous minority groups throughout Asia with whom I have had the privilege of working. There are also many similarities with the ethnolinguistic communities about whom we have been hearing this week.

Figure 1. Tampuan New Year's celebration (photo by Mary Saurman).

There are a few key differences from the majority of presentations that need to be highlighted. The Tampuan until rather recently have been a completely oral culture with little literacy in any written languages (Khmer or Tampuan). They are certainly not homogenous but there is much more homogeneity than among most nation state groups or migrant groups. The indigenous highland groups of Northeast Cambodia have rarely migrated out of the highland forested areas.

Considering their performing arts, communication of text to other people is usually an essential part of performance. Of course communication also takes place in the sounds themselves such as communication of identity, honouring of relationships, and associations with the past. This would be true for most groups mentioned so far, but as with many predominately oral societies, sung texts communicate essential meaning to people through the words themselves. By "sung", I mean any words that are communicated outside of normal speech. Such vocal genres of communication are historically common among many ethnolinguistic groups throughout Asia and there is no appropriate English equivalent to accurately describe most of these genres.

The highland groups rarely perform singing and dancing for tourists even though many insiders and outsiders alike have suggested it from time to time. A few national performance opportunities have been used for more practical and holistic purposes. Tourism has certainly played an important role in their lives and economies, but not so much related to music and dance performance. Singing to each other has been an important part of life for all but the younger generations. I have tried to understand why the older generations do not make more opportunities to sing for tourism purposes. Imagine gathering together with your friends, feeling relaxed, and possibly drinking alcoholic beverages. The conversations flow out with old stories, spontaneous joking, flirting, laughter, and possibly even some arguments. Then one of you suggests that you

start charging other people to watch your gatherings. Either the communication value is no longer going to be a natural spontaneous part of your lives or the gatherings are not going to be very sustainable as tourism. When drinking is involved it is rarely as fun to watch as it is to participate, especially when outsiders have no comprehension of the clever uses of language and poetry.

If we consider the degree of music and language endangerment among the Cambodian highland groups, the general trend indicates that their heritage music may soon be lost completely with little in the way of emergent genres, hybridity, or adopting of other styles of music taking its place. The development of vernacular literacy and multilingual education among the highland groups in Cambodia has had a big impact on the continued use of their languages, but expressive culture has often been ignored in the process. There are some exceptions that I will focus on in this presentation, but most of the younger generations have little access to any usable music system with which they can create and express themselves. This lack of access is possibly a result of being cut off in some way from older generations and the opportunities to internalise their values, understand their history, and build healthy intergenerational relationships. There is a drastic reduction in meaningful creativity connected to community among the younger generations.

Other issues that have contributed to rapid and drastic change have been deforestation and the loss of indigenous land. As roads improve many lowland Khmer and Vietnamese have moved into the highland areas. Shifts toward a market economy with an increase in modern technology have required adaptations of community social structures.

Perhaps one of the changes most relevant to this presentation is the influence of national formal education. I have heard similar stories about indigenous groups from all over Asia and beyond. In national formal education the student learns not to question the authority of the teachers or to ask any questions at all about what they might want or need to learn. This dynamic contrasts sharply with most indigenous social structures and ways of learning. In regard to the transmission of music and other related cultural knowledge, the older generations requested to learn essential community life information from their elders. The attitude is that if someone wants to know something then they will ask. So the elders perceive that the younger generations are not interested and the younger generations perceive that the older generations do not want to teach them. Their reflection on this issue revealed current complex social dynamics that were successfully avoided in previous generations by staying somewhat separate in the forested highland areas. The results of these dynamics is the most difficult of all changes for many indigenous groups, and that is an apparent irreversible loss of unity, which in turn contributes to decreased communication between generations along with destruction of family relationships and the environment.

One song from the Khmer Rouge period that was still popular even among Tampuan young people a decade ago had these words:

> If we could just stay together,
> Not be forced to do something,
> There would be peace.
> Even though we're apart,
> We love each other.
> We stay in touch so that if something bad happens,
> We can still help each other.
> (Saurman, 2013, p. 51)

Other songs during the Khmer Rouge period helped save lives of highland Khmer, as they would communicate to each other in song what they needed to do to avoid being killed, such as not wearing jewellery. Unfortunately many highland people, especially the Tampuan, joined the ranks of the Khmer Rouge and so sang propaganda in their language and acceptable singing styles.

An Applied Approach

With the background given so far I need to also give some description of my role among the Tampuan. I would call it "Applied Ethnomusicology," but since most ethnomusicologists would say they do application of some sort for the good of communities and the world, here I will call it "community engaged applied ethnomusicology." Academic research is secondary to the applied work that I do. In my situation the research is more about joining into the process of the community members' own need-generated intergenerational research than it is about them assisting with my research. My approach to assist is reflective rather than

instructive. I often ask questions but the type and purpose of my questions is to spark reflection more than to gather information. I try to build all of my questions on what has already been expressed so that the questions emerge from community perceptions and needs and not as much from my own perceptions or research needs. I have found that this approach avoids many power relation and ethical problems while being the most beneficial to the communities that I serve.

Signs of Revitalisation Processes

About 15 years ago one young Tampuan man, Ven Churk, was very interested in learning more about Tampuan music and culture. I was part of several workshops that encouraged him to do more research with the elders in his community. Years later he showed me notes from that workshop in a worn paper notebook. In several workshops he was instrumental in motivating others to study Tampuan music. For many years now he has been the director of a local arts group. Directly and indirectly he has trained hundreds of young Tampuan in singing, playing instruments, and dancing. Last year I discovered that young women had more recently learned to play the gongs. Previously men only played the gongs.

Also about 14 years ago one local NGO requested help in researching its culture and music. I was invited into that process. After hearing them express their needs I reflected back the question, "How did your parents learn to sing and play instruments?" They decided to ask their parents, thus breaking the pattern of not asking their elders for cultural information. At a workshop one year later they showed me that as a result of their own research they had made books about their music, recorded songs, and videotaped ceremonies and festivals. At that workshop Churk was able to draw a taxonomy of the various Tampuan vocal genres for them on a whiteboard. In spite of their interest in doing research, when Churk expertly played a song for them on a bamboo tube zither they did not seem very interested, but when he inserted a karaoke microphone behind the gourd resonator it sounded more like an electric guitar. This innovation impressed them. They also decided to use Tampuan songs as ringtones on their phones as one of many ways to promote their culture to other young people. More recently they used Bluetooth to send songs to each other's phones. These are just a few examples of younger Tampuan using their knowledge of literacy and electronic technology to learn about Tampuan music from their elders and promote it among their generation.

About 6 years ago I attended a song transmission workshop organised by Tampuan community members. I met one elder of the community who had decided years before to not wait for the youth to ask him about their culture. He taught his children, grandchildren, and nieces and nephews how to sing Tampuan spontaneous vocal genres. At a later song creating workshop one young woman from his family demonstrated her abilities by singing back and forth with a much older man. People were impressed with her ability but laughed as she used flirtatious language with him just as she was taught. She was the youngest Tampuan woman I heard who could still sing this style but there is no other young man outside her family with whom she can flirt. One family is not enough to sustain this vocal genre.

Another highland style of singing very closely related to Tampuan styles is very popular and some songs have been created in this style to teach and promote vernacular literacy, educate on health and the environment, and promote value of their heritage culture. Only a handful of young people who had learned more about their music genres are creating these songs, but the songs are popular with all ages and they communicate well in the Tampuan language. These songs are valued because they meet the needs of the community and unite the generations. These young people are demonstrating love and helping each other through the songs, along with many other approaches and activities. They are the gatekeepers for allowing new information into their language communities.

The young people who have studied and learned music from their elders have also learned important Tampuan values such as the value of mediation. Typically community elders have been selected for their ability to mediate conflicts in the community and conflicts with spirits. When the Khmer Rouge forced them to give up spirit practices, people saw that nothing bad happened and so some now say they only use the ceremonies out of respect for their culture. Other communities that still fear the spirits do not usually do the traditional rituals out of concern of not doing them correctly. Now the younger people who have studied with their elders are singing and dancing to mediate with modern powers of technology and influence and to address present day problems.

Among the Tampuan I have seen conditions for revitalisation not only of their music, but also of their communities. Community members have taken ownership of the processes that address the most urgent needs, including the felt need to not lose their language, music, and culture. Individuals from older and younger generations are adapting and transforming older methods for transmission of music and cultural

values. Young people who had no means to express themselves creatively have learned how to create songs for the benefit of the community as they use cultural forms to communicate new important information and inspiration within their communities. These processes have demonstrated that intergenerational transmission is not unidirectional, as cultural knowledge is passed down from the older generation and new information is communicated to all by the younger generations. The expression of culture and the creation of culture come together in a reflexive feedback cycle of continuity and change.

Figure 2. Reflexive feedback cycle.

Conclusion

Finding opportunities for multiple generations to work together and better understand each other may offer broader revitalising benefits for the community than revitalising the music itself. Music becomes a medium for allowing multi-generational community engagement whereas changes in music culture often become a barrier to that engagement.

A significant finding from this case study is how revitalisation of music emerges out of the efforts of communities to meet some of their most urgent needs. Just as Tampuan songs from the Khmer Rouge period were composed to help save lives, many of the more recent songs are being composed to help people survive in their current environment. This survival depends on negotiating relationships at national, regional, and international levels.

An applied approach of reflecting needs expressed by community members has contributed to holistic processes and greater awareness where the sustaining of music practices is an integral aspect of efforts to sustain Tampuan communities. While much is drastically changing among those communities, an underlying cultural value of mediation has emerged as Tampuan individuals adapt methods of music transmission and creative communication through song. Tampuan music activity and engagement has contributed to the creation of culture as opposed to being a select part of culture to be preserved or even sustained or revitalised.

Reference

Saurman, T. (2013). Si*nging for survival in the highlands of Cambodia: Tampuan revitalization of music as mediation and cultural reflexivity* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

PANEL: SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CURRENT CONCERNS AND NEW DIRECTIONS—PART II

SOCIOECONOMIC CONCERNS OF YOUNG MUSICIANS OF TRADITIONAL GENRES IN CAMBODIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR MUSIC SUSTAINABILITY

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Abstract

Building on recent efforts to explain the dynamics of music endangerment and sustainability across global contexts, this presentation explores the relationships between the socioeconomic circumstances of young musicians of traditional Cambodian genres, and the sustainability of those genres. I present brief vignettes of two young musicians that reflect some of the complex ways in which socioeconomic concerns impact the maintenance and revitalisation of traditional musical practices in Cambodia, many of which remain highly endangered after the massive social and cultural disruption of the genocidal Khmer Rouge era in the 1970s. The presentation includes recommendations on supporting the livelihoods of young musicians in twenty-first century Cambodia, as well as developing more effective strategies to support the viable future of that country's traditional performing arts.

**ROUNDTABLE: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MUSICAL "PREHISTORY"
OF SOUTHEAST ASIA**

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TERM "PREHISTORY"

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1. The presenters of this roundtable understand the meaning of the term "history" as describing human knowledge and practice(s) having become subject of oral, sonic, performance, or written account—the defining characteristic is: something that can be explained, or shown (in what modality ever), to other human beings.

2. As such, "historical knowledge" is based on processes, and is subject to development and change—with temporal beginnings and endings, of cycles, or spirals, of iteration/narration. Its steps roughly can be divided into:

> a) Processes of identification, or recognition: the identification of such processes are subjected to who identifies them, when, and where;
> b) Maintenance and modification;
> c) And vanishing, or loss

3. We understand that any phase/period chronologically situated before the beginning of "historical" iteration/narration has to be denominated as "PRE-history", in the chronological sense of an account on events that happened before historical time. The characterising criterion of knowledge and practice(s) within such phase is that it has not yet become a subject of narration to present mankind.

4. Though such term is not in use today, consequently, any phase chronologically situated after an ending of "historical" narration would have to be labelled as "POST-history". The characterising criterion of knowledge (and practices) within such phase is that it is no longer subject of narration to present mankind.\

- If they fully meet with the latter criterion, knowledge and practice(s) of this kind are not subject of any historical considerations any longer—until they might become re-detected, and re-understood in the future.

5. Starting from such understanding, the study of "PRE-history" actually would have to be concerned with knowledge and practice(s) not yet having become included into historical processes, but might possibly become so in the future.

- Musical subjects of such processes could be any kind of contemporary practices in their beginnings, or practices not yet recognised nor acknowledged, i.e., any kind of popular music before historians (etc.) laid down accounts of them.

6. Complementarily, starting from such understanding, the study of "POST-history" actually would have to be concerned with knowledge (and practices) no longer included into historical processes, with unclear possibilities to become included into knowledge again in the future. We take for a given, however, that any knowledge, or practice, falling under such category today, will have been a matter of full consciousness to its time mates in the particular past/vanished/lost cultural setting then: we trust in our human ancestors that they knew very well why, and how they did their practices, or produced artefacts.

- Subjects of such processes could be, firstly, anything of what today is (logically somewhat incorrectly) labelled with "prehistory". A sample of such process of a performance art on the way into 'oblivion' is discussed in Joe Peters' contribution in the present publication.

According to our understanding, the iteration from "PRE-history" to "history", from the (assumed to be) still detectable past to the present—a nowadays common perspective, well depicted for Southeast Asia, i.e., by

the team of authors of the edited volume by Glover & Bellwood (2004)—has to be enlarged with the perspective from "history" to "POST-history", from the state where processes are still practiced, to the state were processes become lost and slide into oblivion. Thus said, we take the privilege to span the topics of our papers in between the sketched extremes of "PRE-" and "POST-historical" observations. Though, we delimit our papers in that we disclose the vast and established range of popular music from our considerations, led by the intention not to blur and overstress boundaries.

References: See the end of this section for the Compilation of References of all papers presented in the Roundtable.

ROUNDTABLE: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MUSICAL "PREHISTORY" OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

RE-CREATING EXTINCT ANCIENT *WAIJIANG* MUSIC: A TEST EXERCISE IN SINGAPORE USING STUDY TRACKS METHODS AND TIMELINE MUSIC ANNOTATION (TAML) TECHNOLOGIES

Joe Peters
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Dr. Joe Peters Principal Investigator and Consultant Musicologist of Sonic Asia Music Consultants and ICTM Singapore Liaison, Mr. Victor Pang (AV-IT Specialist), Mr. Yeo How Jiang (*Waijiang* and Teochew Music Expert Informant), Ms. Javier Li (Project Coordinator), Mr. Jenson Tay (Expert Informant) and Ms. Yi Ling (Researcher)

What is *Waijiang* Opera?

Waijiang Opera (外江戏) refers to the collective whole of the music, drama, vocal arts and theatrics of the operatic art form in its traditional and pristine form as practiced in Chousan in China, the homeland of the Teochew people. A sub-music form of just instrumental music that is played independently in *Waijiang* opera is called *Waijiang* yue (外江乐). This feature was important to musical development in general for the community and in particular for overseas communities like the Teochews in Singapore because it could be performed independently outside the opera performance. It made *Waijiang* rather prone to evolutionary tendencies. However, the *Waijiang* art form, it is acknowledged, does not exist in China today. The Cultural Revolution has been blamed for this—but there is no documentary proof on the reason for the demise of this form in China today.

The origins of *Waijiang* opera is also undocumented and relies much on handed down information. It is generally believed that *Waijiang* evolved as an ambulatory music genre coming from the north to Chousan. There is repertoire to typify this and is classified as Northern Road. The twelve-minute excerpt that is used for analysis in this paper is from this sector and is named as "Northern Road." Likewise, as the Teochews migrated southwards *Waijiang* also began to evolve and a Southern Road repertoire evolved.

According to the Thau Yong Amateur Musical Association (TYAMA), from the early 1800s (era of the Qing Dynasty) *Waijiang* Yue spread to China's Eastern Guangdong region and gradually gained popularity with the Teochew dialect population of that region. Other communities there like the Hakkas also adopted the *Waijiang* arts form. The Teochews and Hakkas were one of the largest migrant groups into Asian countries like Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. The Teochews and the Hakkas began to establish the *Waijiang* arts in Singapore from the 19th century up to the 1950s. *Waijiang* opera was a popular musical pastime for upper to middle class in Singapore. Unfortunately, from the 1960s, this art form declined because another form called Teochew Opera (潮剧) was popularised through movies and radio programs. Hence, there was a global decline in traditional *Waijiang* music and opera.

Waijiang Opera in Singapore

It was by chance through casual discussions with the local Teochew clan association, the Thau Yong Amateur Musical Association (TYAMA), that we learnt *Waijiang* existed here many decades ago. TYAMA was established in 1931 and has been known generally as the custodian of Teochew opera. According to them, Teochew opera is an evolution of *Waijiang* and is in keeping with the ambulatory tradition that was a continuation of Southern Road and into *nanyang* (overseas). However, they now want to seriously point out that *Waijiang* and Teochew opera forms are distinct entities, and there is a last living expert of *Waijiang* (Mr. Yeo How Jiang who is 85 years old in 2016) in their association.

The Research Team, the Basic Objectives and Brief Results

This study begins with Mr. Yeo How Jiang as the central expert informant and Mr. Jenson Tay as a young expert performer/informant and translator. A stalwart of the association, Ms. Javier Li, did the overall coordination with the Sonic Asia consultants and technical persons from Sonic Asia.

The first item on the agenda was to collate the audio samples (and scores) that relate to *Waijiang*. Various lists and suggestions surfaced as well as music recordings and at least one score (Northern Road). An audiorama was established and TYAMA put together a 12-minute excerpt from Northern Road and the available music score in cipher and text. The actual audiorama stands at 32 separate pieces. This is on-going work that TYAMA has to develop into the future.

The steps in the research and documentation were as follows:

a. The 12-minute excerpt was used to explore the possibility of re-creating *Waijiang* repertoire from the latent memory of Mr. Yeo. The old studio technique of "sound-on-sound" was used. Mr. Yeo listened to the original recording while he replayed from memory on different instruments (see Figure 1). The Study Tracks Table technology is used for this. Study Tracks is a research and documentation technology that has powerful AV-IT technology crafted and integrated to allow collation of information at the timeline of the sound. In this case, the multi-track recorder was the focus of the work. The immediate objective was to get a clearer example of an old recording. This is the first stage or re-creating repertoire so that it can become a basic library for study. The laboratory work also binds the team into greater depth in their work. Study Tracks technology also has conferencing built in, so garter of information or recreation can cross time and space (and boarders). The process of re-creating repertoire is an on-going one. In this case, the final product was not ready for the integration, so the actual work in the analysis is from the original.

Figure 1. Mr. Yeo How Jiang Recording Northern Road Tracks.

b. Information gathering was done on the same Study Tracks Table but this time there was a two-stage procedure. In stage one, the same team asked questions and obtained answers from Mr. Yeo. He replied in Mandarin or Teochew. The information was collected as multi-track audio over the sound timeline of the 12-minute Northern Road music excerpt. Stage 2 was the most intensive part of the lab work where Mr. Jenson Tay reviewed the recordings to "bounce" the information into one single track for the analysis for the final stage—the software application of the timeline music commentary and the text and graphical analysis of the music.

c. The software that was used is Variations-3—unique software that was developed at Indian University (Bloomington, Indiana, USA) to serve as a platform for audio-text-graphics to be penned and imbedded directly on the sound timeline. Variations-3 is open source software and part of an elaborate music library system initiated by the Library of Congress (USA) and executed by Indiana University (IU). This particular software does not have a direct link to the larger library system as Sonic Asia observed, and so a decision was made to apply this software to an integrated music education method. It was tested and developed in various institutions in Singapore and abroad. Developing annotated music libraries is now part of the work of Sonic Asia under the caption TMAL (Timeline Music Annotation Library). It is not related to the library system developed by IU. The analysis of Northern Road in words and graphics (only the front face) appears in Figure 2.
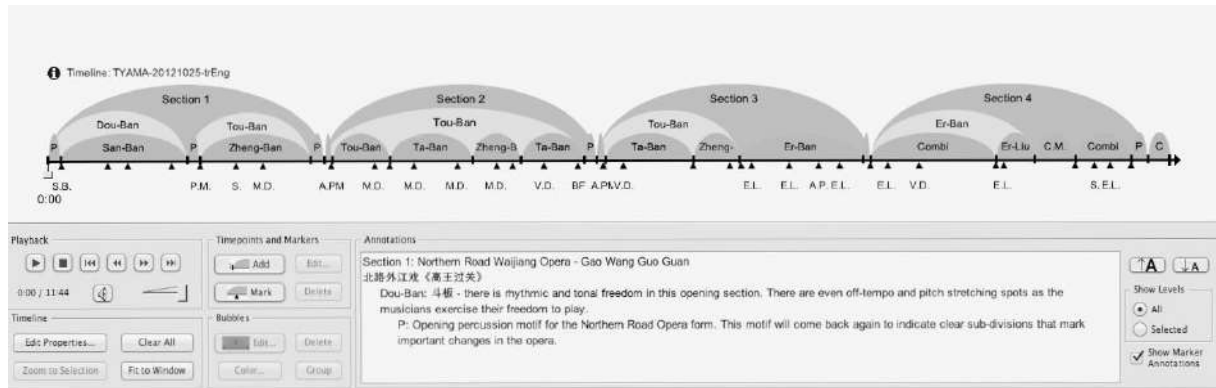
Figure 2. TMAL Interface for *Waijiang* Opera Northern Road.

To listen to a video recording of the commentary in Mandarin (Mr. Yeo How Jiang) with English translation (Mr. Jenson Tay) and the text that adds to the explanation of the music go to this YouTube site: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LLEezvuh6mY. Variations-3 is best viewed as a piece of computer software. As a video the text is not clear because of the low resolution. Viewing the server directly is not available to the public because of copyright procedures of TMAL. However, for those who want more information, please consult the present author.

References: See the end of this section for the Compilation of References of all papers presented in the Roundtable.

ROUNDTABLE: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MUSICAL "PREHISTORY" OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

FROM SOUND TO MELODY—OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHINESE LITHOPHONE *QING*

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The Chinese lithophone is an ancient instrument; not only do historical accounts show that it has been discovered all across Asia, it also shows that the lithophone has a long history in China. Approximately four thousand years ago, its history began in the areas along the Yellow River. During the Xia Dynasty (2033 BCE to 1562 BCE), Shang Dynasty (1562 BCE-1066 BCE) and the Zhou Dynasty (1046 BCE to 256 BCE) the lithophone played a role in significant sacrificial rituals, in which the *te qing* (i.e., single-sounding stone) performing along with percussive instruments such as drums, and becoming a primary sacrificial vessel and musical instrument for accompanying sacrificial music and dance. However, nowadays, it has become an artefact exhibited in museums in China and Taiwan, and at most, only appearing in the annual ritual dances at the Confucian Temple. Usually, it appears in an assembled chime form (*bian qing*), for the performers to play the melody. Occasionally, it also accompanies singular lithophones in performances.

Because of the lithophone's unique metallic sounding quality, it eventually transformed from an instrument of production to an instrument of music. As a result, it became one of the primary musical instruments in sacrificial rites within a courtly setting. Furthermore, it has been a collector's item of the royal members of the court. In order to play the lithophone, first of all, holes must be drilled at the top of the stone, followed by attaching strings to the drilled holes, allowing it to be hung so that it can be struck by a wooden mallet. The front-facing part of the lithophone that protrudes is the part that is to be struck; and to achieve a clear sound it is in fact the best part to be struck. Many have discovered, over a gradual and long period of time, that the protruding part of the sounding stone resonates well and projects a steady stream of bright sound (Wang, 2004, pp. 10-11). Of course, the thickness of the stone also determines the pitch level of the tone.

Basically, limestone rock is utilised as the material in the production of the lithophone. These types of rocks provide an even texture with the appropriate type of density, and can be easily processed. In addition, the sound is bright and projects well, which is a major advantage. The disadvantage is that the calcium carbonate within these rocks is water-soluble, therefore, after thousands of years, these artefacts rarely remain intact (Wang, 2004, p. 14). The early styles of lithophones remain simple, unadorned, and appear to be asymmetrical, different in shape and with different edges and thicknesses. In addition, carvings on the instruments are rarely found. However, in the late styles of these artefacts, such as those excavated from the Shang Dynasty, one can see that stones of thick density were used, and there were even jade lithophones. Instruments of this period appeared to be polished stones, with refined craftsmanship; the production of the lithophone was held at a higher standard. There was a certain procedure that all would follow to produce the lithophone, using a bronze knife and abrasive sand to process stones of thick density (Chen, 1999, pp. 22, 32). In addition to limestone, other stones, such as conglomerates, blue stones, and jades were also used to make Chinese lithophones. However, there weren't many artefacts made of these materials. As for lithophones found during the Zhou Dynasty, they were not limited to being found along the Yellow River, but were also uncovered along the Yangtze River. These lithophones were usually made of limestone or marble, and the manufacturing process would include grinding or drilling. By the time of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the process for manufacturing lithophones had been entirely standardized (Li, 1996, p. 50).

From an Instrument of Production to an Instrument of Music, Sacrificial Vessel—Evolving from Different Shapes to Having a Unified Design

The lithophone stones were discovered in China by accident. According to archaeologists, it probably happened when people were working in the fields. The lithophones, when impacted with ploughs, shovels, and knives, created melodious sounds; afterwards, people found opportunities for these stones to be hung up and struck as musical instruments.
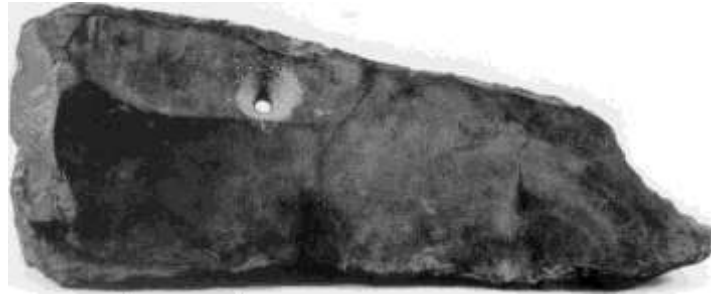
Figure 1. Shanxi's Xia County's Dongxia Feng's teqing (single lithophone) 68x25x1-9.5cm, a relic from the early period of the Shang Dynasty (photo: Wu, 1999, p. 26).

Figure 2. Province Henan, Anyang tiger-striped lithophone, carved using a green marble stone. According to speculation, there are five scales, and it can be used to perform different modes (photo: Zhao, 1991, p. 16).

A great discovery is the Zeng Houyi assembled lithophone, Hubei, Sui County, Zhan Guo period's early artefacts (476 BCE to 221 BCE). It contains a total of 32 pieces in a set, with each piece measuring 14-54.1 cm from vertex to vertex. The lithophone stand is 109x215 cm, with a simplistic design, made of limestone, bronze, and jade, with a total of 32 pieces. On the pieces of lithophone there are engravings of numbers and tempering (using small amounts of ink), with a total of 708 characters. We know that the range of notes encompasses three octaves, with twelve semitones as one octave. The tones are quite clear and unique. During performance, the instrument requires the performer to hold mallets in both hands to strike the lithophone (Yue, 2005, pp. 175-179). And today we can only see the assembled lithophone *bianqing* and the single lithophone *teqing*, used for ceremonies in the Taiwanese Confucian Temple.

As for the acoustics of the instrument, the best location to be struck was determined after a long period of trial and error, when people discovered that the protruding location on the lithophone piece was the best location to be struck. This location for striking the lithophone requires the least amount of force to be used, allows the performance to go well, and also projects a steady, bright, clear tone when struck (Overseas Chinese Language and Culture Education Online, 2015, Oct 19th).

The Pitches in the Lithophone and its Musicality

As noted above, the lithophone was discovered by accident. After its sound pleased many, it became a percussive instrument, accompanying other percussive instruments like drums in performance. According to scholars, the lithophones discovered in the Yinxu could produce single pitches, and in some cases, some could produce two pitches. This is probably due to the varying densities of the rock plates, not because of man-made factors (Zhang, 2010, p. 84). According to Gao Lei's statistics, the fourteen lithophones that were uncovered from Xia Dynasty and Shang Dynasty and those from the early Xia Dynasty period have a frequency of 400-1000 Hz in 66.7% percent of the instruments. Of the 27 lithophones uncovered from Shang Dynasty, 18 have a frequency of 400-1000 Hz, which is approximately 70% of the total.

Conclusion on Observations on the Chinese Lithophone *Qing*

Lithophones started as instruments of labour and, through an accidental discovery, became an important musical instrument and sacrificial vessel; through dynasties and regions and different craftsmen, it evolved from a simple, primitive instrument to being an instrument with a set of unified pieces with structure and

systematisation, producing many different scales. It can be used for many variations in the melodies, creating many a myriad of possibilities. This is an ingenious invention. Nowadays, we can only study these instruments through documented works and excavated relics, but there is still much to uncover.

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ROUNDTABLE: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MUSICAL "PREHISTORY" OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

THE "*TALEMPONG BATU*" LITHOPHONE OF TALANG ANAU (WEST SUMATRA), PART 1

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During a field research in West Sumatra in early 1995 I learned of a special music instrument, which was locally called *talempong batu* (lit. "Stone-*talempong*"). This *talempong batu* is to be found in *kampung* (settlement) Balai of Nagari Talang Anau, a village in the mountainous district Limapuluah Koto. In the wider regions around the district capital Payakumbuh, we meet numerous remnants of megalithic cultures.

In pre- and early history, this area is known because of the early anthropological researches by Dubois (1889) and Schnitger (1936), as well because of the ruins of Muara Takus, approximately 50 kilometres linear distance northeast from the territory of Nagari Talang Anau. This complex of Buddhist temples, dating (latest) from the 12-13 centuries,[1] is regarded as one of the spiritual centres of the kingdom of Srivijaya.

Previous Reports

West Sumatran culture specialist Boestanoel Arifin Adam probably was the first musicologist to visit the artefact. A field research report, entitled "Talempong. Musik Tradisional Minangkabau," was given by him to the local Academy of Traditional Music (ASKI) in 1987.[2] A delegation from the province government of West Sumatra visited the lithophone in 1985, and the artefact was registered for the Museum Adityawarman in Padang.

In spite of the local appreciation, except for my and Louvens' reports (both first compiled in 1995, and published in 2003), little documentation on the artefact seems to have been done. In 2016, Keen paid it a re-visit, and made some video and photos of the instrument and location.

Description of the Lithophone

The term *talempong batu* is an approximation; the instrument consists of six stone slabs of different size and tuning. During my visit in 1995, the stone slabs of the instrument were positioned on ground surface level over two wooden poles above a brick-nogged pit.

The stone slabs of the instruments seemed to be complete and without damage.[3] The sound of the single stone slabs can be described as metallic crisp and clear. As Louven points out, the tuning of the single slabs shows an astonishing system and precision. The precision of tuning is the more embarrassing when we consider the very hard mineral texture of the artefacts. The surface finish of the single instruments seemingly is of a very rustic kind.[4] There is no stepped notching, but relatively plain broken out flakes. The measurements of the single stone slabs are as follows (from the northeastern to the southwestern side):

Stone slab No.:	Approximated measurement in cm (L):	Approximated measurement in cm (W):	Approximated measurement in cm (H):	Corresponding pitch:
I.	156	40	27	Pitch 1 (lowest)
II.	100	25	15	Pitch 6 (highest)
III.	127	40	16	Pitch 2
IV.	110	30	23	Pitch 5
V.	122	35	20	Pitch 3
VI.	99	40	24	Pitch 4

Table 1. Spatial and pitch arrangement of the *talempong batu* in 1995. A video sample of the artefact sounded was presented by the author during this Roundtable.

Context

Considering the local history of Talang Anau and its neighbourhoods, the lack of further local traditions, perhaps imaginable, are small wonder regarding the following facts:

1. Talang Anau is in relatively close proximity to the ruins of Muara Takus, once an important Hindu-Buddhist spiritual centre. This proximity suggests that this spiritual centre may have dominated the spiritual life of the region, and may have subdued spiritual practices other than Hindu-Buddhist.

2. In the 19th century, the vicinity became a battlefield of the religiously initiated "Padri" war (1803-1837) between orthodox Islamic "Padri" party on the one side, and Minangkabau traditionalists, supported by the Dutch colonial government, on the other side. Especially the equatorial regions were devastated during this war, and nearby Bonjol became the centre of the Padri's activities then. We can assume, therefore, that any pre-Islamic ritual practices and traditions, perhaps except those directed towards the lithophone itself, became lost during these latest times.

During the 1980s, the lithophone began to be re-appropriated, to some extent, into the cultural life of the community, and re-used as a musical instrument within traditional ceremonies. Local musicians didn't seem to have basic problems to transfer some tunes from the modern *lagu* Minang repertoire onto this ancient instrument. According to several short online reports, the visits to the instrument, and its subsequent sonic/musical try-outs seem to have continued and slightly increased (Keen, 2016).

Local Spiritual Conceptions on the Lithophone

According to local lore, the *talempong batu* is reported to have occasionally "self/auto-sounded" in some cases of emergency related to forthcoming natural disasters. It still receives a high degree of veneration from behalf of the local population, and is considered to be fraught with inherent spiritual power (*kesaktian*). However, we can say that the lithophone as an object being a medium of spirituality, has changed into an object being a target of spirituality. No kind of musical heritage, nor any kind of implicit practices or traditions connected with the lithophone were communicated.

Especially the biggest of the stone slabs (No. I) is considered as bearing a high degree of *kesaktian*. It has "head" and "feet" ends—a conception being comprehensible with some fantasy—and is further considered able to cure diseases; in case a person falls sick, the relatives may evoke the *kesaktian* of this stone object in a ritual. Part of this ritual is the pouring out of water over the supposed "feet" of the stone slab, and the re-collection of this water below the stone object with a repository. The sick person is then asked to consume the re-collected water.[5] If the treatment shows to be successful, the relatives are expected to tie a white piece of cloth close to the stone slab as a sign of gratefulness. In 1995, I could observe numerous of such pieces of faded cloth—the ritual seemingly wasn't extinct yet. Though my local senior informants--Pak Zainal and Pak Sabir—remarked that this evocational ritual was falling into disuse at that time.

Besides the prominent role of stone slab No. I., the whole of the ensemble is connoted for having *kesaktian* as well. Besides it's "alert" function, it was reported to have a "revenge" function, in case the *talempong batu* is treated disrespectfully. This was conceptualised to have a lethal result to an offender in the worst case.

The Spatial Architecture of the Lithophone

Some assumptions on the cultural context of Talang Anau can be drawn from the patterning of other objects in the nearby neighbourhood,[6] as well as in the wider surrounding vicinity. These suggest that all of the places may have had somewhat more importance in ancient times.[7] The arrangement of artefacts and objects in Talang Anau in 1995 may be seen in Figure 1 in the following article by Christoph Louvens.

The unique local setting of the lithophone in Talang Anau is stressed by the fact that the pit it is placed upon was reported to once have extended into two subterrestrial caves, or caverns, leading to places somewhat below the village, atop of two rice fields. During his time as the *wali jorong*, senior informant Pak Sabir ordered these entrances to be closed, because small children repeatedly climbed them, and endangered themselves. The northwestern cavern had already collapsed in 1995, but the southwestern cavern and its "head" (*kapalo*) was still intact then. This southwestern cavern showed accessibility of a length of 12-15 meters. It was 3-4 metres wide, and 4-5 metres high at its mouth, and then quickly became narrower. The altitude of the caverns' exit I was estimated to be approximately 100 metres below that of the village. As I was informed then, these two caverns had to be conceptualised as "parts" and extensions of the lithophone, and its sound space.

Keeping the multiple slabs and their elaborated tuning in mind, it seems unlikely the whole architecture may once solely have served to transmit acoustic signals from the *talempong batu* to the said rice fields. Instead, we should assume an elaborated context for the whole of this arrangement, suggestible a spiritual one to communicate with deities of fertility. The whole location is reported to recently have been reconfigured and protected by a modern thatched building after 2012.

Endnotes

[1] According to Kulke (1995, pp. 67-69), Miksic (2004, pp. 248-249).

[2] This preliminary report was updated and shortened, and published in *Seperti: Jurnal Masyarakat Musikologi Indonesia* (1, pp. 53-75) in 1990.

[3] Stone slab No. II possibly shows a slight damage.

[4] The finish is similar to that of the lithophone from Ndut Lieng Krak (Vietnam).

[5] Miksic (2004, p. 238) gives some general statements on such practices commonly known as "drinking oaths" in Southeast Asia.

[6] Adam (1987, p. 16) interprets the arrangement of megaliths around the *talempong batu* as the framing of a (Minangkabau language) "Medan nan bapaneh" (lit.: a "sun-drenched square"). In ancient times, such places served as communal meeting and performance places.

[7] Adam (1987, p. 15) notes that Talang Anau, still during Dutch colonial times, belonged to the territory of the Laras Koto Laweh. This community claimed their local social codex to derive from those of the Laras Munka, Laras Mahat und Laras Muara Takus (sic.).

References: See the end of this section for the Compilation of References of all papers presented in the Roundtable.

ROUNDTABLE: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MUSICAL "PREHISTORY" OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

THE LITHOPHONE OF TALANG ANAU (WEST SUMATRA)—PART 2: SOUND AND TUNING

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In 1995, my colleague Uwe Paetzold asked me to acoustically analyse his recordings of the *talempong batu* lithophone that he discovered and recorded in the region of Talang Anau, West Sumatra during his field studies in Indonesia in 1994/1995 (Louven, 2003; Paetzold, 2003). The analysis was intended to focus on the characteristics of the sound and the tuning system of the instrument.

The *talempong batu* consists of six large stones of unknown, grey to beige material. The stones look quite rough and natural and are approximately 100 to 150 cm long, 30 to 40 cm wide and 15 to 25 cm thick. They rest on two bamboo poles above a resonance pit and are arranged in an irregular order that does not follow the size or the pitch of the stones (see Figure 1). However, the analysis will show that irregular order perfectly matches some aspects of the tuning system (see below).
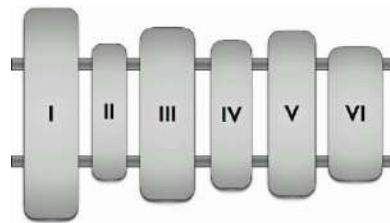
Figure 1. Scale schematic of the *talempong batu*.

In 1994, Paetzold's recordings were made using an analogue Hi8-Video equipment with external microphones, using both the digital PCM (32 kHz/12 bit) and the analogue hi-fi stereo audio tracks. To get the best material for the analysis, the analogue audio tracks were digitalised with 48 kHz/16 bit and transferred to a computer sound analysis system. As Paetzold recorded a lot of single strikes with different levels and at different positions of the stones, we were able to select 9 suitable, not over-modulated sounds from 3 different striking positions (left end, middle, right end) of each stone. Therefore, all in all 6x9 = 54 sounds were used as basic material for the analysis.

Sound Impression, Transient Response, Spectrum and Partials

The stones sound quite homogeneous within the whole instrument and at the different striking positions. The sound is clear with a distinct pitch perception and makes one think more of a metal instrument like a gong or a bell than of stone. Figure 2 shows a typical transient response for each of the six stones. All sounds are quite short (approx. 200 to 400 ms), stones II and IV show a delayed transient response after the first impulse. The shortness of the sounds is of some evidence for the possibilities of tuning such stones to a desired pitch (see below).
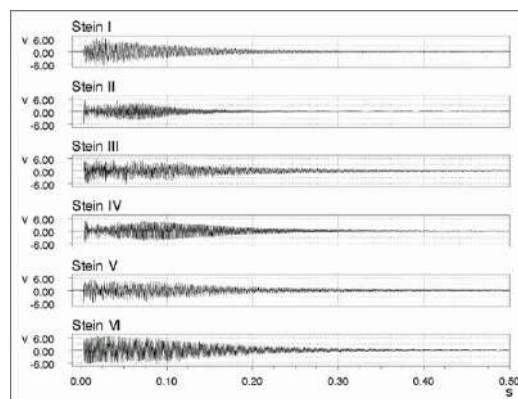
Figure 2. Transient response of all six stones.

To analyse the spectrum and the partials of the stones, high resolution FFTs of all 54 selected sounds were calculated (Df = 0.7324 Hz). All six stones show a complex spectrum with enharmonic partials that is typical to vibrating 3D objects. Figure 3 as an example shows typical spectra from the three different striking positions for stone I. As one might expect for a vibrating 3D object, the spectra differ with the striking position. However, the frequencies of the partial peaks seem to be quite stable and largely independent from the striking position.
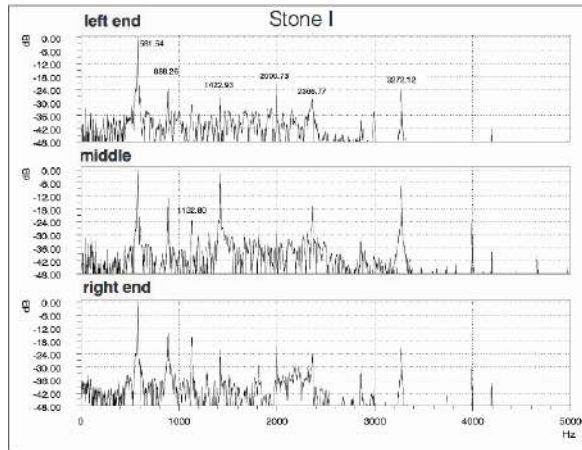
Figure 3. Spectrum of stone I at different striking positions.

By determining the frequency of all partial peaks above approximately –20 dB in all 9 spectra for each stone, we were then able to calculate the mean frequency and the standard error of the mean frequency for all partials of all stones (see Table 1).

		f	SE			f	SE
I	1	581.54	0.00	IV	5	1111.65	0.11
		888.26	0.11			1658.99	0.47
		1132.80	0.12			1814.20	0.17
		1422.93	0.11				
		2000.73	0.12				
		2366.77	0.18				
		3272.12	0.13				
II	6	1256.10	0.00	V	3	736.08	0.17
		1524.65	0.17			+1109.77	0.11
		2105.05	0.31			1826.24	0.13
						2582.02	0.12
						3057.36	0.12
III	2	726.80	0.32	VI	4	918.53	0.08
		1179.19	0.00			1422.60	0.25
		+1333.24	0.12			1602.77	0.12
		1475.09	0.00			2841.05	0.00
		1943.84	0.00				
		2409.74	0.08				
		2693.84	0.00				

Table 1. Partials of the *talempong batu* (Hz ± SE).

Tuning System

Since the sound impression and the analysis of the partial structure showed no evidence for the existence of special residual tones, combination tones or strike tones, the analysis of the tuning system was based on the intervals between the lowest partials (fundamentals) of the stones. Table 2 shows the complete cent-matrix of intervals (with Mean Squared Error of the cent value).

The analysis of the tuning system shows some very astonishing results. When we take a closer look at the intervals between the four stones with the lowest pitches (marked with a blue frame in Table 2) we find some intervals that are very close to intervals that are known as Perfect Major Third, Pythagorean Ditonus, and Syntonic Comma in the European tuning tradition (see Table 3).

Cent ± MSE		I 581.54 0.00	III 726.80 0.32	V 736.08 0.17	VI 918.53 0.08	IV 1111.65 0.11	II 1256.10 0.00
II	1256.10 0.00	1333.20 0.00	947.19 0.76	925.22 0.40	541.86 0.15	211.50 0.17	0
IV	1111.65 0.11	1121.70 0.17	735.69 0.78	713.72 0.43	330.36 0.23	0	
VI	918.53 0.08	791.34 0.15	405.32 0.78	383,36 0.43	0		
V	736.08 0.17	407.98 0.40	21.96 0.86	0			
III	726.80 0.32	386,02 0.78	0				
I	581.54 0.00	0					

Table 2. Talempong batu intervals (cent ± MSE).

Pythagorean Ditonus, (81/64)	407.82
Perfect Major Third (5/4)	386.31
Syntonic Comma (s, 81/80)	21.51

Table 3. Intervals in the European tuning tradition (cent).

The matching intervals in Tables 2 and 3 are marked with the same colours. As one can see, the intervals in the *talempong batu* nearly perfectly match the theoretical values: the maximum deviation is just about 3 Cents (between the 5/4-third and the interval V/VI). This accuracy exceeds the human ear's just notable difference (JND) for pitch in this frequency range (approx. 5 cents, Fastl & Weinberger, 1981).

In the European tradition, the Pythagorean Ditonus and the Perfect Major Third mark the main difference between two important tuning concepts (Barbour, 1951):

1. The 'Pythagorean' intonation that derives all intervals solely from pure fifths and octaves. The ratio 81/64 for the Pythagorean Major Third (Ditonus) is then found by stacking four pure 3/2-fifths (e.g. C^1-G^1-D^2-A^2-E^3) and subtracting two 2/1-octaves (E^3-E^2-E^1): $(3/2)^4 / (2/1)^2 = 81/64$

2. The "just" intonation that takes the 5/4 ratio for the perfect third directly from the overtone scale.

The Syntonic Comma s marks just the small difference between the Pythagorean Ditonus and the Perfect Mayor Third: $(81/84) / (5/4) = 81/80$. Figure 4 shows this theoretical relation between Pythagorean Ditonus, Perfect Major Third and Syntonic Comma.
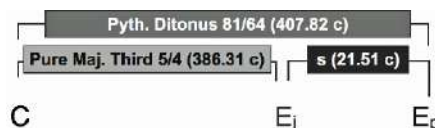
Figure 4. Theoretical relations between intervals (E_j: E in Just intonation; E_p: E in Pythagorean intonation).

Figure 5 shows the arrangement of the matching intervals within the actual order of the stones of the *talempong batu*.
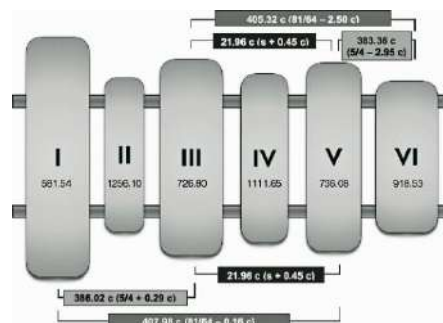
Figure 5. Order of intervals within the *talempong batu*.

As one can see, the intervals between the four lowest stones do not only perfectly match the size of the theoretical intervals. Moreover, the whole arrangement does twice reflect the theoretical meaning of the intervals in a perfectly symmetrical way, upwards and downwards with the syntonic comma in the middle.

Conclusions and Open Questions

Due to the perfect conceptual symmetry and accuracy of the system, it is barely conceivable that these intervals simply resulted from chance. If the tuning system of the *talempong batu* is supposed to be intended, its existence tells us a lot about the theoretical and practical resources and capabilities of the maker(s) and their cultural context.

- The complex concept, the accuracy, and the symmetry of the tuning implies some kind of theoretical, proportional, mathematical thinking of the creators of the lithophone. It is hard to imagine how complex ratios as 81/64 or 81/80 could evolve without the competency to think in proportions and to calculate with fractions.

- The conceptualisation and realisation of the tuning system both need a tool to theoretically discover the principals of interval relations and to reliably reproduce intervals and pitches during the actual tuning process. Since the only basic principle of sound production that is suitable for this is the vibrating string, this tool must be imagined as some kind of string instrument (as has been the Monochord in the European tradition).

However, some essential aspects of the cultural background and the making process of the *talempong batu* remain totally unclear so far:

- Even with a stringed reference tool, the actual tuning process remains unclear. On the one hand, the accuracy exceeds the just notable difference for pitch. Therefore, the simple comparison of the desired reference pitch with the pitch of the stone would never have led to such accuracy. On the other hand, for the tuning technique by counting interference beats between reference and target pitch the sounds of the stones are much too short. So far, it remains unclear how the actual precision of the tuning could be achieved.

- The actual tuning of a 3-dimensional body of hard, brittle, mineral material to a desired pitch of course needs a very accurate and precise craftsmanship. But moreover, it needs a lot of experience knowing where to work on the stone to get the desired result. As Paetzold (2003) stated, the *talempong batu* is a unique instrument. Even when the maker did not create other instruments later on, there must at least have been preliminary works in gaining this special experience. So, why didn't we find similar lithophones so far?

- What about the two highest stones (II and IV) that do not match the accurate system of the four lower stones? Is there any explanation for their pitch?

- Last but not least, it remains unclear how this complex tuning concept could evolve in a megalith culture and how it remained unchanged for presumably thousands of years.

To answer these questions, it will be necessary to conduct some further, interdisciplinary research with experts on musicology, archaeology, cultural history and mineralogy. However, these answers might be from great evidence for the cultural history of the region.

References: See the end of this section for the Compilation of References of all papers presented in the Roundtable.

**ROUNDTABLE: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MUSICAL "PREHISTORY"
OF SOUTHEAST ASIA**

**CONCLUDING PAPER: SUGGESTIONS ON A TOPOGRAPHICAL "TRACK OF THE
LITHOPHONES": FROM SANKARJANG (ODISHA, INDIA), TO TALANG ANAU (WEST
SUMATRA, INDONESIA), TO NDUT LIENG KRAK (ET AL.,VIETNAM), TO HUBEI (ET AL.,
CHINA)**

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Starting around the late 1970s, and fully blossoming since the mid-1990s, specialists from largely different positions of interest, like Peter Bellwood, Ian Glover, and Stephen Oppenheimer, suggested reviews of general designs on the prehistory of Southeast Asia. As one result of their endeavours it has become evident that maritime Southeast Asia was much less "maritime" topographically approximately 10,000 years ago.

Such theoretical models allow different perspectives today, i.e., the cultures that developed in these topographies possibly could have been connected to each other even in very early times, and previously unrelated artefacts, like the multiple findings of lithophones in Southern Vietnam[2] and Talang Anau (West Sumatra, Indonesia)[3] get a chance for a common perspective. Widening our perspective beyond Southeast Asia, we are urged to include two further regions into our considerations on the lithophone artefacts to be discussed here: Sankarjang in nowadays Odisha (India),[4] and China.

The following thoughts and conception models make use of some of the named insights achieved in the fields of archeology and prehistory. I do not claim to provide "new" research with this, but rather want to suggest modalities to interpret some more or less obvious and established data in another way.

A Three Chronological Patterns Model

I suggest a reversed multiple chronological layers' view on these possible regional interrelations:

I. "Historical" period perspective
Minangkabau (Srivijaya period: 6-13 century AD)—Champa (5-15 century AD): a common link between these two historical states with Sankarjang in India could i.e. be the Buddhist University of Nalanda (located in nowadays Bihar, India; 5-12 century AD). This ancient center of erudite tuition in Asia is known to have had contacts—possibly in form of sciant institution(s)—with both Muara Takus (near Talang Anau) in West Sumatra, and with the "Temple of Literature" in Hanoi (1070 AD) in Vietnam (see Roundtable Map 1).

II. "Late prehistorical/early historical" period perspective
Taking into view the evidences from both Vietnam and Sankarjang, the question arises what chronological perspective(s) the—still to be researched—chronological data from Talang Anau, located between these two locations, may suggest: an answer to this question could provide valuable arguments in the greater discussions in common "Prehistory" of Insular Southeast Asia either being a receptor, or a source of cultural inputs.

III. "Post glacial" period perspective
If we want to take into consideration a perspective where land or coastal navigation based migration contacts between the locations discussed still would have been possible, we need to go back in time even further: Oppenheimer argues the whole of Southeast Asia suffered major and vast topographical changes at the end of the last ice age (during the so-called "Younger Dryas" period, approximately 8,000 BP). These changes let to the drowning of vast areas of land below sea level until finally the topographical shape of Southeast Asia as we know it today was reached. This loss of land involved an area roughly the size of what is nowadays the Gulf of Thailand, and the South Chinese Sea.

- Chronological period: Mesolithic/Early Neolithic
- Label(s) of human culture(s): Hoabinhian (closely related to Bacsonian, 9.000-5.000 BC)
- Assumed chronological period of dispersal and existence: approximately from 13.000-5.000 BP[5]; if regarded linked with Bacsonian

▪ Geographic range: in Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma/Myanmar, and in Sumatra Hoabinhian sites have been found

Keeping these ideas in our mind allows us to sketch a topographical pattern in which we find back the greater part of the locations in discussion (Sankarjang/Odisha, Talang Anau/Minankabau, Ndut Lieng Krak/Vietnam):

If we group the lithophones' phenomena in the areas discussed according to this chronological pattern, this raises the question of how it comes that we find these artefacts in rather wide distanced locations, roughly treated by mankind in a similar fashion, and at least at the rough common chronological time marks named. Is this just a coincidence, or do we find reasons to assume human intentions enacted here? Would the latter then call for an interpretation of the human actors at least of the chronological pattern "I." (= historical period) to be viewed as having re-used a network of topographical spots for their interests? In other words, were the ancestors from Nalanda (5-12 century), Muara Takus (12-13 century), and Champa (5-15 century) then sailing on, and connecting via, routes established long before?

But how do the obviously both chronologically as well as topographically distanced Chinese findings of lithophones fit into such pattern? (See Table 6.2, Overview: Lithophones discussed in the Roundtable, at the end of this article)

Profile 1: Sankarjang (Odisha/Orissa, East India)
Known of since: 1971. Chronology: Dated to 2nd millennium BC (based on non-calibrated C 14 measurement). Profile of artefact: This artefact is of a rather fine finish of material form. The sonic finish of tuning has been reported on by Yule and Bemmann (1988). Context: This artefact's location can be conceptualised to have had possible cultural relationships with Indonesia (West/Central Sumatra) through trade, and religion (Shaivite Hindu-Buddhism, possible exchange of religious knowledge between Nalanda and Muara Takus monasteries.

Profile 2: Talang Anau (West Sumatra, Indonesia)
Known of since: Approximately 1985. Chronology: No dating yet. Profile of artefact: This artefact is of a rather raw finish of form, but, as was shown by Louven,[6] is of an astonishingly fine finish of tuning. Context: This artefact's location can be conceptualised to have had possible cultural relationships with both India, and with Central Vietnam during the Srivijaya period. Common cultural features through trade, and religion (Shaivite Hindu-Buddhism, possible exchange of religious knowledge via Nalanda and Muara Takus monasteries.

Profile 3: Ndut Lieng Krak (et al., Central Vietnam)
We know of at least four findings of lithophones in Vietnam today:

1) In 1949, lithophones were also found by French ethnologist Condominas in N'Dut Lieng Krak village of the Central Highlands province of Dac Lac. The instrument was exhibited in Paris a year later.
2) Ancient lithophones have been found in Loc Tan (Binh Phuoc Province),
3) And in Di Linh (Lam Dong Province) as well.
4) Lithophones were also found in the southern province of Binh Duong in early January 2005 at a site near My Loc village in Tan My commune of Tan Uyen district.

Chronology: Lithophone No. 4 (= My Loc) has been dated to 3,500 – 3,000 BP. Context: Related to linguistic and anthropological findings, some of these artefacts' locations can be shown to have cultural relationships with Indonesia, and with West Sumatra in particular. Context: Common cultural features through trade, and religion (Shaivite Hindu-Buddhism). As Tran Van Khe has shown (1979), the terminology of musical instruments of the old Champa culture is closely related to that of the Malay region (Minangkabau in particular), its language(s), and cultural profile(s).

Profile 4: (How) Can the *Qing* lithophones from China be joined into this picture?
The oldest findings of lithophones in China chronologically precede, considerably, those of the other areas discussed. Further, those findings from synchronous dates with the other territories show a comparatively advanced design and finish. These are reasons enough to assume a pioneering role from behalf of China.

Known of since: We know of multiple findings of lithophones in China, the eldest date from 1929.[7] Chronology: Oldest 4.900-4.100 BC. Profile of artefact(s): From simple to refined, from single slab to set.

Contemporary Layer

Refocusing our eyes onto the present, we can observe a re-appropriation of some of the artefacts discussed: The *talempong batu* of Talang Anau is being re-used during local ceremonies, in Vietnam lithophones still find a place in a sustained performance practice as well (i.e. the Dàn dá of the M'nong people). And the *biangqing* from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng even found their way into contemporary concert halls with Tan Dun's composition "Heaven Earth Mankind (Symphony 1997)." Even if "original" cultural settings connected with these sonic artefacts may still be unknown, or unclear to us today—as they show up again out of the veils of "POST-History", the time has come for ethnomusicology to pay new attention to them.

Endnotes

[1] With additional remarks by Schu-chi Lee.
[2] i.e. in Ndut Lieng Krak, reported on by Condominas (1949), Schaeffner (1951), and Husmann (1952, p. 47).
[3] Reported by Adam (1987), and Paetzold (1995; revised 2003).
[4] Yule & Bemmann (1988).
[5] According to Oppenheimer (1998, pp. 132, 134).
[6] See his contribution to the Roundtable in the present publication.
[7] See Lee's contribution to the Roundtable in the present publication.

Overview: Lithophones discussed in the Roundtable during the 4th ICTM StG PASEA, Penang (Malaysia), 2 August 2016

Location:	India (Odisha / Sankarjang)	Indonesia (Sumatra / Talang Anau)	Vietnam 1 (Dac Lac / Ndut Lieng Krak)	Vietnam 2 (Binh Phuoc / Loc Tan)	Vietnam 3 Lam Dong / Di Linh, Bao Loc)	Vietnam 4 (Binh Duong/ My Loc)	China 1 (Long Shan culture)	China 2 (Xia Dynasty)	China 3 (Shang Dynasty)	China 4 (West Zhou Dynasty)	China 5 (et al.) (East Zhou Dynasty)	China 6 (Han Dynasty)
Known of since / found in:	1971	1985/Bukit Basisan Highland range	1949 / Central Highlands	? / South Vietnam	1960 / Central Highlands	2005 / South Vietnam	(1929-2006 for **China 1-6**)	-	- / (Prov. Shanxi	-	1978 / Prov. Hubei	-
Chronology of found:	2nd millenium BC	- no dating yet -	3rd millenium BC (Bacsonian)	?	?	2nd millenium BC	4.900-4.100 BC	2.033-1.562 BC	1.562-1.066 BC	1.046-771 BC	771-256 BC	202 BC – 220 AD
Chronology of suggested exchange with:	Nalanda (5-12 century AD)	Srivijaya (6-8 and 11-13 cent. AD)	Champa (5-15 cent. AD / Hanoi: 11 cent. AD)	-	-	Champa (5-15 cent. AD)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Profile of artefact:	Fine finish of material, sonic finish reported	Raw finish of material, elaborated sonic finish	Set of 11 slabs, raw finish of material, sonic finish pentatonic?	-	-	Set of 11 slabs / Finish ?	*teging*, 11 pieces, simple finish of material	*teging*, 22 pieces, simple finish of material	*teging*, 41 pieces. finish of material maturing	*teging*, 8 pieces; **biangqing**, set of 20 pieces	*biangqing*, set of 32 pieces in two rows; fine finish	*biangqin*, set of 68 pieces
Suggested possible relationship:	**Nalanda** =>Muara Takus =>Champa /Hanoi	**Muara Takus** =>Nalanda =>Champa	**Champa / Hanoi** =>Muara Takus =>Nalanda	-	-	to riverine geography: Dong Nai River	to riverine geography: Yellow River (N-China); polit. center	to riverine geography: Yellow River (N-China); polit. center	to riverine geography: Yangtze River (C-China); polit. center	to riverine geography: Yangtze River (C-China); polit. center	to riverine geography: Yangtze River (C-China); polit. center	-

Table: Uwe U. Paetzold.

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TRANSLATING ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTEFACTS AND ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AT LEMBAH BUJANG THROUGH PERFORMANCE

(Lightning Paper)

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For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

THE CONTINUITY OF *GAMBUS* AS MATERIAL CULTURE
(Lightning Paper)

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Introduction

There are five types of *gambus* in Malaysia (Hilarian, 2005). The *gambus* made in Sabah, however, is more like the *barbat* which was brought by the Persians (Abd Aziz, 2010). This paper is based on research that was conducted mainly at Kampung Seri Serbang Bongawan, which is located in Papar District in Sabah. The village of Seri Serbang Bongawan is the main settlement area of the ethnic Brunei of Sabah. The *gambus* is one of their most popular musical instruments. The type of *gambus* which is well known in this area is called *Gambus Seludang Mayang*. From 1980 until 1995, the popularity of *Gambus Seludang Mayang* started to decline both in crafting and performance among the Brunei community in the village. However, in 1996, this instrument started to become popular again among the elders and the youth of the village.

Regarding the continuity of making and performing the *gambus* in the Brunei community, this study was firstly conducted to identify the process of making the instrument. Secondly, the study was conducted to determine the extent of use of the *gambus* within the Brunei community nowadays. Thirdly, the study was conducted to identify factors that contribute to the continuity of using the *gambus* musical instrument.

The Process of Making *Gambus Seludang Mayang*

Abd. Aziz (2010) states that there are five important processes in making any type of *gambus* and this was supported by one of the *gambus* craftsmen at Kampung Seri Serbang Bongawan, Encik Ag Besar Pg Apong.

The first process in making the *Gambus Seludang Mayang* is the selection of the wood. There are several types of wood that are suitable for making the *gambus*. However, jackfruit and a specific type of acacia wood are the most suitable and favoured by the *gambus* craftsmen in the village, because these types of woods are not too hard but also not easy to break and fracture. The hardness of the wood is important in making the *gambus* as it will affect the sound that the instrument produces. For example, the thick part of the *gambus* body produces a sharp tone, while the softer or thinner wood produces a bigger or louder tone and it is easy to control (Abd Aziz, 2010).

The second process is the framing of the *gambus*. In this process, the selected wood is cut into halves and the surface parts of the halves are smoothed after the bark has been peeled off. After that, the desired length and shape will be outlined and measured. According to Encik Ag Besar, the length of *Gambus Seludang Mayang* is not really fixed as it depends on the *pemanting* (player). However, the standard length usually requested for the *gambus* is 37 to 40 inches (around 94 to 102 centimetres). The exterior sides of the *gambus* are trimmed. The "chest" and the "body" parts of the instrument are also shaped, as well as the *ikong* ("tail" of the *gambus*), the "head" of *gambus* and also the resonance holes or sound holes. The *gambus'* "belly" is hollowed and its lower part is curved.

The third process is the installation of the surface or cover of the belly of the *gambus*. The *gambus'* surface, or as the local community say, *mua'* is made from animal skin such as cow, goat and deer. Once the *mua'* covers the belly of the *gambus*, a *penyangga* (buffer) will be installed to support the strings that will be put on later.

The fourth process is the making of "ears" of the *gambus*. In this process, 12 holes are drilled in the head in a zig-zag arrangement and later on, small pieces of *seraya* wood pegs are inserted as "ears" into the holes. The last process is the installation of the *gambus'* strings. In this process, the craftsman ties the strings from *ikong* to ear and begins tuning the *gambus*.

Differences between Traditional and Modern *Gambus*

Figure 1. Traditional (left) and modern (right) *Gambus Seludang Mayang* types made by Encik Ag Besar Pg Apong. (Source: Deeba Eleena Mohammad Aslom, 2015).

According to Encik Ag Besar, there are several noticeable differences between the traditional and modern *Gambus Seludang Mayang*. First of all, there are changes in shape. The surface of the traditional *gambus* is quite small and it looks like a beetle nut shape. Nowadays, the surface of the modern *gambus* is bigger in size than the traditional one. Secondly, there are changes in types of *mua'*. Encik Ag Besar mentioned that there are two types of traditional *Gambus Seludang Mayang* regarding the *mua'*. The common traditional one uses animal skins such as goat, deer and cow while the older one uses reptile skins like snake and monitor lizard. Meanwhile, the modern *gambus* uses plywood as the *mua'* as it saves time in making the *mua'* compared to the traditional *mua'* that needs longer time and a meticulous process to dry the skin.

Most people will argue that nylon string is not a traditional material. Encik Ag Besar, however, insisted that nylon string has been used in the traditional *gambus* since the 1980s and even before that. Nowadays, the modern type has fishing lines as the strings since these produce a more desirable tone. Since the traditional *gambus* uses animal skin as the surface, the craftsmen uses thumbtacks to tighten the surface which also function as decoration around the edge where the skin overlaps onto the body of the instrument. Since the modern one uses plywood for the surface, thumbtacks are not needed. Therefore, the maker only uses laces as decoration instead. The final difference between the traditional and modern *gambus* is the tools used in making them. The traditional one involves using lots of manual tools like axe and pickaxe, while the modern one uses machines such as chainsaw and grinder which saves a lot of time in making the *gambus*.

There are also differences in the uses of *Gambus Seludang Mayang* in traditional and modern contexts by the Brunei community of Seri Serbang Bongawan. Traditionally, there were only two functions of the *gambus*. Firstly, it was played during *madayut* (Abd Aziz, 2010), which was a dance performance for the royal or wealthy people in the past. Secondly, it was played along during *barasik* which is a spiritual healing ceremony for people who were believed to be possessed by spirits. The *gambus* would be played so that the possessed person would dance and sing along in order to appease the spirit. However, since the practice of *barasik* contradicts Islamic religious practice, it is no longer performed in the community.

Nowadays, the *Gambus Seludang Mayang* is played during engagement ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, in *silat* performances and during festivals which are more accepted by the community. The *gambus* is also played to welcome the guests of honour at important events, in competitions and is also played as hobbies or for entertainment.

Factors of Continuity

The uses and making of the *gambus* in Seri Serbang Bongawan declined from 1980 to 1995. However, it started to gain its popularity back during 1996 due to certain factors that have made it one of the most popular musical instruments nowadays.

Firstly, a major factor is the change in the shape of the *gambus*. According to Encik Ag Besar, he noticed that the shape of the traditional *gambus* is not favourable to ease of performance. Therefore, when he changed the shape of the *gambus* into a modern one, the new shape was well received among the *pemanting* and collectors as it is more comfortable to use. Soon after that, other craftsmen in the village started to use the same design of the modern *gambus*. Secondly, the cooperation between the local community with the Persatuan Masyarakat Brunei Sabah (PMBS) has been an important factor. The PMBS usually

organises a festival called *Pesta Gambus* which involves competitions at all levels. The highlight of the festival is always held annually in October, in Sabah.

Another factor that has contributed to the continuity of the *gambus* is the financial sponsorship from Malaysian Handicraft Development Cooperation. As one of the well-known craftsmen in the village, Encik Ag Besar has a full-time workshop sponsored under this organisation. His workshop was also given some financial support in order for him to create a gallery exhibition for all the *gambus* that he had created. There are also classes being held in the village such as the class for making the *gambus*, which is mostly taught by the craftsmen, and a class that teaches people how to play the *gambus* taught by older *pemanting*. Both classes are usually held every weekend.

In order to nurture new and young talent among the youth, the local community also started to organise smaller scale competitions among the smaller villages. Furthermore, the local community also uses *gambus* performances as a way of entertainment at organised festivals, events and ceremonies, such as weddings, child naming ceremonies, boys' circumcision ceremonies, and so on.

Conclusion

Although there has been a decline in performance and crafting of the *gambus*, the *Gambus Seludang Mayang* of the Brunei community managed to regain its popularity and thus sustain its identity. In order to gain interest among the community, craftsmen have had to make some changes, especially in the shape and the materials used. Over time, the uses of *gambus* and performance contexts also changed and were adapted to the needs of the community. Besides this, the continuity in use of the *gambus* has been successful due to the community's efforts in teaching the skills of making and playing the *gambus* among the young generation. In so doing, the continuity of the *gambus* as a material culture will surely continue.

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RELIGIOSITY AND SUSTAINABILITY: KENYAH VOCAL PERFORMANCE IN SARAWAK, MALAYSIA
(Lightning Paper)

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Abstract

The ramifications of religious conversion have a tremendous impact on the arts in any community. A striking example can be seen in the Kenyah communities of Long Moh and Long Mekaba in Sarawak, Malaysia, where virtually the entire corpus of traditional song is of indigenous spiritual origin to some degree.

Since the mid-20th century, most residents of Long Moh and Long Mekaba have converted to Christianity, and in the early 21st century, only a few individuals continued to follow *adet Bungan*. In the wake of their conversion, the Kenyah of these communities voluntarily discontinued the practice of many traditional vocal performance genres, including melodic and non-melodic forms of versification. Why haven't these traditions been recast and integrated to any significant degree into the new religious environment, as we have seen occur in countless cultures worldwide? Although there have been efforts to sustain these Kenyah vocal forms, those efforts have enjoyed limited success. What has been the obstacle?

One answer, I submit, has been an underlying Kenyah *religiosity*—a particular sense of the order of and relationship between terrestrial and spiritual domains. Conversion may have altered the religion, but it did not change the deeper religiosity that has made it difficult for Kenyah vocal performance traditions to be maintained—even if they were never tied to any non-Christian ritual. Drawing from music recordings and conversations with vocalists, church officials, adherents of *adet Bungan*, and an array of Kenyah villagers, this paper will provide evidence that traditional Kenyah religiosity has largely rendered Kenyah vocal performance traditions unsustainable in contemporary society. What should be the focus of sustainability efforts in such circumstances? The paper will conclude with suggestions for scholars, students, and other devotees of the traditional arts.

THE *MEK MULUNG* DANCE DRAMA OF WANG TEPUS, KEDAH: CONTINUING THE TRADITION AND STAYING RELEVANT
(Lightning Paper)

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Introduction

Mek Mulung, a dance-drama which incorporates dancing, music, and acting, is unique to the village of Wang Tepus in the northern state of Kedah in Peninsular Malaysia. With a history dating back to several generations, it is still practiced there in its traditional form, which is not known to exist elsewhere (Ahmad, 1976; Mohd Ghouse, 2015; Wong, 2008).

Various myths have been associated with the origin of *Mek Mulung*. According to Mohd Ghouse (2003), there have been six different versions with a common thread concerning a family whose daughter had special musical abilities. There is no strong evidence yet to confirm its origin (Matusky & Tan, 2012), but elders in the *Mek Mulung* performance troupe indicated the common belief that it has its roots in Kedah, although at one point in time it was brought to Ligor (now known as Nakhon Sri Thammarat) in southern Thailand (Eddy Aizad, 2011) where it developed into its proper theatre form (Mohamad Nazri, 1998; *Mek Mulung*, 2003; Mohamad Luthfi, 2016) before returning to Kedah.

Objective of this Paper

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the development of the *Mek Mulung* tradition based on written texts and oral accounts, and also past and current revival efforts toward ensuring its continuity, as well as the extent to which *Mek Mulung* can remain relevant within the current context.

ary Mulung, the Village Performance

Mek Mulung has been mainly performed as a celebration for villagers to express gratitude for their good fortune at the end of the paddy harvesting season, and as general entertainment during weddings and other important social and cultural events (Siti Fatimah, 2009). However, in the current context, it is more likely performed to fulfil requests from certain interested parties with monetary returns, thus providing a source of income for the village performers. The annual *Sembah Guru* ritual continues to be performed not only as a tribute for ensuring the protection of the village and its inhabitants from bad omens that befall them but also as occasions to seek treatment for various kinds of spirit-related ailments.

Most of the current troupe members are aging and represent the seventh generation of the *Mek Mulung* lineage that is believed to be more than 400 years old. Very few among the younger generation show a strong interest and commitment, nor do they have the necessary preparation and abilities to replace aging members. Thus, the village *Mek Mulung* tradition faces the potential risk of slowly disappearing and becoming extinct if revival efforts are not forthcoming.

Emergence of the Concertized *Mek Mulung*

In 2002, the PETRONAS Performing Arts Group (PPAG) staged its maiden performance of the modern, concertized version of *Mek Mulung* on the proscenium stage to an urban audience in the prestigious Dewan Filharmonik Petronas in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur. The PPAG's own interpretation and creation of the *Mek Mulung* performance was such a success that three more performances followed within a span of ten years before the group disbanded in 2012. By 2012, the PPAG version became the model for subsequent stagings in other productions at the National Department of Culture and Arts, ASWARA, AKRAB, Universiti Teknologi MARA, and Sunway University. Stagings of performances in various concert venues that were often followed by media reviews provided further exposure of *Mek Mulung* to the general public.

Declaration as a State Performing Arts Heritage

An important milestone achieved by *Mek Mulung* as a treasured tradition was its declaration as Kedah State Performing Arts Heritage on October 24, 2014. This declaration can have a significant impact on the future direction of *Mek Mulung* and provide a moral boost and a sense of pride for the traditional practitioners who have kept the tradition alive within the confines of their village. A more important implication is the positive influences the declaration can have on the younger generation to participate in the *Mek Mulung* tradition. Similarly, the declaration acknowledges the efforts of those who recognise the need for continuing the *Mek Mulung* tradition in its modernised version to a wider audience outside of Wang Tepus. This is in line with Tamara Livingston's (1999) concept of music revivals whereby "social movements…strive to 'restore' a musical system believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past for the benefit of contemporary society" (p. 66).

Support for Continuing the Tradition

The Wang Tepus community as well as other neighbouring villages, continue to support the *Sembah Guru* performance, which is an annual affair whereby the amount of funds available to cover expenses determines the scale of its celebration. In 2011, the National Film Development Board (FINAS) sponsored the event. This sponsorship enabled *Sembah Guru* to be held as a full-scale performance throughout the typical duration of four nights.

Research activities and publications by academicians as well as other forms of documentation undertaken by various organisations and agencies add to the current literature and towards promoting *Mek Mulung*. Financial sponsorships and other forms of support from various interested parties to enable the staging of these performances in the village *bangsal* as well as in urban concert halls, and provide *Mek Mulung* greater recognition, understanding, appreciation, and continued presence among the wider population.

In 2014, the Kedah State Department of Arts and Culture embarked on a national road show covering six states which brought *Mek Mulung* concerts to audiences throughout the country. The recent publication of a coffee table book on *Mek Mulung* by the Malaysian Institute of Translation and Books (ITBN) (Zinnitulnida, 2014) with sponsorship by Bina Darulaman Berhad, a private local developer, are further indications that continuing the *Mek Mulung* tradition is important and recognised by government agencies, non-governmental bodies, and private organisations.

Despite the lack of interest among the younger generation to seek apprenticeship as future practitioners in continuing the family tradition, four to five young people have been successfully identified and recruited as current troupe members providing some form of assurance toward sustaining the tradition for another generation if they continue to remain with the troupe.

Conclusion

It is evident that in its traditional form, *Mek Mulung* continues to be relevant, particularly in its ritual function for the Wang Tepus community, while the concertized version has captured the interests of urban audiences. The creation of the modern, urban *Mek Mulung* provides a complementary alternative, but does not replace the traditional village version. Thus, the village performance co-exists with the concertized version, each with its specialty of ritual and entertainment functions, respectively.

This simultaneous existence of the traditional and modern *Mek Mulung* within the same time frame can be approached from Keith Howard's (2014) concept of a "post-revival" performance, in which new creativity emerges from the preservation of the existing version. Howard sees the two elements of preservation and creativity going side-by-side whereby "one is validating the other, and one ensuring the maintenance of the activity of the other. Preservation and creativity are, then, equally important elements in revival" (pp. 152-153).

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WAYANG AT THE TEMPLE: CONTESTING RELIGION, RELIGIOSITY, AND IDENTITY IN *WAYANG KULIT KELANTAN*
(Lightning Paper)

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ROUNDTABLE: SUSTAINING MUSICAL CULTURES IN MALAYSIA: THE ROLES AND STRATEGIES OF THE CULTURAL RESEARCHER

INTRODUCTION

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Most ethnomusicologists are obliged to "give back" and assist the communities they have worked with to sustain their musical cultures. After all, these communities have provided the researcher with information, friendship, and knowledge; they have helped many academics to enhance our professional careers. This roundtable aims to raise questions and discussion about the role of the cultural researcher and the practical strategies that have been employed for enhancing the sustainability of specific cultural forms in Malaysia that are facing global and local challenges. These forms include the Chinese *potehi* or glove puppet theatre in Penang, music of the *Semai* indigenous people of Perak, *gamelan* music in the schools, and music of the Portuguese of Melaka of Malaysia. What are the challenges or threats to sustainability that are faced by these musical cultures? What is the role of the cultural researcher in dealing with the challenges? How do we use our ethnomusicological knowledge to work with communities towards the continuity and sustainability of their cultures?

ROUNDTABLE: SUSTAINING MUSICAL CULTURES IN MALAYSIA: THE ROLES AND STRATEGIES OF THE CULTURAL RESEARCHER

THE SUSTAINABILITY OF PORTUGUESE MUSIC AND DANCE IN MELAKA, MALAYSIA

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In planning this roundtable session, Tan Sooi Beng posed four questions for us to consider. What are the challenges or threats to sustainability faced by music, dance, and theatre forms? What is the role of the cultural worker in dealing with these challenges? How does the researcher work together with the community to foster continuity and sustainability of its musical culture? And how do we put our ethnomusicological knowledge to practical use?

I will explore these questions from the perspective of my own field research in Melaka's Portuguese Settlement. While not a very large community—around 120 houses with about 1000-1200 residents, located on the edge of the Straits of Malacca—the Portuguese Settlement is currently endangered on a number of fronts. I have studied, performed with, and written about the cultural troupes of this community on a regular basis since 1990. At the height of performing activity in the mid-1990s, there were five troupes, each with a charismatic singer-leader, a small number of adult musicians, and a large cohort of teenage or younger dancers, that performed primarily for tourist audiences. I have spent the intervening quarter century documenting change: leaders and musicians have passed away or retired from active performing; dancers have married, started families, and become enmeshed in the daily business of life. The cultural troupes of today are quite different from those of the past and, significantly, from each other in terms of leadership, membership, and underlying philosophy. Community needs, too, have changed over time as local and global challenges have precipitated an on-going reassessment of the community's perception of itself and its place in the world (Sarkissian, 2010, 2013). Exploring the ramifications of this changing landscape for the community and its performing tradition has led to a re-evaluation of my own position as a long-term researcher and the development of new research strategies and partnerships.

I'll begin by outlining three challenges/threats to the community itself, for together they affect the sustainability of performing life. First, and most pressing, is the threat to the environment and the village's historical association with fishing and the sea. Land reclamation, a vague threat for the last three decades, has become a reality. When the "Melaka Gateway" project is finished, the Portuguese Settlement will abut a 609-acre island complex intended (in the minds of the developers) to corner the cruise ship market, thereby rivalling Dubai. The money and power involved is overwhelming: developers have ignored government guidelines for social and economic impact studies, massive graft is involved, and the remaining fishermen of the community are arguing among themselves for "compensation". Can the community survive if its connection to the sea is severed and if rising land values cause residents to sell off homes to outsiders for personal gain? If the community dissipates, what hope is there for its performing tradition?

Second is a crisis of leadership within the community. With a traditional leader (the *Regedor*), a government-appointed head of the local JKKK (Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Kampung—Village Development and Security Committee), a president of the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian Association, and an entrepreneur/politician who recently launched the Associação Comunidade Portuguesa de Asia (Association of Portuguese Communities of Asia), the problem is not a lack of leadership, but rather too many leaders, only one of whom is willing to cooperate with the others. Currently they are arguing, heatedly, about what their language (a creolised form of Portuguese, long known as "Kristang") should be called. The political power struggle has led to the development of factions and an erosion of civility at a time when unity and cohesion are sorely needed in the face of certain ecological and likely socio-cultural disaster. It is not surprising that this has affected cultural leadership within the community. New models of cultural leadership need to emerge if the performing tradition is to remain viable.

And third is the impact of social media places the community squarely in a global arena. Within the community, children are less interested now than in the past in joining dance groups or spending their evenings huddled in small groups along the sea wall learning how to play guitar. Instead, they (and many adults, for that matter) spend countless hours glued to mobile devices, playing games and messaging one another. "Hinting words," or what we might call cyber-bullying, is a serious problem. For better or worse, Settlement children are engaging with the world on a scale unimagined by their parents. Can this be harnessed positively in a way that will benefit, rather than harm, the cultural life of the community? Internet-driven

social media is not only a means of local access to global culture; it also provides the outside world with a window into the community. Outcomes range from newly formed virtual friendships between diasporic Asian Portuguese communities that have facilitated actual cultural exchange (e.g., the visit of a *kroncong* ensemble from Tugu, Jakarta) to communications with individuals and NGOs in Portugal that run the gamut from naïve romanticism to what I call "borderline cyber-colonialism."

With these challenges/threats to the community—and by extension to its performing tradition—in mind, I will return to our framing questions: What is the role of the cultural researcher in dealing with such challenges? And how does the researcher work together with the community to foster continuity and sustainability of its performing culture? These are important questions, not least because many of us were trained to be "neutral", "objective" observers on quests to collect and analyse data. We all know this is a myth, perhaps only possible for tourist-researchers who waft in and out of a particular location. For those of us who nurture long-term relationships with a specific community, the situation is more complicated. Unlike my roundtable partners, I am not a local scholar (understanding that local is always a matter of perspective and some local scholars are nonetheless outsiders to the domestic communities they study); yet I am clearly more than a sojourner. After a quarter century, I have grown into a role, neither insider nor outsider, that is infused with all sorts of privileges, dilemmas, pitfalls, and—ultimately—responsibilities. Standing witness to the challenges I have outlined is no longer an option and has required a re-evaluation of my own priorities and actions.

Part of my recalibration has centred on rethinking what a community's performing tradition actually is and how it relates to the forms that we, as researchers, study. This is not an entirely straightforward question in relation to the Portuguese Settlement: is it what the community performs for itself, or is it what is staged for various kinds of audiences? Music and dance are essential accompaniments to most social activities in the Portuguese Settlement. It's hard to encounter a wedding or birthday party, let alone a larger community gathering, without music and dance. These are enjoyable participatory activities, things people do when gathered together. They unite families, generations, friends, and create an internal sense of community and cohesion. At another level, music and dance—like language, food, and dress—can also be markers of identity and heritage. In this context, music and dance show other people who we are, why, and how we are different from our neighbours. In this context, music and dance cease being participatory and become performative (Turino, 2008): musicians and dancers perform, often on a stage, to audiences, who have become spectators to be entertained and/or educated.

In the Portuguese Settlement, the content of these two categories—participatory and performative—is markedly different. The preferred fare at participatory events is popular music, American "oldies" and recent hits with an occasional Malay or Chinese song for the sake of variety. Cha-chas and line dancing are especially popular and "Achy Breaky Heart" is one of the most frequently requested songs. Performative music and dance, in contrast, is what I focused on primarily as researcher and performer. My scholarly writing has told the story of this repertory, introduced from Portugal in 1952 and recreated on stage by the community's various cultural troupes ever since (Sarkissian, 2000). Until very recently there was only one point of contact between these two worlds: the *branyo*, a local social dance musically synonymous with the national *joget*. An indispensable part of any community event, *branyo* was added to the cultural show early on to facilitate audience participation. After a choreographed opening, dancers descend from the stage, find partners in the audience, and return for a staged social dance. In this staged context the local *branyo* was always performed in the Portuguese costumes of the cultural troupes, an inconsistency that was never acknowledged.

Recent developments that might at first sight appear to threaten the continuity and/or sustainability of the performing tradition, actually contribute positively (from my vantage point, at least) to more inclusive community building and bonding. Working to facilitate this requires letting go of my academic desire for the preservation of "tradition" and listening to, encouraging, and supporting the next generation of cultural leaders as they step into, own, and reshape their world. A good example of this process was the formation of a new group, "1511 O Maliao Maliao Cultural Troupe," in 2014 by Gerard de Costa and his wife, Anne de Mello, something I had encouraged for many years. They were ideally placed to be group leaders: on one hand, both had participated in cultural groups since their teens and three of their four parents danced with the first Settlement group in the 1950s; on the other, Gerard is the leading wedding band (and *branyo*) singer-musician in the community. Instead of replicating the structure of the older troupes and recruiting new teenage dancers, they assembled a group of veteran musicians and dancers (including myself, when available). By re-embodying songs and dances last performed (in some cases) a quarter century earlier, the new group blurred the line between performative and presentational forms. True, the goal was to perform on

stage, but the act of musicking and dancing was intentionally social and community oriented (Small, 1998). They were a group of friends having fun; even on stage the end result was "our", not "Portuguese", music and dance.

This new sense of ownership has empowered reflection and facilitated dialogue, some of which I have moderated. For example, on the performative side the question "Why do we wear Portuguese dress to dance our own *branyo*?" sparked lively discussion, experimentation, and ultimately a radical change: 1511 now uses two sets of costumes, one Portuguese, the other local (Settlement-style *sarong kebaya*s for the women and *pajamas* for the men).

Figure 1. 1511 O Maliao Maliao Cultural Troupe in Portuguese folkloric costumes.
(Photo: 1511 O Maliao Maliao Cultural Troupe. Used with permission).

1511 O Maliao Maliao Cultural Troupe in local dress. (Photo: Adriana Phillip. Used with permission).

To me, this confirms that the once-imported repertory has taken deep root in the community. Lately 1511 members have used the local set when performing Portuguese dance within the Settlement, a stance that is greatly appreciated by community members. They have yet to convince outside event organisers, some of whom insist they wear "Portuguese dress" to perform, preferring the "exotic" to the local look. On the participatory side, members of 1511 introduced "Tiru Liru Liru"—one of the older dances from the folkloric repertory—to community parties, turning it into a social dance that maintained core movements of the dance without the staged choreography. While some observers might interpret both changes as aberrations, I consider this seepage between performative and participatory worlds a positive change to be embraced, not lamented as loss.

In addition to encouraging cultural troupes to reimagine themselves, I can also facilitate community building by helping incubate totally new initiatives. In June 2016, for example, Alvin Fletcher (a multi-talented musician who returned to the Settlement after working professionally in Kuala Lumpur for many years) started a youth drumming group that embraced the wildest boys in the community. With Alvin's guidance, the youths created their own music, not by dipping into any wellspring of tradition, but by watching YouTube videos of Brazilian *batucada* drumming. Brainstorming with Alvin and putting my professional knowledge to good use, I introduced Alvin via Skype to Samuel Araújo, an old friend who has done pioneering work with the youth in Rio's *favelas*, and to some of his former students who are creating teaching materials for community *batucada* groups and are extremely excited to work with kindred spirits in Malaysia. In its infancy, to be sure, this project is doing immense work for the community by giving an otherwise lost generation focus, discipline, and a visceral sense of accomplishment and even community pride.

When faced with the ultimate challenge of community survival, encouraging solidarity through music and dance seems more important than documenting or advocating some kind of performative "authenticity" (if that is even possible). Only organic growth and change from within can ensure that a

performing tradition remains meaningful and thus sustainable to its community. Putting our ethnomusicological skills and knowledge to use in whatever capacity we have to offer to enable this to happen seems a practical way to give something back to the communities with which we work.

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ROUNDTABLE: SUSTAINING MUSICAL CULTURES IN MALAYSIA: THE ROLES AND STRATEGIES OF THE CULTURAL RESEARCHER

EXPLORATORY APPROACHES TO ENCOURAGING AN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY-BASED EDUCATION FOR THE SUSTAINABILITY OF SEMAI MUSIC AND DANCE IN PERAK

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Introduction

My early years of research were aimed at documenting and archiving knowledge on the music of the Orang Asli of peninsula Malaysia. I utilised the conventional non-interventive qualitative approach that involved literature review, ethnography, interviews, participation-observation and bi-musicality. Through friendships established with the Orang Asli in the past ten years, I began to feel a sense of responsibility toward their concerns and plight, which include issues of cultural sustainability. In this article, I reflect on my past and present inspirations, approaches and reflections for research on the music of Orang Asli. I believe problem solving among researchers in fieldwork can be facilitated if other researchers share how they deal with related issues.

In this article, I examine the approaches I utilised to identify and solve issues related to cultural sustainability among the Orang Asli communities. Second, I present the different approaches I utilised to encourage cultural sustainability. Third, I reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of previous research, suggesting better approaches to future research. This article discusses the strengths and weaknesses of two previous research projects aimed to advocate cultural sustainability. In addition, I propose a future research grant in response to the reflection of weaknesses in previous research grants.

Research 1: Advocacy of Semai Music through Community-Based Learning

The standardised curriculum in national schools provides little flexibility and variety in subject selection, consequently ignoring the multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1983) of each child from the urban, sub-urban and rural areas. Many Orang Asli children are criticised for being lazy and frequently playing truant from school. This statement is made without examining the root causes such as distance of travel from village to school, parent's academic background, rural home environment, and issues of bullying and mistreatment in schools. According to Chong (*The Star*, 30 September 2016), "Bullying by schoolmates, schools located far away from home and feeling shy and inferior are the main reasons why Orang Asli children have given up on studying".[1] This research encouraged the Semai communities to develop an independent community-based education system focusing on musical enculturation and to have some ownership of the education of their children. According to Corson (1999) "when schools become organic to their local indigenous communities, such communities are able to insist on the insertion of their own values into the school's organization, management, pedagogy, curriculum, and modes of evaluation" (p. 3).

In 2012, my co-researcher and I began our first applied ethnomusicology research at a Semai village located in Tapah.[2] The research aimed to investigate the best practices of teaching and learning among an Orang Asli musician and a group of children, given that they were placed in a formal classroom setting. The aim of the research was to document an indigenous approach to music transmission in a classroom context and also to encourage an independent community-based education that utilised teaching approaches familiar to the Semai children. Workshops that involved one Semai musician and 10-15 children ranging from ages 6-12 were conducted about six times in a period of six months (Figure 1).

In the research, we requested for the Semai musician to take the role of a teacher and experiment with ways of teaching the Semai children in his own community how to play the nose flute, *kereb*, *centong* and sing some *Sewang* songs. Three guidelines for the teaching workshop were established: (1) Music transmission should occur as similar as possible to the original musical acquisition context; (2) The teaching of music should come from an indigenous musician; (3) Semai musicians should transmit the teaching of music to the Semai children from their own village.

The Semai musician chosen for this research was often invited by cultural organisations to perform the nose flute at festive celebrations or political functions. In uncovering the natural teaching method of this

musician, we utilised a non-interventive approach where we merely observed the Semai musician's teaching method. Our findings reveal that the physical and pedagogical space between the Semai musician and children were mobile and flexible. Second, the Semai musician utilised familiar folk tunes from Malaysia as exercises for learning the complex techniques of the *pensol* (nose flute). The Semai musician also used the Semai language, such as *nanek na ne* (one, two, three) for counting time in musical performance (Chan, 2015, pp. 702-706).

Figure 1. The Semai musician showing the children how to play the *pensol* (nose flute).

When the research ended, my co researcher and I reflected back on the strengths and weakness of the research. We felt that this project would have been more successful if the Semai musician conducted music lessons 2-3 times a week with the children. However, this was difficult; although the musician was concerned about sustaining Semai musical tradition, he did not necessarily have a strong passion to ensure its perpetuation through structured weekly lessons. It was also difficult to monitor the work in progress of the Semai musician. From this research project, we realised that we should have approached the research through the *batin* (head) of the village and gained the support of the villagers rather than merely engaging with one musician from the village. Second, we believe the best person to monitor the progress of the student was a research assistant or a graduate student researching on this topic.

Research 2: Advocacy through Audio-Visual Print and Digitisation

In 2012, I received the Exploratory Research Grant Scheme (ERGS) funded by the Ministry of Higher Education to conduct a research titled "Constructing a Model for an Orang Asli Animation Series: Performing Arts, Indigenous Wisdom and Folktales Communicated through New Media" along with five other colleagues.[3] This two-year research culminated in the production of four read-along folktales and a CD with music accompaniment to the narration and dialogues.[4] The research was based on the need to document and disseminate the folktales of the Orang Asli to the local and international communities in a manner that was relevant to the existing technology and time. The books were written and read in three languages—Semai, Bahasa Melayu and English to aid in the literacy of these three languages.[5]

This research involved collaboration between selected Semai culture bearers and researchers from the academia. The methodology utilised was practice-based, our actions were reflections of previous outcomes. We did not engage with the community directly but interviewed several culture bearers[6] (storytellers) during the storytelling sessions. During these storytelling sessions, we realised that it was important that a Semai author write down the narration and dialogues of the folk tales that were orally conveyed by the Semai storytellers. This realisation emerged when the Semai culture bearers invited to the storytelling sessions began explaining many culture-related aspects of the Semai folktales that we did not comprehend. We felt that the culture bearer could ensure a higher level of "authenticity" in culture-specific sections of the narrations and dialogues we had initially wanted to write ourselves. Once the Semai author completed the work, we were amazed to find that he had incorporated many Semai cultural and linguistic expressions into the text. This phenomenon was an added value for the books as this incorporated an extra layer of knowledge of Semai culture to the books. This outcome led us to decide on commissioning a Semai artist rather than any other artist to illustrate the scenery, landscape, flora and fauna of the rainforest, the Orang Asli village settlements and other cultural items to accompany the narration and dialogues in the storybooks. The Semai artist's intricate knowledge of the natural surroundings of his village and the culture of his people added another layer of knowledge on Semai culture into the storybooks (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Bah Luj, his wife and five brothers roasting fish over a fire, drinking water from water gourds made from dried out fruit and rice cooked in bamboo (Chan et.al, 2015b).

For the musical background to the narration and dialogue, we decided to take an alternate approach. Since our research was not aimed to sustain cultural traditions in its original context, we experimented with composing musical motives for important characters of the stories. The idea of the musical motif or short musical idea representing different characters (idee fixe, leitmotif) originated from the researcher's experience of western classical music. We commissioned a composer to compose the melodic motifs and sound effects for the stories. The composer based the musical motifs on the Semai music recordings we had presented to him. He composed the melodic motifs of the protagonist and antagonist characters by associating them with their specific characteristics. For example, the evil Old Granny's motif was "very disjunct, using quick leaps to a high, piercing tone, contrasting to the more stately theme of the *guniq* (spirit guide), which does not emphasize dissonance" (Chan et. al., 2015a, p. 86). Finally, the research component of the grant was conducted through the analysis of the cultural expressions in the narration and dialogues and the illustration of the culture bearer.

While consultation was made with culture bearers, this research used a slightly top-down strategy in decision-making. When we consulted our culture bearer friends over our new ideas, they were usually agreeable. What was more important to them was the fact that we took interest in promoting and publishing knowledge on Orang Asli culture. When asked whether they were happy with our overall approach, Rahman Bah Tuin (personal communication, December 3, 2016) said,

> *Clare, you buat je, jangan terlalu takut, kalau salah kami ubah kemudian, tiada yang betul dan tiada yang salah, yang penting, Clare ikut perasaan dan teruskan usaha anda*. (Clare, you just do it, don't be too afraid, if it's wrong, you change it, there is no right or wrong, but most important, you follow your instincts and keep working at it).

Research 3: Bah Luj Musical Theatre: Advocacy through Education and Community Engagement (Potential Future Research)

This research proposal is based on reflection of the two previous researches discussed. The future research project proposed is a production titled, "Bah Luj Indigenous musical theatre: Enhancing Semai cultural sustainability through education and creative innovation in the performing arts." The musical will utilise the stories documented in the four storybooks. The purpose of the project is to sustain Semai cultural heritage through education and creative innovation in music, dance and theatre performance. In this proposed production, we focus on a bottom-up approach by collaborating with the Semai toward encouraging self-sustainability in their culture and arts. A hands-on approach to learning skills in acting, singing, dancing, reading and creativity will be developed among the Semai children and teenagers by synergising their cultural heritage with education in the performing arts. The Semai children will learn their own traditional music and dances before adapting them to accompany the acting in the stories. We hope this collaborative approach will provide the Semai children with skills and creative ideas to sustain their own cultural heritage.

Summary

Being researchers in the academia, we are not always in the field enough to understand the voices of the communities. Therefore, communication, respect and social skills play an important part of our development as ethnomusicologists involved in applied ethnomusicology today. While today's technologies such as WhatsApp, Facebook and Skype facilitate communication with the communities we work with, they do not necessary determine that this type of communication is effective or desired by the community. In applied ethnomusicology, the practice-led research methodology provides a guide for us to monitor the effectiveness of our efforts. Applied ethnomusicology bridges the gap between the knowledge of researchers in the academia with those in the industry or community. This type of research is encouraged by the Ministry of Higher Education (KPT) in Malaysia as it places the scholastic knowledge of the academicians into practical use. While Key Performance Index (KPI) is important in academia, Key Intangible Performance (KIP) is on the rise. The indigenous and practical knowledge of those in the industry are merged with the researchers from the academia culminating in a more effective utilisation of skills and expertise (Seventh trajectory, Malaysian Education Blueprint, 2015-2025). Advocating the sustainability of cultural heritage in ways relevant and interesting to contemporary society will be an important task and future endeavour of the applied ethnomusicologist.

Endnotes

[1] Chong, Kee Voon. Friday, 30 September 2016, "Bullying among reasons orang asli pupils leave school." Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2016/09/30/bullying-among-reasons-orang-asli-pupils-leave-school/

[2] This research was funded by the Komuniti Inovasi Amanjaya (KIA) grant offered by Institut Darul Ridzuan (IDR) in 2012.

[3] I head the research team together with Mohd Nizam Nasrifan, Mohd Azam Sulong and Wesley Johnson from the Faculty of Music and Performing Arts, and Loy Chee Luen from the Faculty of Education and Human Science of Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, and Juli Edo from Universiti Malaya. These books can be purchased from Institut Terjemahan Buku Malaysia and Penerbit Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris.

[4] This project titled "Digitalization of Orang Asli folktales, original music and sound design: Sustaining and Internationalizing the Indigenous Culture of Malaysia," won the Gold Medal at the International Conference and Exposition on Inventions by the Institute of Higher Learning (PECIPTA 2015, 19-21 November 2015).

[5] The trailer to the book production can be found on the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwuGcggtA7s

[6] The culture bearers were Mahat China, known with his pen name, Akiya; Pandak Basri Kana, or Gasur and Alang Sabak from Tanjung Tualang, Perak; Raman Bah Tuin from Kampung Orang Asli Sungai Gombak, Selangor.

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ROUNDTABLE: SUSTAINING MUSICAL CULTURES IN MALAYSIA: THE ROLES AND STRATEGIES OF THE CULTURAL RESEARCHER

GAMELAN MUSIC AND SUSTAINABILITY: AN INSIGHT INTO THE SYSTEMS OF LEARNING AND TEACHING IN FORMAL MUSIC EDUCATION

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Introduction

Music is an elective subject in the Malaysian Integrated Secondary School music curriculum and in the Music Education Program in the Institution of Teachers Education. One of the key features in the Malaysian music education system is to promote the national culture through the learning of Malaysian Traditional Music. The Malay *gamelan* has been selected as one type of traditional music genre to be taught in the Traditional Aesthetic Appreciation classes in the lower secondary level (ages 13-15). This paper examines the systems of learning and teaching of the Malay *gamelan* in selected Malaysian schools and proposes alternative pedagogical approaches that can lead to music viability and vitality. The challenges and problems faced in sustaining interest among the younger generation in learning this art form are also acknowledged. This research is based upon surveys and case studies conducted in the northern region of Malaysia where the Malay *gamelan* is taught to students in the lower secondary level and in the Institution of Teacher Education. Respondents for the study comprised 10 secondary school music teachers from Penang and Kedah, and Form 2 students from three secondary schools in Penang. The method of research work includes interviews with music teachers, focus group interviews with students, classroom observation of the teaching and learning process, participant observation, video documentation, recordings and photography.

How is Malay *Gamelan* Music Taught, Transmitted and Received in Malaysian Formal Music Education?

The sustainability of Malay *gamelan* in formal music education is dependent on the systems of learning and teaching, and teacher training. In view of the data collected, the majority (80%) of the music teachers acquainted themselves with the concepts and practices of Western music. Most of them learnt an instrument (piano/guitar) when they were young and felt inadequate in areas outside the realm of western classical music. The teachers also revealed that they were not equipped with sufficient multicultural pedagogical training during their tertiary music education in the early 1980s and 1990s. These findings were further supported by a recent research conducted by Kwan Yie Wong, Kok Chang Pan and Shahanum Mohd Shah (2016, p. 218) which stated that 55% of the general music teachers in Malaysia did not have enough training during their college courses; and the undergraduate music education programmes or music training programmes in Malaysia do not prepare pre-service teachers to teach multi-culturally. Therefore, most of the music teachers resorted to teach the Malay *gamelan* using various pedagogical approaches based on their own personal backgrounds and levels of interest.

The majority (80%) of the music teachers adopted a predominant teaching style favoured by the formal institution of learning. The music teachers resorted to the notation-based approach to transmit an essentially aural tradition. Students were compelled to learn the Malay *gamelan* by reading aloud the cipher notation and reciting the mnemonic rhythmic drum syllables from the musical scores. The strong allegiance towards the Western tradition, and ignorance of the realities that surrounded the traditional Malay *gamelan* practice, has prompted 20% of the music teachers to adopt the Western pedagogical approaches in learning and teaching this art form in formal music education. Utilising the western pedagogical approach, the teachers taught the students to play and learn the Malay *gamelan* using the western solfege. Teachers prescribed an organised instructional strategy using the teacher–centred method. The instructional design used by the teachers followed a regimented sequenced routine of: (1) Reading the cipher notation aloud by the students and (2) Reading and counting/singing and counting by both the teacher and students while playing.

Discussions and Findings

The instructional practice of using the notation-based approach has a substantial risk of generating stiff and stilted performances. Classroom observations from three different schools demonstrated that the students' musical performances lack creative expression, fluency and vibrancy as they were requested to play exactly from the musical scores. This pedagogical application does not explicitly attend to the intangible aspects of creative expressions such as improvisation, extemporisation and composition to enable the students to express their musicality, creativity, and opportunity to engage in a lifelong learning of this musical art form.

The technical mastery of playing *gamelan* such as *gembyang* (on the *kerumong/bonang* instrument) and damping (on the *saron* instrument) were not given prominent emphasis. As a result of insufficient damping, the underlying musical structures of the whole piece were tainted with flurrying swirls of overlapping musical sounds. The findings demonstrated that the students perceived the *gamelan* performances as "noisy", "quirky" and uninteresting.

The sequenced routine of reading aloud notation systems while playing disengaged the students from listening and appreciating the organised musical structures played as a whole. The students showed ambiguity and absence of consciousness of the musical melodic lines, rhythmic structures and time markers (*gongan*) played by their friends. As said, "We are not sure of the rhythmic patterns played by the *gendang* [drum] player as we are concentrating on reading the cipher notation while playing." The nature of this pedagogical practice also encountered the downside of relying on the written form to perform a piece. The *gendang* player demonstrated uncertainties when asked to play the repeated rhythmic ostinato without a musical score.

Besides, there were also insufficient authentic learning materials and instruments for the students to engage in learning. The commonly taught traditional pieces in most schools include the *lagu Togok*, *Perang* and *Timang Burung*. There is only one *gamelan* set in each school, which comprised one *kerumong*, one *gambang*, three *saron*s, a set of *kenong*, 2 gongs and a *gendang*. The teacher from one school reported that four students have to share one instrument during the class interactions. The lack of musical resources and inadequate musical equipment affect the delivery of the music making in the classroom. As a result, students were not engaged in learning and some of them associated the playing of *gamelan* and other traditional instruments with "backwardness". They said that *gamelan* classes were boring, "Normally, when it is time for music lessons, we will not attend the class and we choose to break the rules."

The Role of the Researcher as a Mediator in Helping to Sustain Malay *Gamelan* Music in Formal Music Education

Strategies employed by the researcher to enhance sustainability of the Malay *gamelan* in formal music education comprised a mix of two traditions: (1) Learning from a master teacher periodically using the aural tradition and notation, and (2) Engaging the students to learn *gamelan* using the aural tradition and 21st century pedagogical approaches and strategies.

In the Institution of Teachers Education in Penang, Che Mat bin Jusoh, the master teacher from the Arts faculty in Universiti Sains Malaysia, is engaged periodically by the Institution to enhance the students' proficiency in music making and mastering of the techniques in playing Malay *gamelan*. Che Mat embraced a self-styled methodology, which comprised teacher modelling and student imitation using the aural tradition and cipher notation. The students learned to play more intricate melodies and complex rhythmic forms in different tempo and dynamics such as the pieces *Sakan* and *Gila Talak* that were written and taught by Che Mat himself. As Schippers (2010, p. 168) noted, inviting the people who make the music to the classroom is integral to enhance the musical experience. From the knowledge and skills acquired, the students collectively improvised contemporary English songs and Chinese popular songs such as Cang Hai Yi Sheng Xiao and Dang Zi Qiang into *gamelan* pieces (besides juxtaposing the Western instruments such as electric guitars and keyboards, and traditional Chinese instruments such as *erhu* and *pipa* into the ensemble).

The researcher redefined in-class activities by using 21st century approaches such as experiential and collaborative learning and instructional strategies from multiple pathways in schools. The researcher assessed the profile of students' diverse intelligences and suggested different pathways to knowing and learning *gamelan* using the theory of Multiple Intelligences. Some of the strategies used were adapted from the methodology of "Music of Sound" pioneered by Professor Tan Sooi Beng in 1989, which incorporates singing as practiced by the traditional artists in aural tradition, and hands-on playing on the *gamelan* instruments (see Figure 1). The students' centred activities encompassed singing and notating pitches through visual representations, analysing visual illustrations of the musical piece, playing musical floor games,

practicing the techniques of *gamelan* on picture cards, exploratory learning and improvising the *gamelan* music collectively as an ensemble (Toh, 2011, pp. 232-263).

For figures see published Proceedings

Results demonstrated that the second approach "A mix of two traditions" was more relevant towards music vitality and viability, attended to both tangible and intangible aspects and engaged students in learning. Learning from a master teacher enabled more students from the Institution of Teachers Education to increase their skill development and stylistic specialisation in playing the Malay *gamelan*. Aural tradition helped more students to remember the musical pitches, enjoy the musical expression, and develop a more comprehensive musicianship. As declared by the students, "I find playing *gamelan* without[a] score is less distracting." "I think, *hafal* [rote learning] is easier, so much so for practical purposes. If you look at the score, you will be afraid, you will play wrong notes and [this is] very stressful."

Learning through multiple pathways also enabled more students to engage in learning to play the *gamelan* at a more personal level and inculcated self-initiative according to their intelligence strengths. For instance, a student with an interest in physical activities began to show his interest in learning the various instruments of the *gamelan* after acquiring the ability to remember the musical notation from playing musical floor games. He said, "Yup, [the method of learning has] changed me. Now I like music. [I] have [got] new experience playing the instrument, I try to follow the *rentak* [rhythm]." This pedagogical approach has allowed the students to explore a more meaningful experience in learning the traditional Malay *gamelan*.

Conclusion

The findings conclude that transformative pedagogical applications such as the blended pedagogical approach that encompasses teacher modelling, student imitation, exploration, improvisation and collaborative learning are more viable in helping to sustain the learning of the Malay *gamelan* in formal music education. Rich experiences through these approaches also serve as venues to stimulate the students' continuing interest to participate in playing the Malay *gamelan* and inculcate a lifelong learning experience. The notation-based approach downplays the ultimate purpose of learning and rejuvenates the Malay *gamelan* among the younger generation. However, to convince the music teachers in the schools to "learn", "relearn" and "unlearn" the pedagogical approaches used proves a challenging task for the researcher. There is also a need for the researcher to collaborate with the master teacher to share teaching resources, and provide professional development refresher courses to western trained teachers to develop insights, knowledge and skills that will revitalise their teaching and learning experience in the Malay *gamelan*. This will continue to rekindle the appreciation and sustainability of the Malay *gamelan* in schools.

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ROUNDTABLE: SUSTAINING MUSICAL CULTURES IN MALAYSIA: THE ROLES AND STRATEGIES OF THE CULTURAL RESEARCHER

STRATEGIES FOR SUSTAINING THE *POTEHI* GLOVE PUPPET THEATRE IN PENANG

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The *potehi* is a type of glove puppet theatre that originated in Fujian in southern China. It moved to Taiwan and other parts of Southeast Asia following the migration routes of the Chinese in the past century and more. The *potehi* was performed mainly as a tribute to the gods during temple celebrations; it not only provided entertainment but was an occasion when the Chinese could relax and socialise with one another. Penang was one of the centres for *potehi* in the early twentieth century; there were over ten troupes on the island then. However, the future of *potehi* seems tenuous today. It is still performed at temple celebrations but no longer attracts young apprentices and there is hardly anyone watching the shows. The number of troupes in Penang has decreased to four. There is also no support from the federal government for this minority art form.

This paper discusses the strategies and interventions taken by a collective that I am involved in to rejuvenate the *potehi* glove puppet theatre in Penang. We look at the *potehi* as a cultural ecosystem: a community of living beings and their non-living artefacts interacting as a system and the need for equity and fairness in the system for the form to survive (Titon, 2009). We propose an activist research methodology that emphasises dialogue, collaboration, participation, and action in the planning, documentation, transmission, and performance of *potehi* by the academy, the university students, artists, and young people of the Chinese community, together with the traditional practitioners of the form. All the participants are engaged in the whole process of research, documentation, and performance.

This type of people-cantered research approach strives for the democratisation of knowledge making. The ethnomusicologist acts as a facilitator who passes tools of research documentation to the students and young researchers from the community; she is a mediator between the funding agencies, public, traditional *potehi* performers, and young apprentices and researchers. As the ethnomusicologist becomes part of the lives of the communities, she can no longer remain a neutral ethnographer, but is obliged to reciprocate often getting involved in the socio-cultural concerns of the communities that can lead to change.

Challenges to Cultural Vibrancy

Before any project begins, it is vital to map the factors that impact on the vibrancy of the cultural ecosystem in Penang as well as the role and position of the ethnomusicologist and the participants in this ecosystem. Like certain species of plants and animals in the ecosystem, *potehi* is gradually disappearing. Why is this the case? The members of the project declare that the traditional forms of culture cannot compete with the global commercial popular music in terms of attracting audiences. Global pop cultures such as Anglo-American pop, Bollywood, K-pop, J-pop, and Mando-pop that are being disseminated worldwide by transnational companies have dominated the attention of the younger generation.

Moreover, many young people in our post-colonial state still consider western classical forms to be of higher status and more worthy of learning; they do not want to learn traditional music, art or crafts due to ignorance about them or because they think they cannot make a living if they become traditional artists.

Additionally, increasing centralisation and institutionalisation of the arts and culture due to top-down policies pertaining to culture, has also impacted on their sustainability. The National Culture Policy aimed at creating national unity, for instance, has promoted streamlined versions of selected types of Malay art forms that have filtered down to the schools and universities through workshops and competitions. Many minority cultures are under-represented and do not receive funding from the national government. Since the 1990s, the top-down narrative of multiculturalism has resulted in the creation of multi-ethnic extravaganzas such as Malaysia Truly Asia or *Citrawarna* organised by the State Culture and Tourism Departments. A kind of stereotypical representation of each ethnic group that does not encourage self-expression has been fostered (Tan, 2003).

This essay regards the challenges above as threats to cultural vibrancy and creativity that need to be addressed for the sustainability of the *potehi* to take place. For the participants of the project including this ethnomusicologist, learning, documenting, performing, and revitalising the *potehi* can be seen as part of a

larger struggle for cultural equity, promoting traditional heritage that is neglected by the nation state and the community, and providing alternatives to the top-down cultural practices of the state.

Collaborative and Participatory Approaches and Strategies

Strategies to enhance the viability of the Penang *potehi* include addressing the problems of apprenticeship and methods of transmission, re-contextualisation of the form to attract audiences, and raising the prestige of the performers who are seen as street performers who play solely at temples. Central to these strategies is the collaboration and partnership of the academics, students, and young people of the community with the veteran *potehi* performers towards the common goal of sustaining the form. Throughout the project, the collaborative partners have attempted to document the form and create spaces for the voices of the veteran and young performers and researchers of the community to be heard.

(i) Participatory planning and research

Planning is done with the traditional masters, artists, representatives of the funding agency, students, and young researchers from the community. Together, we map the problems faced by the *potehi* practitioners and threats to the sustainability of *potehi*.

Documentation of the iconography and performative aspects of *potehi* are important for future reference as the form is always adapting to changes in society. An inventory of the puppets and ethnographic details of the costumes and facial features is carried out by the young researchers and university students. Research is conducted using oral history methods of interviewing the members of the four remaining *potehi* groups, participant-observation, and video recording of the performances in Penang and North Malaysia. The documentation project has received funding from the George Town World Heritage Incorporation, the body that is charged with managing the UNESCO World Heritage Site of George Town. A co-authored book based on the ethnographic data collected (with a DVD of performances) for the younger generation is being published.

(ii) Indigenous methods of learning potehi and re-contextualizing the form

Creating archival materials is not enough for revitalising a dynamic theatrical practice. With some funding from Thinkcity (a community funding agency), a group of young people from an artists' collective known as Ombak-Ombak ARTStudio has been learning puppet manipulation and music from members of the Beng Geok Hong *Potehi* Troupe of Penang. The veteran performers use their indigenous method of teaching; the young apprentices learn by observation and by rote. The masters demonstrate the movements of the puppets or how the music is played; the young learners imitate. As the professional company is busy performing at temples, the young apprentices learn with the masters at the temple sites whenever the company is performing in Penang. At other times, they practice on their own watching videos of the performances and the rehearsals with the masters of the troupe. Out of curiosity, members of the temple and passers-by stop to watch the young people learning the form.

All traditions recreate and re-contextualise themselves as they respond to changes in society. The *potehi* has undergone many changes in terms of staging, puppet features, costumes, music, and dialogues since it was brought to Malaya (see Tan, 2016). Through consultation with the masters and the research data collected, the young Ombak participants have improvised their own stories and dialogues, added English, Malay, and Mandarin translations of the Hokkien so that the public can understand, and made the story more dramatic with action, created new costumes and a light portable stage. The ethnomusicologist acts as a facilitator and "third eye" giving ideas about the style and content of the newly improvised stories. Together, we have brought the form out of the temple to the streets and outdoor spaces through community performances; we have also showcased the form at festivals such as the George Town Festival, Butterworth Fringe Festival, and the Bangkok Sampreung Facestreet Festival. Compared to the temple shows, the new re-contextualised form has attracted about 300 to 400 people for each outdoor performance. These audiences comprise people of different ethnicities. The *potehi* form is becoming known to mixed audiences of different ages.

(iii) Recognition of the traditional masters

It is hoped that through documentation, publication, community performances, international exchange, and interest from researchers, students, and young people, the status of the *potehi* companies might be raised in the near future. The documentation and training activities reposition the *potehi* masters as guardians of knowledge and teachers of academics, students, and other young people. Recalling the glories of the past has helped to bring a sense of pride to the *potehi* performers again. The performers in Beng Geok Hong feel acknowledged as they have also been invited to perform for local and foreign audiences at the George Town Festival, 2016, and in Taiwan where they played alongside *potehi* groups from Indonesia and Taiwan.

(iv) Evaluations and outcomes

Critical evaluations regarding the collaborative process based on focused interviews have been useful to find out what the young people and tradition bearers think about the advantages and disadvantages of the project, and how to carry forward as a collective. For the Beng Geok Hong traditional performers, they have enjoyed teaching the young people, sharing knowledge about their family histories, iconography of the puppet heads, costumes, manipulation techniques, and music. They are excited that there is interest in the *potehi* that they thought was fading away. Ooi See Han, the leader of the troupe says, "the *potehi* ki liao" (Hokkien: the *potehi* rises again).

For the young apprentices, many of them did not know about *potehi* before joining the group. However, after participating in the project, they say that they enjoy and want to continue learning *potehi*; they are of the opinion that they have created new interest in the form and want to disseminate information about the form to school children. An important outcome is that in having contributed to the research, making of the script, music and performance, the young people develop empathy for the difficulties faced by the veteran performers; they also appreciate the beauty of the *potehi* puppets, music, and stories. They gain ownership for the reconstructed theatrical traditions, and begin to internalise *potehi* music and theatre through new and engaging channels. This ensures that musical traditions will be sustained as a living entity and not just in the archives.

Conclusion

Using cultural ecology as a metaphor, we have underscored that cultural conservation needs to be dynamic. Documentation and archiving play important roles in recording the past and the present for the future; but strategies to promote sustainability should include the active performance or practice of the traditions by young people.

For sustainability to take place, participatory approaches for interventions need to be developed; they include the mapping of threats to cultural sustainability through participatory research, dialogue and exchange; creation of transmission methods combining the oral tradition with new technology; re-contextualisation of the form; bringing the tradition to new community spaces; creating new audiences; and collaboration or networking with the communities, funders, local institutions, and other stakeholders. Fundamental to all the strategies for intervention is that tradition bearers and young people of the community must be involved and engaged in the process of revitalisation, recreation, and re-contextualisation of their own heritage. Through engagement, the young people will then gain a sense of ownership and be empowered to sustain their traditions.

The activist ethnomusicologist plays an important role as a mediator between the traditional practitioners, students, and young people of the community; she arbitrates between the community, other non-governmental associations, the state government, and the university; she connects the *potehi* community with the local and the outside world; and she opens doors to funding agencies. However, she must acknowledge that she may be seen as someone who has the authority and power to say what is important to study, how to conduct the research or what and for whom to perform. Power sharing in collaborative research inevitably creates tensions, but that is a subject that needs to be discussed in another paper.

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Figure 1. Learning puppet manipulation from the master of Beng Geok Hong Theatre, 2015.

HUMAN AND NON-HUMAN AGENTS IN *TOPENG* DANCE DRAMA IN BALI: A NON-ANTHROPOCENTRIC ANALYSIS

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Introduction: Non-Anthropocentric Analysis

Recent anthropological studies of material culture have questioned conventional analytical frameworks that presume the material is always an object for human subjects. Those studies now "emphasize dialectical and recursive relationship between things and persons" (Tilly et al., 2006, p. 4). My recent interest is to apply such non-anthropocentric analysis to the study of performing arts. A performance is created by human beings. However, simultaneously, these people are affected, inspired, and limited by material things such as masks. In this study, the Balinese masked-dance drama called *topeng* is used as an example.[1] This paper shows that masks used in *topeng* performances are not just static or passive tools, but are active participants, or to use Alfred Gell's term, are agents. In short, "agent" means an entity that "causes events to happen" (Gell, 1998, p. 16). A mask doesn't speak nor move. But, as we see later in this paper, a mask invokes a variety of emotions and actions from people. If we call such phenomena the "work" of a mask, then a mask actively works in many ways.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the way people show actions and emotions invoked by masks, and to describe the *topeng* performance and its handing down to the next generation not as an act by an individual actor, but rather as a process of mutually mediated effects between human and non-human agents. Such a non-human-centric analysis presents a new perspective on the study of performing arts. This paper focuses on the off-stage interaction between masks and surrounding people, rather than the performance itself.

Topeng in Balinese Society

Bali is a small island and a province within Indonesia. While the majority of Indonesians are Muslim, more than 80% of the population of Bali is Hindu. *Topeng* is performed at many types of Hindu rituals such as cremations, temple festivals, and weddings. The story of each drama is taken from *babad*, histories of Balinese or Javanese kingdoms. Within the historical legends, performers insert jokes, religious and ethical teachings, as well as current news. It is usually performed by one to three male actors, and one stage lasts from around 30 minutes to an hour. It is important to note that no written script is used. Actors improvise, following several basic rules as well as responding to the audience's and co-stars' actions. In such improvisation, masks take on an important role, as they are the key to setting the characters.

The functions of *topeng* are both ritualistic and educational. First of all, the performance is a precious offering to deities. It is also entertainment for deities, the human audience and evil spirits. The final figure to appear, Sidakarya, is the most important in terms of ritualistic function. Sidakarya is a legendary monk in Balinese history. It is said this mysterious figure has a supernatural power that completes the ritual. Finally, *topeng* also has an educational function. The actors talk about history, philosophy, religion, ethics, current news, and many other topics. People can learn a lot while watching *topeng*.

Figure 1. A scene from *topeng,* portraying an old man in the court, performed by I Ketut Wirtawan on 25 February 2007. (Y. Yoshida, 2007).

On-Stage Interaction between Mask and the Performer

In a previous study, Coldiron (2004) closely examined the relationship between the mask and an actor during a performance. She pointed out that, in *topeng*, there is no room for the performer to show self-expression. Rather, a performer gains a kind of dual consciousness where he manipulates the mask while being manipulated by the mask. This phenomenon is closely related to an important Balinese belief in *taksu*.

Taksu is often translated into English as charisma or aura, but it has a slightly different meaning. It is a supernatural power or inspiration to enchant others. *Taksu* is a power given by the gods, and not only the performer but the mask itself can have *taksu*. *Topeng* actors often say that *taksu* in *topeng* is basically about the "life" of a mask. They try "to be at one with the mask" and bring the mask alive.

The process of bringing the mask "alive" is both technical and ritualistic. In terms of technical practice, actors select voice, movement, and words that are appropriate for each mask's facial expression or, as Balinese call it, *karacter* (i.e. character or personality). In terms of ritualistic practice, before the show an actor gives an offering and prays to wake up the spirit in the mask and invite it to perform. There is a small offering after the show, too, to thank the spirit and allow it to leave. There are also several rituals held hoping to add more *taksu* to a mask. Some of those will be introduced in a later section of this paper.

Figure 2. A small ritual held before a performance, conducted by *topeng* performer I Made Jimat (right) on 28 October 2011. (Y. Yoshida, 2011).

Off-Stage Interaction between Masks and Surrounding People

A performer on stage submits himself to the mask's expression as well as spiritual power to become at one with the mask. But, where does the mask's character and power come from? They are formed in the mask maker's studio as well as through the long-term relationship between mask and surrounding people that takes place off stage.

Mask Making and Rituals

A mask maker is an important agent in creating the "character" and *taksu* of a mask. In the process of creation, several elements are negotiated. First of all, a performer visits a mask maker and explains to him what kind of mask he wants made. Often, an existing mask is used as an example, and a modification or new arrangement is designed to create new mask according to the ideas of the performer and the maker. During the construction, the craftsman often sings *topeng* music and moves the unfinished mask as if it were dancing to the music. He imagines how the mask might look during a performance. Here we can see that the performer's ideas, the mask maker's intentions, the example mask made in the past, and the projection of future performances affect the newly produced mask. In other words, the ideas of the performer, the mask maker, and even the craftsman who made the previous mask, are objectified into the new mask and take part in future performances.

When the mask is finished, it is brought to the performer's house and cared for by him and his family. Most *topeng* actors give an offering to a mask daily. They say it is like feeding the mask every day. Further to that, there are several ritualistic practices related to the mask. For example, *pasupati* is a consecration rite. Its purpose is to invite a spiritual being or power into the mask. Some performers even hold a wedding ceremony (*pesakapan*) with masks. It is a way to strengthen the spiritual tie between the performer and his

masks. Once the mask is consecrated, people feel both affection and awe towards it. It is believed that inappropriate treatment will invite a mask's anger.

The Mask as a Dynamic Entity

When we look at the long-term relationship between a mask and its wearer, it becomes apparent that a mask used for *topeng* is not a static object but rather a dynamic entity. It is said that a mask gains more *taksu* by being used for performances repeatedly. In terms of technique, as a performer becomes more experienced and improves his acting to make it more appropriate to the mask, so he is more capable of captivating an audience. Further to that, spiritually or magically, the mask becomes more charged. It is said that by absorbing the performers' sweat, the mask comes to connect with them spiritually. Some performers even rub their sweat into the mask immediately after a performance. Offerings and holy water given to the mask before and after the performance also make the mask more powerful. Here we can see the accumulation within a mask. Every stage performance is of minuscule time in the scheme of things, but each experience is accumulated within the performer's skill and the mask itself, and will enhance the next performance.

Another factor is the physical changes in the mask. Through inevitable aging or by suffering accidents, a mask physically changes over time and can even obtain a new face. Faded colours or scuff marks invoke affection from its wearer as these signify a mask's history or time it spent with the wearer. Interestingly, a damaged face sometimes inspires a performer and becomes the source of a new expression. As an example, damage to the *Wijil* mask worn by *topeng* actor I Wayan Sunatra was used to make new jokes. *Wijil* is the name of a character who appears in *topeng* as a king's servant. He is also a story teller as well as a clown. Sunatra's *Wijil* mask had a normal moustache but somehow the left half was knocked off. The actor felt that the mask's face was odd but interesting. Hence he purposely did not fix it and uses the loss as a source of humour. It is interesting to see that by accidental damage, the mask gained a new face that neither its maker nor performer ever intended, and that this triggered a new expression in the drama.

Giving and Receiving a Mask

In the same way that the face of a mask is not static, the combination of mask and owner is changeable. For example, a mask can be a gift. By giving a mask, one can encourage another to perform *topeng*. The receiver might be interested by the mask and thus motivated to perform with it. Also, often the receiver feels that the mask is a sign of encouragement from the giver.

A renowned mask maker and scholar Cokorda Raka Tisnu often donates masks to a village where the *topeng* tradition is not very active. Presuming that someday a villager will be attracted by the masks and motivated to perform with them, he insists that giving a mask is one way of preserving and expanding the *topeng* tradition.

The rulers of Bali in times past were also active donators of masks. Before Dutch colonisation, Bali consisted of several kingdoms. At that time, kings were patrons of arts, and often gave masks to performers. In present day Bali, people still regard a mask given by a king as very precious and spiritually charged. For example, a well-known Balinese scholar and also *topeng* dancer, I Made Bandem, owns a mask that was a gift from a king, I Dewa Agung Oka Geg (1896[?]-1965). It was originally given to Bandem's father, I Made Kredek (1906-1979), a *topeng* master. According to Bandem, at that time the king himself consecrated the mask. In this case, the mask not only encourages Bandem (and before, Kredek, supposedly) to perform *topeng*, but also brings prestige to the whole family as concrete and tangible evidence of the king's favour towards Kredek, and thereby bestows an honourable past on the family. Furthermore, the *taksu* of this mask can be taken as evidence of the spiritual strength of the king and his ability to have his artisan produce such a great work.

It is important to note that not only the act of giving or the status of the giver but also the quality and character of the given mask matter. Because an actor creates his performance according to the face of a mask, giving a mask is the same as suggesting to the receiver a certain expression. Therefore, in giving and receiving, the giver's encouragement and ideas are objectified into the mask and passed to the receiver. The mask mediates the giver's intentions or ideas and inspires the receiver.

Succession of Masks: Temporal Face and Temporal Body

Succession of masks is another notable phenomenon where masks take an important role. Like in Kredek's case, when a performer retires from *topeng*, his masks are most likely to be passed down to his son. These masks, with a father's sweat, also motivate the successor to become a *topeng* performer. Receiving a mask, a son tends to feel that "I should, or I want to perform with these masks." Basically, anyone can be a *topeng* performer, but it was often the case that t*openg* tradition was passed down within certain families. Masks inherited within that family are one important reason for that.

When we look at an actor who plays many different characters by changing masks, each mask looks like a "temporal face" of the performer.[2] Conversely, if we consider the "biographical time" (Gell, 1998, p. 10) of a mask that is passed down generation to generation, an actor can be seen as a "temporal body" for the mask. The lifetime of a mask is much longer than that of a person. From one time to another, a mask attracts a performer and embodies him.

In Figure 1, we see *topeng* performer I Ketut Wirtawan from Batuan village wearing a mask that he inherited from his grandfather, I Nyoman Kakul. The mask once inherited by Wirtawan's father, I Ketut Kantor, then passed to Wirtawan. We can find the same mask worn by Kakul in J. Emigh's book (Emigh, 1996, p. 124). Although Kakul has already passed away, the mask that absorbed his sweat still appears on stage with his grandson to enchant a new audience.

Conclusion

A mask is not just a tool to portray a character in a drama nor a mere container of supernatural power. It invokes a variety of emotions from people, such as affection, awe, and pride. It also inspires the wearer and motivates him to perform or create new expression in the performance. Furthermore, it is a rather dynamic entity. By being repeatedly used for performances and receiving offerings and holy water, it changes its physical features, accumulates magical strength, and enhances its attractiveness.

The "character", magical strength, and *taksu* of a mask are formed and enhanced not only by the performer but also by his family, the mask maker, priests, and former owners. People who try to motivate or reward an actor by the giving of a mask also influence the performer as well as his performance. When a mask enchants a performer and his audience, those people's ideas and efforts are mediated by the mask and affect the performance. During a performance, only a few actors and their masks appear on stage. However, a performance is an arena where the intentions, ideas, and actions of many people on and off-stage, from past and present, resonate. Within such a dynamic field, the mask works as the key mediator.

Endnotes

[1] The word "*topeng*" also refers to the mask itself. However, to avoid confusion, in this paper *topeng* is used only for the name of the performance genre.

[2] Interestingly, the Japanese word for mask (i.e., 仮面) literally means "temporal face."

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THE PRACTICE OF "KEJAWEN" IN KUDA KEPANG DANCE
(Lightning Paper)

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Background

Johor is one of eleven states within the Peninsula of Malaysia; it is in the southern-most portion of the peninsula where the straits of Tebrau physically separates it from the island of Singapore. Johor is protected by Singapore to the south, Sumatra in the west, Borneo to the north-east and Java to the south-east. Trading was the primary economic activity in Johor in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Beginning in the 1860s, Johor's economy experienced a lot of encouraging expansion. As a result of this expansion, the local demand for labour grew quickly, and a lot of foreign workers from Java was brought in by the British administrators. The migration of Javanese foreign workers to Johor left a great impression because the Javanese managed to implant their society onto local communities, and brought along with them Javanese cultural elements such as their customs, traditions and cultural practices. The Javanese came in as a group and settled down at various places; at the same time, they continued to practice their cultural traditions such as music, dance and lifestyle. Their close links to the Malays, as well as sharing the same Islamic religion and a similar lifestyle made it easy for the Javanese to merge with the Malay local community.

Geertz (1964) mentions that the interests of the Javanese are strange, weird, and abnormal. Javanese cultural ethics centres upon emotional and inner tranquillity that is peculiar, inserting one's self into the realms of imagination and mysticism in order to escape from one's daily problems since they have to always maintain a serene smiling mask that looks peaceful from the outside as part of their ideal cultural values, moral obligation, and polite social behaviour outlook (Koetjaraningrat, 1953, pp. 42-43).

Kejawen

The Javanese religion (*kejawen*) practice is their first belief system before they adopted Islam. Koenjaraningrat stated that the cultural practice of *kejawen* has varies beliefs, concepts, views and values in the understanding of the Javanese society. The *kejawen* belief system consists of:

1. Animistic belief that is mystical in nature and belief in an invisible world with the existence of soul and spirit in inanimate objects, plants, and animals.

2. Believe in the existence of God, The Prophet Muhamad and holy and sacred figures such as religious holy persons, historical figures, and famous warriors (because of a particular incident).

3. Believe that certain deities control various portions of the world, believe in the existence of supernatural beings that have the appearance of deceased ancestors, and of guardian spirits, genies, and Satan that can enter into a human's body through the forehead or foot soles until a person becomes possessed or *kesurupan*.

4. Believe in the existence of ghosts, Satan, and supernatural power in the world.

5. The underlying concept behind the creation of the world, about life, death, and life after death. The above criteria is the basis for Javanese daily practices.

Slametan

Slametan is one of the rituals in *kejawen* (Geertz, 1964, p. 11) and it is the most important ritual in Javanese society (Koetjaraningrat, 1953, p. 345) and is almost always performed in important life events such as circumcision, engagement, marriage, birth, and death. *Slametan* is performed when there is an important ritual that requires the *slametan* with the intention of obtaining salvation; it is performed in order to guarantee success and to ensure that their families are protected from harm. *Slametan* symbolises the social unity of the persons taking part in the ritual, not only performed for the purpose of contributing a sense of agreement

between the participants, but also to maintain good relations with the ancestors (Geertz, 1964, p. 52). *Slametan* is performed in the house of a family and is attended by guests consisting of family members, neighbours, and friends from near and far for the purpose of having a meal with them. *Slametan* is the prayer ritual that seeks to distance its participants from bad things. The decision to perform *slametan* is sometimes based upon purely religious belief, with some fear for unwanted occurrences or even the possibility of a catastrophe occurring (as a result of not performing the *slametan* for protection), but at times simply because it is a normal routine that is performed at the right conditions (Koetjarangningrat, 1953, pp. 346-350).

Slametan barokah is also performed consciously for the purpose of staying up past midnight, and is also known as *lek-lek-an*. The Javanese people usually engage the services of a *barongan*, l*udruk* or *kuda kepang* dance group during the *slametan* services since these are the Javanese traditional dances that were brought to Johor.

Sajen

Sajen is a ritual that is associated with the *kejawen* practice (Koetjaraningrat, 1953, p. 57). *Sajen* are made up of three different forms of food dishes. The first *sajen* is the meals that are prepared for guests attending the event. The second *sajen* is a food dish that consists of various things including food, spices, flowers and other things that is required as part of the dish (placed in a container). In the third *sajen*, the Javanese community burns incense that is liked by their ancestors (Geertz, 1964, pp. 14-42). The first and second *sajen* are prepared to support their belief of the supernatural beings' powers that live in certain areas. The *Sajen* are prepared for supernatural beings so that these spirits do not disturb the living persons' safety, peace, and the happiness of the family.

Kuda Kepang Dance

Johor has ten districts, and Pontian is one of these districts. Kampung Parit Haji Kahar is one of many villages in Pontian. The inhabitants of this village are mostly Javanese descendants and they have a long maintained the *kuda kepang*, which is a cultural dance that was brought in by the Javanese. The *kuda kepang* dance has spread out throughout Johor from this village until it was adopted as a traditional dance of Johor (other than *Zapin*). *Kuda* carries the meaning "riding" and *kepang* means "woven". The dancers dance by "riding" the woven horse mannequins between their upper legs. It is a dance that is performed by a group of male dancers in a courtyard.

The *kuda kepang* dance is a ritual, therefore the preparations for it also involves rituals. In *kuda kepang* performance at Kampung Parit Haji Kahar, *sajen* is prepared before the performance. *Sajen* consisting of flowers, talcum powder, perfume, *kemenyan* (local incense) and red porridge (made from red/black glutinous rice, all of which is presented on a tray. In the beginning of the dance, a religious leader (*Tok Guru*) will burn some incense and then incants the chant mantras. After the chant mantras are completed, *Tok Guru* will strike a rope onto the ground three times to signal the commencement of the dance. The music will start and the dance will commence. In the beginning, the music is played at a slow pace, and will gradually become faster. As the music gains its pace, the rope will be struck onto the ground and at that time some of the dancers will fall down and become possessed (*kesurupan*). Their movements are at times aggressive and can't be predicted. This dance takes between one to two hours.

Kuda Kepang Dance Ban

There is a ban in place (18 February 2009) on the performance of *kuda kepang* issued by the Johor Fatwa Council that reads:

> The performing of *kuda kepang* as a normal dance, or a dance drama or a courtyard dance is *haram* since it is contrary to the *aqidah*, *syariat* and *akhlak* of a Muslim. All Muslims are banned and forbidden from being involved with *kuda kepang*. Those who are actively involved in *kuda kepang* performances must stop such practices immediately and repent in a *taubat nasuha* manner.

Since this *fatwa* was declared, a lot of *kuda kepang* groups have disbanded. However, the Kampung Parit Haji Kahar, Air Baloi, Pontian dance groups have remained active in giving performances. Thus, this research

seeks to understand the reasons why the Javanese continue to perform these rituals even though it has been banned by the state's religious authorities and that it is contrary to their beliefs in Islam.

For the Javanese in Kampung Parit Haji Kahar, they feel that their inner tranquillity is upset if they do not perform a *slametan* on certain days simply because it is a part of their daily routine. This sense of disturbance becomes an anxiety that something bad will fall upon themselves and their family (Amir, 2002, p. 283). The Javanese will call for a *kuda kepang* performance when they do a *slametan* ritual because they feel it's their responsibility. *Slametan* is not considered successful and complete if it not complemented by the performance of *kuda kepang*. *Slametan* is a religious ritual and this ritual is practiced by the Javanese in Johor because of their belief in *kejawen*. They continue to practice these rituals because of the various requirements in *slametan* that have to be maintained, as their daily routine, for their ancestor spirits. The continuation of *kuda kepang* performances is not for the purpose of going against the *mufti*'s ban, but rather it is based upon their basic belief in the *kejawen* rituals and because they do not consider this belief to be contrary to the teachings of Islam since they use various Quranic verses in their chant mantras. And, at the same time, they follow the normal teachings of Islam such as the basic tenants of Iman. For the practitioners of *kuda kepang*, they continue to do the rituals simply because there is a link between the rituals and the performance of the dance. The entire ritual has to be performed, since if the ritual to get in touch with the ancestral spirits is not performed, the entire practice is not complete and does not achieve its purpose. The *kuda kepang* dance therefore becomes a necessary medium that completes the ritual. Without the *kuda kepang* dance, the ritual can't be performed and completed. According to the leader of this group, Karjo Supoyo, the state of being in *kesurupan* is considered a distinct achievement for the group; if no dancers are able to go into a state of *kesurupan*, it brings shame upon the leader.

Discussion

The state of *kesurupan* in *kuda kepang* dance will extend the length of the performance duration in order to achieve the completion of the *lek-lek-an* (*slametan barokah*) ceremony. The great length of time needed for this dance is logically unachievable by normal dancers. Indirectly, guests who arrive at different times for the gathering will be able to see portions of the performance, which makes the gathering more festive. The Javanese community has long been involved in their old traditions and ceremonies (*khadung mbalung sungkum*) since they hold on to the belief of *kejawen*; as a result of this belief, the *slametan* ritual associated with various aspects of life not mentioned in the Al-Quran Sunnah is allowed to be continued with modernising elements and the integration of various Islamic elements.

Following Clifford Geertz (1964, p. 125), the Javanese Muslims are influenced by mystic elements that are not similar to the Islamic orthodox thinking. Javanese Islam is usually seen as syncretic Islam or nominal Islam where its impact is an Islamic Java that is not really Islamic in its entirety, but may be seen as less Islamic, and maybe even not Islamic (Farida, 2002, p. 185). They (Javanese practicing "syncretic" or "nominal" Islam) are categorized as non-Muslims, or in other words, disbelievers. *Slametan* is not contrary to Islamic beliefs and practices, however the deliberate transformation from a state of full awareness into a state of *kesurupan* is a part of the *kejawen* practice. Therefore, the existence of *kejawen* enables the transformation from being aware to being in a state of *kesurupan* among the *kuda kepang* dancers. The state of *kesurupan* or possession is *syirik* as defined by the *fatwa*. Therefore, *kejawen* is also considered a *syirik* act because without *kejawen*, *kesurupan* doesn't occur. Even though *kejawen* is *syirik*, the Javanese community accepts this *syirik* belief as an important aspect of their life, therefore they are willing to be among those who are considered to be *syirik*.

Conclusion

The *Mufti* of Johor expects the Javanese community to follow the *fatwa* since they follow the Islamic religion and at the same time, they consider themselves to be Muslims; if they continue these practices, it means that they have gone against the laws of Allah SWT and are, therefore, considered disbelievers. Unfortunately, the *Mufti* of Johor only gave orders that forbid the performance, but he did not stipulate that this order must be obeyed, nor did he create specific laws that specified appropriate punishments for each demeanour. This vagueness allowed the dance groups to continue performing because the *kejawen* practices were an integral part of their lives.

The Javanese community have lived in Johor for a long time; even so, they wanted to hold on to their original culture. Only the *kuda kepang* dance remained with them after the demise of the *barongan* and

ludruk performances in Johor. The Javanese community still tries to continue their old ways because practicing this ritual is their right, especially since this ritual lies at the centre of their existence and serves as a reference point for their daily lives. For the uninformed rural communities in Johor, they assume that the *kuda kepang* dance is just a regular dance, but for the various Javanese communities in Johor the *kuda kepang* dance is an important communication tool that allows them to communicate with supernatural beings in the invisible world. The Javanese community in Kampung Parit Haji Kahar continues to uphold and cherish their heritage, not simply because they love it, but instead, because they understand that they are unable to live without it, and that they cannot imagine a suitable replacement (Shills, 1981, p. 81).

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MYSTICISM AND KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION IN JAVANESE PERFORMING ARTS
(Lightning Paper)

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Many Javanese practise a form of mysticism called *kejawèn* or *kebatinan*. As part of this belief system, practitioners often undertake specific activities as part of a quest for knowledge, skill or wellbeing. Zoetmulder (1994) explains that, in their religious beliefs, Indonesians "are looking not so much for theoretical knowledge, but more for knowledge which is meaningful for life as it is lived" (p. 115). This is clearly exemplified in the practice of *kejawèn* where mystical processes are used to gain knowledge that is then put into use in daily life. There are many links between *kejawèn* and traditional performing arts. Cohen (2002) describes how, as the most highly mediated of the Javanese performing arts, *wayang* puppetry is symbolic of the lowest stage of mysticism (p. 172). Weiss (2003) explains that "performance analogies are regularly invoked in mystical writings and…analogies to mystical practice are commonly used in the assessment of performance and learning process" (p. 38). Many performing artists practise *kejawèn*, some even attributing their success to such mystical endeavours.

Drawing upon extensive fieldwork in Central Java, this paper presents part of my doctoral research into knowledge transmission and acquisition in traditional Javanese performing arts, where I show that Javanese *dhalang*, gamelan musicians, singers and dancers use a variety of learning methods in order to acquire knowledge and skill. In this paper I argue that in studying knowledge transmission of performing arts, we should consider processes where knowledge or skill is believed to have been acquired, even where there is no obvious sense of practice, and where the transition from not knowing to knowing can appear sudden or instantaneous, as is often the case with *kejawèn*.

There are many different mystical practices in *kejawèn*, including forms of prayer and meditation, perambulation, pilgrimage and ascetic practice. I will look at just three of these in this short paper: grave visits, fasting and *kungkum* (immersion in water), and I will focus on examples where the acquisition of knowledge or skill in performing arts has been the goal or the outcome of the mystical practice. Although I will use examples from Central Javanese performing arts, such as *wayang* puppetry and gamelan music, I believe there are other cultures in Southeast Asia where similar ideas apply.

Many Javanese believe that the spirits of their ancestors can be called upon for help or advice. The graves of well-known musicians, dancers and *dhalang* are visited by artists hoping to receive new skills or wisdom. These pilgrimage-style journeys are supposed to be carried out on foot and at night. One of the most popular graves to visit is that of Cakarma, a *dhalang* who lived during the reign of Sultan Paku Buwana X (1893-1939). The *dhalang* and musician Hali Jarwo Sularso describes one of Cakarma's magical powers:

> My father said that if Cakarma was leaving for a *wayang* performance he never needed to look for musicians. Only his wife, with two children. That was all, he could then perform *wayang*. 'Come here.' 'What is it?' 'You play *bonang* there.' 'But I can't [play *bonang*].' He could play *bonang*! Wow, it was fantastic! Later after the performance, they can no longer do it. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, personal communication, February 9, 2014)

Other people described being able to retain their newfound abilities. Several musicians described how, by making offerings at Cakarma's grave, they were then able to play the gamelan instrument of their choice very well, having instantly acquired skills that would usually require years of learning. Teachers at the Mangkunegaran *dhalang* school, which is run by one of Surakarta's palaces, used to take their senior students on a pilgrimage to Cakarma's grave before they graduated. They would leave after sunset and walk through the night, and then pray at the grave before walking home. This example shows that mystical practices went hand in hand with more formal schooling.

Dhalang actively engage in mystical activities that they believe will increase their potency and enable them to acquire knowledge. For example, a *dhalang* may fast, eating only white rice and water, for up to forty days before a *wayang* performance. This is called *mutih*. Hali Jarwo Sularso explains the benefits of *mutih* for a *dhalang*:

> *Mutih* makes your speaking good. Performing [the character] Arjuna is really like Arjuna, performing Bima fits perfectly, performing Bagong or making the boat move is also right. That is the effect of *mutih*. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, personal communication, February 9, 2014)

We can see from this that fasting can have a real effect on a *dhalang*'s skill at performing, and *mutih* in particular has these specific effects. Other forms of fasting practised by Javanese include *ngrowot* where one cannot eat anything except fruit and vegetables, and *ngebleng* where one does not eat or drink anything at all and stays in the same room without sleeping, for one to forty days.

A practice called *kungkum* is undertaken in order to achieve spiritual blessings and self-protection. *Kungkum* is an ascetic practice that consists of immersing oneself in cold water at night, usually in a river, well or spring, and sometimes at an auspicious place. *Kungkum* is often done by a group of friends together rather than individually. One musician told me how he used to have members of a whole gamelan ensemble who would all do *kungkum* together. The *dhalang* and musician Suparno describes how he did *kungkum* when he wanted to be successful as a *dhalang*:

> My goal for doing *kungkum* was one: I just wanted my performances to sell. My wife was five months pregnant with Sigit, but I was in a tough situation. It ended when, at the seventh month of her pregnancy, I got a *wayang* job. When Sigit was born, I performed. For Sigit's five-day celebration I was away performing, his thirty-five day celebration I was performing, until people began to talk. 'Why wasn't he at home for his son's five day and thirty-five day celebrations?' It began like that. And then my mother died. The heavenly gift (*wahyu*) of *wayang* took my mother. (Suparno, personal communication, January 21, 2014)

Suparno believed that his success as a *dhalang* was due to his mystical practice of *kungkum*, but that there were negative consequences of having received such a gift.

It is not considered necessary to engage in these mystical activities to be a Javanese performing artist. Numerous artists I spoke to said that they did not conduct any mystical activities in relation to their arts. Some felt that these activities would conflict with their religious beliefs, or that school-based learning was more important, while for others, they did engage in mystical practice but saw it as being for the benefit of their children or their general wellbeing rather than relating directly to performing arts.

The musician Bambang Siswanto believes that practising *kejawèn* can help a performing arts student to learn about *rasa*, the elusive type of feeling that is a desirable quality in Javanese performing arts. He says:

> For arts, it is necessary to find the technique first, then look for the *rasa*. There are many methods to look for the *rasa*, one of which is *kejawèn*. What is clear is that a person's feelings must be calm. So make zero feelings first and then enter what is wanted by the music, what is wanted by the dance, what is wanted by the *wayang* scene. One of the methods is concentration, there are meditation methods, there are Javanese *kejawèn* methods of that type. All of these are to believe in yourself, trust yourself, just to strengthen that. (Bambang Siswanto, personal communication, March 26, 2014)

We learn from this that he sees the value of *kejawèn* as a form of meditation to prepare the mind for learning.

These examples of performing artists using mystical practice in order to acquire knowledge show that, even in a world where formal education is highly respected and followed by young aspiring artists, there is still a place for older types of learning, and that such practices exist alongside formal learning, apparently without contradiction. Indeed it could be argued that learning at school and learning through mystical practice are two sides of the same coin, both requiring dedication over what is usually a lengthy period of time and involving advice from elders or teachers about the activities to be undertaken.

Whereas at school, students practise the same skills they will use later in performance, the link between the type of mystical practice and the kind of knowledge or skill attained is often not at all obvious. Yet for performing artists, these practices make sense as part of their overall process of knowledge and skill acquisition. They continue to find relevance in these practices, and in many cases, believe in their power to contribute to their performing arts ability. In a culture where people comment approvingly if a performing artist is known for their ascetic practice, the belief in the power of mysticism can create its own results. One could explain the effects of mystical practice as physiological, as a type of meditation, or as a heavenly gift, but we do not need to decide whether mystical practices produce a transmission or acquisition of knowledge,

because the act of believing in these practices can produce results as experienced by Javanese performing artists.

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SAHITA DANCE THEATRE PERFORMANCE IN SATIRICAL MENTAL SPACE

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Introduction

Sahita, the subject of this research, is a performing arts group that refers to themselves as a dance theatre group. *Sahita* consists of four females between the ages of 44-55 years old: Thing Thong, born 1961; Atik, born 1963; Inong, born 1964; and Cempluk, born 1972. *Sahita* was established in 2001 in Surakarta, a municipality in the Central Java Province located at the centre of Java island, Indonesia. Before *Sahita* was started, each member of the group was highly influenced by Gapit Theater, a Surakarta-based theatre group well-known for play productions in Javanese led by Bambang Widoyo SP. The influence of Gapit Theater on *Sahita* is understandable considering that members of *Sahita* were once members of Gapit Theater. A group led by strong charismatic leader, more often than not, highly depends on his/her leadership. Therefore, in 1996 when the leader of Gapit Theater Bambang SP passed away, the theatre group deteriorated. Inong and friends were anxious because they missed the creative process with Gapit Theater. Five years following the passing of the leader of Gapita, *Sahita* was established. Hence, it can be said that Gapit was the mother of *Sahita* and that their work coloured *Sahita*'s works.

Background, Questions, Concepts and Methods

Female artists in the performing arts are often identified with having a youthful body and are beautiful, sexy, with light skin, because these criteria are considered "marketable". This idea is questioned by Inong, one of the members of *Sahita*. Inong asks the question: What about older woman on stage in the performing arts? Inong described that in the past, only beautiful and attractive young dancers were admired. However, Inong further questioned whether this description is a compliment or can be considered a kind of harassment. This anxiety is one of the triggers of creativity for *Sahita* in performances where the members choose to perform as funny and vivacious elderly women.

Through performance, *Sahita* promotes the image strong old women in their work on stage. As not so young in age, all members of *Sahita* confidently perform in costume and wear make-up that makes them look even older. The presence of *Sahita* on stage inspires the question of why *Sahita* chooses to dress older than their age and what it is they are trying to express with this choice. This research suggests that *Sahita* presents satire of the female body through the performing arts for the stage. Based on the background above, the following are the research questions that will be discussed further: (1) How does *Sahita* present satire of the female body in the performing arts for the stage; and (2) Why does *Sahita* present the female body in satirical manner.

Sahita utilises the performing arts for the stage as space to express their work. This study employs the concept of performing arts that refers to Schechner's (2004) idea that performance is an activity conducted by individuals or groups in front of other individuals or groups (pp. 22, 55). Performance is a series of exchanges between players and action, and the audience.

The female body becomes the focus of this study because *Sahita* consists of four women that employ their bodies as the primary media for their creative process. According to Fulfer (2008), becoming a women means to occupy certain social positions where "woman" is juxtaposed with "man" along with other social categories established by society and culture where one lives (pp. 7, 18).

Satire as a concept is borrowed for this analysis as a form of artistic communication that contains criticism. The distinguishing characteristic of satire as the media of communication is that it can be widely accepted by the public although it may include criticism. The concept of satire is derived from the writing of Paul Simpson in his work On the Discourse of Satire (Simpson, 2003, pp. 1-2). Simpson assumes that humour is a good thing. From an academic point of view, scientific research on humour consistently identifies humour as important for common solidarity for people in their daily experiences. Hence, the skill in being able to deliver humour in any appropriate style or genre is valuable asset in communities and cultures.

According to Rancière, the concept of aesthetics as politics suggests that the two fields of "aesthetics" and "politics" are fields that are inherently inseparable (Berrebi, 2008; Robert, 2012). The politics of aesthetics is a space to rethink the relationship between art and politics by reducing the limits of aesthetics. For example, an artist may have a personal commitment that manifests through his/her works.

This commitment may not be an aesthetic one. Instead, it may well be a political one. This emphasises that aesthetics has its own political category (Rancière, 2004, p. 60).

The methodology employed for this research is "life history" (Pack, 2011, pp. 58-65). The method of "life history" refers to the description of lived experiences of a person told by that person to a researcher, orally or in writing, upon request of the researcher. In this research, the life history method helps record the life and personal anxiety of the members of *Sahita* by exploring the creative process, the artistic experience, and the personal lives of individual members, as well as *Sahita* as a group. Therefore, the method of data collecting uses field observation, in-depth interviews and literary studies. The location of the research is Surakarta, central Java in Indonesia, where members of *Sahita* intensively meet. In addition, observation in the field was also conducted in several areas where *Sahita* had performances.

The Satiric Mental Space in the Works of *Sahita*

The works of *Sahita* combine elements of movement (dance), verses (dialogue, song, a cappella), sound (music), and playing of space. Until today, *Sahita* has produced 11 compositions entitled Srimpi Srimpet (2001), Srimpi Ketawang Lima Ganep (2001), Iber-iber Tledhek Barangan (2002), Pangkur Brujul (2003), Gambyong Gleyongan (2003), Gathik Glindhing (2004), Seba Sewaka (2005), Rewangan (2007), Mbok Mase (2008), Alas Banon (2008), and Rebirth (2010). These works have been performed repeatedly for many occasions, spaces, and events. Unfortunately, *Sahita* does not have well-organised notes in order to know the exact number of performances they have organised or participated in.

Sahita's inspiration comes from various sources including personal experiences and social issues. Their experience working with Bambang Widoyo SP in Gapit Theater inspired them to work on the themes of marginalised communities and Javanese traditions. It is evident in all of their works that clearly depart from and re-interpret Javanese traditions. The idea of "playing" with tradition is used as strategy and means to enhance their capacity in dancing, singing, and building dialogue on stage. Finally, all members of *Sahita* agree to seriously work on the idea of "playing" with tradition as strength of their art within the performance art scene.

In creating their works, *Sahita* does not deliberately determine their target audience. *Sahita* hopes that their works will be acceptable to the public regardless of their social class, gender, ethnicity, age, and so on. The empty or "playing space" prepared for *Sahita* actors to improvise, allows their works to be adapted to any context and any audience. Therefore, despite many of their recent works, *Sahita* may still perform their old works at different occasions by considering the event and the audience.

A combination of personal experience and social issues gives soul to the works of *Sahita*, making them contextual. Their facial expression and body language are a part of *Sahita*'s signature in performances. The ability of *Sahita* to build communication with the audience is also one of their strengths. Oftentimes, the physical distance between *Sahita* and their audience is diminished once *Sahita* members mingle with the audience.

The biggest hit among most of *Sahita*'s audience is when *Sahita* invites them to laugh. Is this really the case? At least, that is one of the reasons why *Sahita* always provides time in their performances to showcase and lightly "discuss" funny and meaningful topics. This invites the audience to laugh and reflect on what they are laughing at.

Based on data gathered in the field and analysis, the following are the findings of this study. The first question posed in this essay: How does *Sahita* present satire of female body on the performing arts stage? Firstly, the research findings are that *Sahita* blends traditional based dance theatre with a contemporary flavour. Observing the performance of *Sahita*, it can be seen that *Sahita* strongly upholds tradition in their performance by adopting the pattern of traditional dance as the foundation of their work. On the other hand, *Sahita* intentionally presents a contemporary flavour in their work and this reflects the culture and society underlying the creation of the artwork. The presentation of *Sahita* emphasises flexibility, freedom of expression and improvisation that is loosely structured and is able to be combined with many musical styles. Since *Sahita* employs classical dance and other traditions as the foundation of their work, their work cannot be immediately considered as contemporary art. Schechner (2004) placed performance in active relation with social life, ritual, games, sport, and other popular entertainments (p. xi). This idea of Schechner answers the issue of why *Sahita* cannot be categorised as either traditional art or contemporary art. The dynamics of social life that is not only characterised by traditional art and contemporary art, colour the creative process *Sahita*. Secondly, *Sahita* focuses on laughing at themselves and making themselves the butt of jokes. *Sahita* presents their identity using their body on stage. Sometimes *Sahita* performs classical dance steps like a regular

dancer, however they also perform "unusual" movements and these movements invite laughter from the audience. Making themselves the butt of jokes is part of the process of establishing an identity of *Sahita* as a group. According to Butler (1999) identity is established performatively, repeated until the expected "true identity" is achieved, although no one knows for sure what is "true identity" (p. xv). Identity is established performatively through various expressions. Performativity is not a single act. It is a repetition and ritual through continuous process of naturalisation that finally becomes culture. *Sahita* establishes identity in performative manner through various expressions presented on the performing arts stage. It is through the performativity of *Sahita* that the group establishes their identity that is manifested through sounds, movements, and facial expression.

Sahita is identified as a performing art group in the following ways: (a) Presenting themselves as older women with all of their limitations in order to gain acceptance on performing art stage; (b) By using dance theatre as medium; (c) Combining traditional art and contemporary art; and (d) Presenting satire of female body by treating themselves as the butt of jokes for the audience. Through the process of establishing an identity, the importance of performativity lies not in what is performed or what the meaning is of the performance, but on how *Sahita* presents the self and their social relationships within society. The demonstration of the self and social relationship of *Sahita* is explored juxtaposing the idea of performativity and the concept of satire and aesthetics as politics.

The second question posed in this essay is: Why does *Sahita* present the female body in a satirical manner? Satire is selected because it is able to answer the sexual, defensive, aggressive, social, and intellectual through humour. Sex is generally considered taboo that is not to be discussed publicly, but on stage *Sahita* can presents the topic of sex in a funny manner without worrying about taboo. Satire provides the sexual function, through humour as a way to gain social acceptance of the topic of sex.

Satire also answers the defensive function of humour. The sexual function can also be categorised as sub-category of the defensive function which means, "employed or intended to survive," because it accommodates the use of humour to deal with difficult topics including sex. Satirical humour has the ability to prevent repercussions as humour delivers critiques implicitly. Although with *Sahita* their performances are laden with social criticism, no one is offended by their critiques. Through humour, *Sahita* escapes accusations of presenting an immoral performance, defamation, and pornography.

Satire also answers the aggressive function of humour. The aggressive function in humour is presented through acts of mockery, allowing superiority to be presented. The aggressive function is seen when the members of *Sahita* mock each other. There are times when one member becomes the butt of jokes of the other three members. The audience is often engaged in these acts of mocking. This act is performed easily and loosely and the person who is the butt of the joke is also not offended. Such scenes collaboratively appear on stage and with the audience.

Satire answers the social functions of humour. The social function is achieved when *Sahita* members position themselves as women in the family, community, and state. Their experiences in witnessing or even experiencing injustice in the family, society, and state are presented playfully on stage displaying the solidity of the group in performing their idea. In this case, the social function is useful for in-group and out-group cohesion, and strengthens the interpersonal connection.

Satire answers the intellectual function of humour. *Sahita* often uses the higher education as material for their satire. They blatantly and playfully express critiques of highly educated people that often do not "walk the talk." The materials discussed allows *Sahita* to achieve intellectual function of humour based on absurdity, word play, and non-sense which gives temporary release from rigidity of rationality.

In the context of discussion of aesthetics as politics, the works of *Sahita* contributes in presenting the anxieties of our lives, including the voice of marginalised women. The anxieties of *Sahita* presented on stage includes the issue of acceptance (or rejection) against older women of the performing arts, the issue of limitation of space and time for housewives to express themselves, and the unjust treatment received by wives from their husbands. *Sahita* also discusses environmental destruction and exploitation as part of their personal anxiety. Aesthetics as politics merges very strongly in the works of *Sahita* because of their commitment to voice the anxiety of women as a political category constantly appearing in the performances of *Sahita*.

Conclusion

Sahita makes performance art not only to present a show or scenery, but also to provide a space to meet and for dialogue between actors/players and audience. *Sahita* is able to present the work that: (a) Blends traditionally and contemporary art; (b) Presents act by laughing at themselves as the butt of jokes; (c) Uses

satire to answer the sexual, defensive, aggressive, social, and intellectual functions of humour that they present.

Sahita uses laughter as a shield because through employing satirical space *Sahita* can discuss difficult topics of daily life. *Sahita* realises that humour is not just about laughing, but also about crying. Humour helps people to identify, face/confront, and finally release, escape or resolve their own fears. *Sahita* is committed to voicing the anxiety of women, that is also a political category, a subject that appears in many performances. Hence, aesthetic as politics is embedded in the works of *Sahita*.

Finally, the contributions of this research include demonstrating the breakthrough of the work of *Sahita* in the performing arts. This research also shows the success of *Sahita* in penetrating an over commercialised performing arts scene although their way of presenting humour is considered "different". Furthermore, *Sahita* through comedy has brought and will continue to bring an improvement in the performing arts. This research shows that the strength of satire in the performing arts is that it can uplift the dignity of the "victims" in a society by helping them perform and express themselves on stage. Lastly, the findings from this research shows that the power of comedy performed by "victims" as a medium of social critiquing as satire carries several enabling functions that has been explained in this research.

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PANEL: PIVOTING INDIGENOUS DANCING WITH MUSIC MAKING TO ABRAHAMIC FAITH TRADITIONS

PERFORMING *MENGANGSA* IN THE *DAP-AY*: CONNOTING RELIGIOSITY IN HIGHLAND SAGADA, NORTHERN PHILIPPINES

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Under the theme of *Performing Arts and the Religious Impulse in Southeast Asia* for the ICTM PASEA 4th Symposium, this paper offers ideas contained within my 2016 doctoral thesis on performative practices, gender relations and masculinity, and also serves as a precursor to a longer work on native religiosity and sustainability. I conducted fieldwork in the Cordillera Region of the Northern Philippines during the period of April 2013 to June 2015 in the highland community of Sagada. Located at a 5000-foot elevation, Sagada is 275 driving kilometres from the Philippine capital of Manila.

In the 4th Symposium Call for Papers, Pierre Bourdieu's work on habitus was suggested as one possibility from which to begin to compose ideas about the religious impulse in Southeast Asia. As such, and because his work on habitus can be selectively applied to dance and music in culture, I refer to Bourdieu's contemplation that:

> The habitus is what enables the institution to attain full realization: it is through the capacity for incorporation, which exploits the body's readiness to take seriously the performative magic of the social, that the king, the banker or the priest or hereditary monarchy, financial capitalism or the Church made flesh. Property appropriates its owner, embodying itself in the form of a structure generating practices perfectly conforming with its logic and its demands. (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 57)

In this paper I bring in various local examples in reference to Bourdieu's "body's readiness to take seriously the performative magic" of various institutions, manifested through different conceptions of "the body". I broadly take property to be that which we hold to be ours, to belong to us; an ownership of not only land and objects, but also ownership of rites, music and dancing traditions and investiture in special spaces and local bodies. Bourdieu's contemplation on structures suggests determinism such that different structures of belief each bring logic and demands to adhere to, but that also compete for attention by which people have agency to make choices to participate at different levels, alter or choose not to be part of. In Sagada, structures of belief include Christianity and a native religiosity embedded in locality through what is called the *dap-ay* (a place for native rites-making), producing bodies that are recognisable to beholders of native rites and other practices such as *mengangsa*, the action of striking handheld flat gongs while in motion, and dancing.

The *dap-ay* is a stone and cement constructed gathering place for sociality particularly for the carrying out of native rites formerly related to past warfare but that has become more closely associated with the rice cultivation cycle. The following figure is a photograph that I took in 2015, of one of the twelve *dap-ay* in Sagada called *dap-ay Malingeb*, established sometime in the seventeenth to eighteenth century by a man named Biag.

Figure 1.

In 1904, American missionaries introduced the Anglican form of Christianity to Sagada as part of the American colonial, "civilising" project whereby the Church building of Saint Mary the Virgin was constructed, later followed by the building of a school together as conjoined institutions to convert and formally educate selected native people. In conversations with Sagada people, particularly those who are participants in both *dap-ay* and Church, what was striking is the often-made assertion that the *dap-ay* is "our culture" and that the Church is religion. In the *dap-ay*, local rites of propitiation are performed for ancestral and other spirits along with the striking of flat gongs and dancing with provenance in an unspecifiable time in a distant past.

The *dap-ay* as "our culture" signifies a yoking to the place for rites-making that people in Sagada assert as performed "for us," the men, women and children of Sagada, that is imbued with *inayan*, a local term often used by Sagada people to encapsulate a range of ethical behaviours toward group cohesiveness with expectations as to what it means to be a person of Sagada. As such, "our culture" connotes a religiosity of reiterating binds to and belief in what is held to be "ours": those rites performed in the *dap-ay* by Sagada men, by which local beliefs are reiterated and made visible, whereby "we" Sagada men and women then bring ourselves into *mengangsa* as a performance among ourselves and for our own gazing. Although people in Sagada can refer to themselves as Anglican or Episcopalian, I cast ongoing performances of rites and *mengangsa* in the *dap-ay* as signifying a yoking to native religiosity that co-exists alongside with, and is held in contraposition to Christianity, one of three major faith lineages along with Judaism and Islam after the Patriarch Abraham.

Christianity's various messages of end-of-the-world scenarios and redemption from sin with salvation toward possible heavenly reward, was manifested through a series of prophets including a man called Jesus who became deified. Thus what was created over time is what is referred to by many as the "Body of Christ," espoused as an ecumenical fellowship among Christianity's faith holders. Devoted faith holders coagulate as Body of Christ around the world held together by belief in a single individual's story of his birth, overcoming temptations and giving teachings, climaxing with greater performative resonance in the story of bodily sacrifice by crucifixion and then transcended by believed-in resurrection. Fast forward from the dawn of the Common Era to the early twentieth century when Anglican Christianity was introduced to Sagada by American missionaries as part of a colonial project to map, convert and ultimately subsume non-Christian northern highland peoples into the colonial space and what would eventually morph into the Philippine nation state. Local conversion succeeded to some degree in terms of baptising generations of Sagada people into the Body of Christ within the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin while at the same time formally educating some but not all local people at the mission school that continues to operate today as a private elementary, middle and high school.

The first *dap-ay* site in Sagada called *dap-ay Malingeb* (Figure 1) is estimated by an American historian named William Henry Scott (1964), to have been founded sometime between the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries by a man named Biag. Local genealogists trace Sagada clans and families from Biag and his marriage partner, a woman named Dodo. Sometime after the establishment of *dap-ay Malingeb*, the adult male and female children of Biag and Dodo established two more *dap-ay*. Over time the number of *dap-ay* grew from two to twelve, each made of stone and concrete material and serve as connective nodes within a socio-spiritual circuit coursing through central Sagada. Each *dap-ay* is comprised of male and female heads of households and is led by a group of several *Lakay*, a term of respect for an elder man who along with other men perform local rites for the community without expectation of monetary payment. Ongoing meanings of the *dap-ay* in Sagada are derived in genealogical ties to the "first man" and "first woman" of Sagada, Biag and Dodo, especially since a major ritual that is usually performed every ten or so years came to Dodo through a vision. Dodo then told Biag of the vision and Biag carried out the first performance of the ritual called *dangtey* that is a longer and larger-scale version of another ritual called *begnas*. *Begnas* with *mengangsa* is performed in Sagada twice a year, over a seven-day period, with flat gongs and dancing on the second day. On the second day of *begnas* called *toling*, the performance of rites include oral recitations in the *dap-ay* that are addressed to ancestors for protection and abundance. Prayers also refer to architectural sections of the *dap-ay* such as the stone floor called *datil*, a covered structure called *abong* and standing posts made of wood or stone called *padaw*; so that the *dap-ay* is imbued with a level of animating force as the addressee of prayers. Thus, the *dap-ay* is more than just a physical place. The *dap-ay* is an entity entered into and propitiated and where prayers delivered in the *dap-ay* reiterate ideas about Sagada men to utilise strength and resolve to carry forward beneficial actions for the community. Sagada people participate in and hold varying levels of affinity to *Dap-ay* and Church. They attend Sunday church services and go for Christian baptisms, wedding ceremonies and funerals. Opposite various Church rites and hymnal music, native rites

and flat gong striking with dancing in the *dap-ay* are greatly anticipated within the rice cultivation cycle. People in Sagada diligently keep what is performed in the *dap-ay* separate from what is performed in the Church and vice-versa.

Christian missionaries have entered many communities around the world inviting or coercing people into the Body of Christ. Distinct from the Body of Christ, I use the phrase "Body of men" to highlight a native religiosity that is not vested in a single messianic figure nor in a holy book but that is premised on a lineage of very human men who were and today are mostly farmers and family men serving as performers, oral transmitters and change agents of local rites. Sagada's adherents of native religiosity choose to maintain an exclusivist outlook premised on a lineage of "men of past repute" who transmitted knowledge throughout neighbouring highland communities with ongoing coherence through the *dap-ay*, where major local rites followed by *mengangsa* are performed. In speaking with Sagada people, women in particular mention that it is *our men* who perform our rites. When asked: What about women and what about non-Sagada people, can they perform Sagada rites? The very firm response is, "This is what our men do." For Sagada women, performing local rites is the domain of their Sagada men following what highland men of past repute are believed to have similarly performed and passed on. Rites are typically performed by a group of men rather than by a lone individual such that rites-making as well as decision-making are traditionally vested in group effort and consensus rather than singular authority of a headman. Although elder men who are in their 70s and 80s are consulted because of their knowledge and experience, rites of the *dap-ay* can only succeed when performed as a group.

In performances of *sosowa*, or prayers, stories about various men of past repute are told and retold. While the names of men are noted in prayers, none is worshipped. Rather, these prayers tell about men having passed on rites for the benefit of others to also utilise. For example, one kind of prayer is called *ta'ata* that is part of a rite called *sabosab*. Oral performances of *ta'ata* involve stories of men who passed on procedures of the rite of *sabosab*, a rite that involves binding the two halves of the bare-bone skull of a sacrificed pig with twine, as an action that is believed to help keep family members from feuding with each other and to prevent illness. Within the prayer that is uttered during the rite, men of past repute are mentioned with names such as Bacodongan, Kalugayan, Dang-ilan, Amgedang and Ganga.

Compared to the kind of individual narrative upon which the Body of Christ is founded, stories about a Body of men who contributed to native religiosity do not climax with martyrdom nor provide indications of salvation through mediation of a messiah as inscribed in the Biblical New Testament. Instead, native religiosity is espoused through orally and extemporaneously delivered prayers with stories about mortal men of past repute passing on rites reverberating through ongoing performances of rites by men of recent memory as well as those living today with local names such as Tauli, Waaw, Polat, Guitilen and Bakoko, among other men of Sagada.

Begnas, a seven-day ritual period tied to the rice cultivation cycle, is highlighted when men and women perform *mengangsa* in the *dap-ay* as a dynamic arc occurring on the second day of *begnas*. Figure 2 immediately below, provides a visual example of a *mengangsa* performance called *tallibeng*, three hours after the completion of processions to a small waterfall, rice field and sacred tree and as part of rites making by Sagada men in *dap-ay Malingeb* in June 2015. During *begnas* processions and rites, participating men don traditional loincloth with various design patterns. This photograph was made from a video I recorded.

Figure 2.

The term "yoking" is defined as: "inextricably fastened upon" or "joined to" or "united with." During the June 2015 *begnas* a controversy ensued that demonstrates the deep and emotional level of yoking that Sagada people, particularly women, attach to the *dap-ay*. The local controversy involved the intrusion of three men from the Philippine capital of Manila who wore loincloths and slipped late into the ceremonial procession reserved for Sagada men. This was then followed by unauthorised video recording of rites in the *dap-ay* by one of the domestic foreigners. Prior to this *begnas*, I could and did participate in previous *begnas* processions and rites at the invitation of *dap-ay* men and women because my mother, grandmother and other forbears are from Sagada, my birthplace, and because I am male. My decision to not participate in processions and rites on this particular day in June 2015, made it possible for me to make an authorised video recording from an overview distance and to take photos that would later prove useful in picking out the intruders.

In the days following the communal *begnas* ceremony, people in Sagada discovered that a local tour guide enabled the intrusion. This stirred debate in community meetings and in social media with postings made in a private group page on Facebook. Women in particular were deeply offended by the intrusion and by what they felt was the local tour guide's faulty judgment in enabling other bodies near the sacred *dap-ay* space, as rites of the *dap-ay* are bodily-engaged practices premised on local, Sagada descent. Women were vehement saying that non-Sagada men should not have been permitted into the ceremonial processions nor permitted near the *dap-ay*, thus voicing co-ownership of rites and the *dap-ay* with strong sentiments such as, "this is for us" and "this is only for our men." The sentiments of women expressed a violation of the solemnity of native rites performed by local men and in a sense, that the intrusion of other men's bodies symbolised a breach in continuity of *our men of Sagada* who share descent from the first household of Biag and Dodo.

The phrase "Body of men" speaks to ownership of "our culture" such that native religiosity is keyed to local bodies endowed with the *performative magic* of the *dap-ay*, creating a special space for sociality and as a sacralised space. Native religiosity in Sagada is premised on bodies recognised and privileged to perform and participate in local rites of the *dap-ay*. Following a Corpus of male predecessors, contemporary Sagada men who have fulfilled certain qualifications, join a Corpus lineage of men of past repute by performing *begnas* rites and *mengangsa*. The success of *mengangsa* in part depends on men creating fit with each other towards cohesiveness as a living, breathing Corpus, a "Body of men" performing the flat gongs. As mentioned earlier, a major ritual and its implements came through a vision to Dodo that was then put into practice by Biag, subsequently augmented by other kinds of rites transmitted by "men of past repute" to their heirs, people of Sagada.

During my time in Sagada, what became more interesting were implicit, unspoken acts and explicit, outwardly expressed ways that women bring themselves into *mengangsa*, challenging cursory observations often made by outsiders that "women follow the men" or that "the men lead the women" with implications of male subjectivity and female passivity. Instead, *mengangsa* is a field of local gender dynamics by which the logic of native religiosity is comprehensible in Sagada women gazing their men. Gazing is imbued with agency and power reinforcing "tacit conventions that structure the way the body is culturally perceived" (Butler, 1988, p. 524). In performances of *mengangsa*, individual virtuosity or standing out is of muted value. When an individual strikes his gong too loud or too forcefully, another man would ask for or take that individual's gong, sometimes reprimanding him. Furthermore, men holding and striking the gongs must be able to perform together in such a way so that women will participate or else the performance typically does not proceed. During my time in Sagada, if the men could not sustain a steady, moderate tempo or could not interlock their rhythms, women would not participate so that the performance would soon stop, suggesting that Sagada women bring competency in knowing how their men should perform the flat gongs. In a sense, women evaluate men wielding gongs as to whether *their men* can or cannot cohere together in a manner that invites women into the *lambakan*, the area of the *dap-ay* where *mengangsa* is performed. Women are not shy, and verbally tease and chide groups of men who cannot play the gongs well, and at times will pick up and strike the gongs themselves when successive groups of men cannot perform well.

There were instances during weddings as men attempted to begin performing the flat gongs, that women chided the men saying: "If you guys cannot play the gongs we will do it," so that groups of men would stop striking the gongs and with a palpable sheepishness, place the gongs quickly back on the ground. Women also peg their co-participatory role to how men use their bodies. In a performance called *takik*, when a man displayed vulgar body motions such as thrusting his pelvis forward and backward, women did not enter the *lambakan*. At times women demonstrate to men how to dance in an appropriate manner so that women could enter into co-participation with men, together performing conventional male and female movement motifs in idiosyncratic ways, and in counter-locomotion with each other.

In summary, native religiosity derives meanings from the first household of Sagada and through a Corpus of highland "men of past repute" who passed on rites inherited by contemporary Sagada people. Secondly, current iterations of rites believed to have provenance in a distant past, are performed by groups of male ritualists who are expected by women to accomplish, culminating in *mengangsa* as a field of women gazing "Body of men."

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PANEL: PIVOTING INDIGENOUS DANCING WITH MUSIC MAKING TO ABRAHAMIC FAITH TRADITIONS

MAGLAMI-LAMI: **PUNCTUATING RELIGIOUS FESTIVITY AMONG THE SULUK IN SABAH**

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Abstract

The performance of dancing with music as practice among the Suluk people in Sabah, Malaysia, culminates after the Islamic ceremonies such as socials gatherings related to the time period following Ramadhan, the month of fasting for Muslims. It is during this period that many weddings are scheduled, and where performances of *pangalay* occur, before and following the *pagkawin*, the solemnisation of marriage. *Pangalay*, a dancing of conventional hand and arm motifs that are individually nuanced, is simultaneously part of and separate from religious celebrations, completing festivity with the participation of the community. In practice, *pangalay* is considered secular, a form that is not in itself religious, but simultaneously completes the celebratory period of religious festivity. *Pangalay* as *lami-lami*, dancing that is part of merry-making, foments connectivity, binding together the community as a performativity that is devoutly practiced with zeal. This paper explores *paglami-lami* (performances as part of festivity) as the intermediary space that bridges the religiousness of Islamic ceremony to secular life. *Pangalay* within the context of *paglami-lami* both punctuates religiosity and is the space whereby community members partake with fervour.

PANEL: PIVOTING INDIGENOUS DANCING WITH MUSIC MAKING TO ABRAHAMIC FAITH TRADITIONS

REFLECTING RELIGIOSITY IN *ZAPIN*

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Introduction

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (1977), as a character and way of thinking, can be defined as a system of dispositions (lasting, acquired schemes of perception, thought and action). A central aspect of the *habitus* is its embodiment of internal structures in a deeper, practical and often pre-reflexive way. An illustration, in my opinion, is the "musiking memory" of *zapin* within the Ḥaḍramī and Malay Islamic Ummah, which I will illustrate in this paper.

"Fields" are treated on a hierarchical basis—with economic power usually governing—wherein the dynamics of fields arise out of the struggle of social actors trying to occupy the dominant positions within the field. In this context I would suggest that "fields" are embodied by the hierarchical and economic powers manifested in Ḥaḍramī *zaffin* and the Malay *zapin*, within the *habitus* of musicking memory of the beholders. "Cultural capital" refers to non-financial social assets that promote "social mobility" beyond economic means. Social mobility is defined as the movement of individuals, families, households, or other categories of people within or between layers or tiers in an open system, a process that exchanges material, energy, people, capital and information with its environment of "social stratification" based upon wealth, social status and socio-political power. The large-scale Ḥaḍramī migration in the early 19ᵗʰ century to the Indian Ocean and beyond, including Southeast Asia (Ho, 2006) brought *takhmis* and *qasida* (religious music); metric composition of sung poem in Arabic poetry philosophising life and religious matters; *dan*, a form of music; *zaffin*, a music and dance form that is exclusively performed and practiced by the Ḥaḍramī Arabs in the Malay Peninsula, Singapore and throughout the islands of Indonesia. These are all "cultural capitals," and have created the *habitus* of Malay *zapin* within the musicking memory of the coastal Malays in Southeast Asia as extrinsically secular and intrinsically religious. *Zapin*'s *habitus* internal structure of Arabic-Malay-Islamic practices suggest introvert religiosity acquired over time as it impresses itself upon Malay-Islamic *habitus* (character and way of thinking).

Zapin as *Habitus*

In this paper, I explore the *habitus* of *zapin* that is diachronically associated with an Arabic-Islamic-Malay heritage of Ḥaḍramī diaspora in insular Southeast Asia. The dispositions of *zapin* as a synchronic "Islamic" performing art hybridised by the coastal Muslim communities in Malaysia and Indonesia provides the "logic of practice" that enacts religiosity in its secular form initiated by the Ḥaḍramī Sufi tradition, the Ṭarīqa ʿAlawiyyā by Bā ʿAlawī, in particular. *Zapin*'s religiosity is related to the way *zapin* becomes a cultural production constructed by the *habitus* of Islamic Ummah competent in musicking *zapin* as a form of secular and/or religious performance diachronically attributed to the influence by the Ḥaḍramīs acknowledged as the direct descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad (*sayyid/sāda*), through the patriarchal lineage of Ḥaḍramawt valley of the former South Yemen (Bang, 2003, 2014; Ho, 2006; Alatas, 2010, 2016).

The dialectical process of the "incorporation of structures" and the objectification of *habitus* is an interplay between structure and practice; the place of the body, the manipulation of time, varieties of symbolic capital, and modes of domination whereby social formations tend to reproduce themselves. It is the notion of embodied habits that Bourdieu applies to *habitus*, and he sometimes describes *habitus* acquisition with embodied motor skills in mind.

Habitus is most appropriately understood in terms of the category of the practical. It is not bodily motor skill, but non-reflective cognitive sense. It can be seen that understanding the latter as emergent from experience is consistent with the argument that *habitus* is objectivist but non-reductionist. The experience concerned is none other than the experience of *habitus*' structural conditions. In arriving at the category of the practical, it is significant that we are brought back to Husserl from whom Bourdieu actually borrows the *habitus* concept (Lau, 2004, p. 376).

Habitus, in the context of this paper refers to a collective practical sense of corporeality, where "society [is] written into the body," "a state of the body" comparable to "motor schemes and body automatisms" (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 68-69, 104). In explaining *habitus* as corporeal, Crossley (2001) argues:

> We learn…not by thinking about things but by doing them. Learning is incorporation, an absorption…into the corporeal schema….This is obvious in the case of [motor skills]…such as how to dance…Much the same is true of even the most 'intellectual' activities…[though] there is a distinction between theoretical learning and practical learning…even the most 'cerebral' of social practices often have a strong practical element…theoretical learning is a second-order phenomenon, which presupposes practical skills…that make it possible. (p. 107)

It is within the above mentioned arguments that I propose the objectification of *zapin* as *habitus* within the Ḥaḍramī and Malay Islamic Ummah,[1] the interlocutor of structure and practice of reflexive religiosity.

Zapin: *Habitus* as Corporeal Religiosity

Zapin, a hybrid and heavily syncretised music and dance tradition in insular Southeast Asia, had evolved from *zaffin* dance and music of the Ḥaḍramī Arabs from Wadi Ḥaḍramawt (Arabic: حضرموت Ḥaḍramawt) in the form of a peculiar tradition that embodied Arabic-Malay-Islamic nuances. *Zapin*, easily the oldest traceable form of folk and social dance and music genre in the Malay world in Southeast Asia (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 1993), is a synchronic "Islamic" performing art hybridised by the coastal Muslim communities in Malaysia and Indonesia. Through the processes of re-invention, *zapin* took root amongst the coastal Muslim communities in Southeast Asia to become one of the most widely spread dance and music traditions created as a hybrid form from the Ḥaḍramī *zaffin*. Throughout insular Southeast Asia, the indigenous *zapin* is known by many names such as *jipin*, *jepin*, *japin*, *zafin* and *dana*, and is performed to celebrate weddings, circumcisions, and social events of religious significance such as Maulidur Rasul (Prophet's birthday) by Muslim communities of Southern Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2011, pp. 42-47). The Malays in Malaysia, in particular, adapted and developed the nuances of Islamic-Arabic *zaffin* by creating their own pseudo-Arabic expressions through *Zapin* Melayu (Malay *zapin*), an example of hybridity and syncreticity par excellence (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2011, pp. 42-43). *Zapin* dance and music are both extrinsically and intrinsically interrelated performances representing two levels; one as a performative social/folk genre inclusive to all, and the other as a spiritual/mystical order of Sufis dancing through muted *dhikr* (remembrance, pronouncement or invocation of the names of God). This paper focuses on the latter.

Amongst practicing Sufis, *zapin* is an intrinsic socio-religious practice of muted *dhikr*. Sufism was introduced into Southeast Asia through the incorporation of Ṭarīqa (way of the *sharia'at*), which literally means "the road to the watering place." It implies the act of seeking the knowledge of the ultimate truth or *haqiqah* by the aspirants (or *murīdīn*) and guided by the *murshid* (or *sheikh*). In Southeast Asia, *dhikr* is considered an important extension to the recitation of *doa* (ordinary supplication to ask for divine blessing in general). *Dhikr*, or remembrance/pronouncement of God, in *zapin* is executed through methodological repetition of the proclamation of one's belief in Allah from the *qalb* (heart) and not uttered from the mouth. The utterance of the *dhikr* stresses an inwardness of contemplating God's existence and his absolute transcendence. *Dhikr* takes the form of methodological repetition of the first *shahadah* (proclamation of one's belief in Allah and in his messenger, Muhammad) or the names of God or of God's "most beautiful names" (*al-asma' al-husna*) or some formula such as *Allah hayy* ("God is the Eternal one") with prescribed gestures, becoming one of the fundamental rituals in Ṭarīqa. A gathering to perform the *dhikr* ritual usually takes place in private homes or in closed public spaces. Such gatherings could be convened with the presence of a culturally structured movement system and musical accompaniment (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2009, p. 35).

Remembering God through *dhikr* in *zapin*, however, is covertly practiced by followers of Ṭarīqa Naqshabandi within the region of the Straits of Malacca and the Riau Archipelago, although to some extent followers of other Ṭarīqas such as Sammaniya (in Palembang) and Kalwatiyyah (South Sulawesi) have used *zapin*. It is unknown if the Ṭarīqas Shattariya (Java), Qadirriya or Rifi'iyya engaged *zapin*, although the Ba'Alawi Ḥaḍramī Arab continues to patronise the Arab *Zapin* as *dhikr*. One of the principles of Naqsahbandi's path is "seclusion in the midst of society," which is commonly interpreted as being inwardly focused on God whilst outwardly taking active part in the life of the community (Bruinessen, 1996, p. 9). Hence, reciting the silent *dhikr* secludes the practitioners in the midst of the Ṭarīqa, whilst performing *zapin*

openly precluding active participation in an indigenous but Islamic performative tradition at social-religious events.

Ḥaḍramawt and Ḥaḍramī: Field and Cultural Capital

The Ḥaḍramīs from the formerly independent Qua'aiti and Kathiri sultanates, encompassing a historical region of the south Arabian Peninsula extending eastwards from Yemen to the borders of the Dhofar region of Oman, brought their highly tribal society of old Seyyid aristocracy, who were descendent of the Prophet Muhammad, to Southeast Asia. Indigenous Muslims, who lived on the coastal shores of East Sumatra, west peninsular Malaysia, Singapore, Java, Kalimantan, South and Southeast Sulawesi, Ternate, Halmahera and the islands of Nusa Tenggara, were highly impacted by the presence of the. These Ḥaḍramīs had migrated from historically important cities such as Shibam, Say'un and Tarim, which contained the highest concentration of descendants of the Prophet Muhammad anywhere in the world. From these ancient cities, the Ḥaḍramīs brought *zaffin*, a music and dance form that is exclusively performed and practiced by the Ḥaḍramīs from Wadi Ḥaḍramawt. Apart from being highly revered as Sada (plural for Seyyid or Syed (سيد) who are descendants of Prophet Muhammad), the Ḥaḍramīs who comprise two main groups in Southeast Asia, namely BāʿAlawī and Irsyadin (Yasmine Zaki Shahab, 2012), were considered as highly literate in religious matters and were often employed as *qadhi* or legal specialists and scribes (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2013, p. 149).

BāʿAlawī (با علوي) is a term derived from Bani Alawi (بني علوي) or origin to a common forefather whose silsilah or lineage is founded by al-Faqih Muqaddam As-Sayyid Muhammad bin Ali BāʿAlawī al-Husaini (died in 653 AH or 1232 CE) who had studied from the students of Abu Madyan, who was a student of Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiriyyah order. The members of BāʿAlawī *tariqa*h are mainly Seyyid or Syed (سيد) whose ancestors hail from the valley of Ḥaḍramawt. Hence, the 'Alawi Seyyids who had spread far and wide to the Malay Archipelago not only spread Sunni Islam from the Shafii school but also to a certain extent, the BāʿAlawī *tariqa*h of Sufism. The Ḥaḍramīs even became rulers in the Sultanate of Siak and Palembang in Sumatera, Pontianak in West Kalimantan, and married into royal families in the Malay sultanates of Peninsular Malaysia. The Ḥaḍramīs' art of playing music with the *oud* or al-'ud (pear shape lute, which is locally known as the *gambus*), hand held drums (*marwas* or *marawis*) and singing *takhmis* and *qasida* by the BāʿAlawī Ḥaḍramīs were easily adopted by indigenous Muslims with adaptations that made indigenous performances markedly different from their Arabic origin, as examples of permissible (*mubah*) performances. In the case of Ḥaḍramīs' *Zaffin*, their dance and music are commonly associated with the *qabilah* (tribe) or *bani* (origin to a common forefather) of the BāʿAlawī. Hence, the Ḥaḍramīs performed *zaffin* within close quarters for the BāʿAlawī lineage seldom allowing others to participate including the indigenous population. This practice has continued to the present time in Southeast Asia through endogamy marriage institution in spite of moving towards mix marriages over the last few decades. Hadhrami *zaffin* are performed regularly on the eve of Friday, the Muslim holy day of the week, and at wedding ceremonies or on very important Islamic celebrations such as the Maulid (Prophet Muhammad birthday) in their white head cap, *qamis* (male robe), *abaya* (black robe for women)), and *radi* (long shawl for men) (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2013, p. 149).

Ḥaḍramawt with its valleys (*wadi*), the *qabilah* (tribe), *bani* (patriarchal lineages) and their *tariqa* are the fields or location with a "sense of placement" of relatively autonomous, social spaces, that are economically hierarchical with the power to govern and occupy the right of ownership of performative-religiosity, practices that are conceived of as clustered around religious activities. These fields hold dominant position in affecting embodied memory of musicking *zaffin* in Ba'Alawi Ṭarīqa.

The Ḥaḍramīs, who are the beholders of the Ṭarīqa and are highly revered as Sada (plural for Seyyid or Syed (سيد) who are descendants of Prophet Muhammad), are the "cultural capital." The Ḥaḍramīs mobility within or between layers of migrations and immigrations to Southeast Asia, disseminated their own *takhmis* and *qasida* (religious music), *zaffin* and Sufi tradition; the Ṭarīqa ʿAlawiyyā (Bang, 2003, 2014; Ho, 2006; Ismail Fajrie Alatas, 2010) to the Malay-Muslims. The veneration of the BāʿAlawī pious ancestors and return trips to Ḥaḍramawt by Bā ʿAlawīs living in Southeast Asia constitutes a diasporic return (Ho, 2006) that produced "cultural capitals" have created the *habitus* of hybridized *Zaffin* in the form of the musiking memory of Malay *Zapin* in Southeast Asia.

Zapin: Reflecting Religiosity

The "fields" and "cultural capitals'" of Ḥaḍramawt and the Ḥaḍramī have embodied the *habitus* of Malay *Zapin* into intrinsic and introvert Sufis practices by the followers of Ṭarīqa Naqsahbandiyah, Sammaniya, and Kalwatiyyah. Musicking *zapin* is associated with the spiritual path or "way" that leads to a mystical knowledge of God the almighty as the creator, lord and judge. The performative pulses of dancing, musicking, and *dhikr* in *zapin* are perceived as pathways toward communion/embracement with God, reflecting religiosity of the *habitus*. This can be illustrated within the 16-beat metric iso-period structure[2] of alternating high and low-timbre stresses of the *marwas* and *dok* establishing a pattern of weak-strong stresses with the strong stress on the even-numbered beats and the weak stress on the odd-numbered beats of the 4-beat iso-periodic unit. The three *marwas* drums provide a repeated rhythmic pattern 4-beats long metric iso-periodic unit, which the *dok* drum punctuates with its low, resonant timbre on specific beats movements, exclusively restricted to the variations in leg movements with the arms retaining the prescribed motion of pedestrian-swaying. Thus, the 4-beat weak-strong stress pattern punctuated at mid-point and at the end of the 4-beat unit by the low resonating timbre of the *dok* drum mimes the cyclic iso-period of a gong ensemble. The 4-beat metric iso-periodic unit is repeated without change to underpin the melody and to accompany the movements of the dancer (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2017). Similar to the hierarchical, 4-beat repeated pattern of the drum beats that serve as a metric iso-period in *zapin* musicking, dancing with the *dhikr* is chronologically patterned to follow the constellation of dance motifs to form the choremic[3] unit at the end of the 4-cycles of the 4-beat rhythmic drum iso-periods (Mohd Anis Md Nor 2016, 2007; Matusky, 2015). The metric iso-periodic pattern of dancing the *dhikr* is based on the understanding and sensibility of how a repeated, underpinning time unit and a rhythmic pattern should occur in a Malay music and dance while retaining the Arabic-derived drums and timbres (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2011, p. 46).

Another aspect of religiosity in Sufistic *zapin* is the overarching rendition of *zapin* songs consisting of repeated quatrains of passionate verses in praise of Prophet Muhammad and/or the attributes of God that literally or metaphorically provide the sensorial perception of spatial and sonic space for *dhikr*. Although dance movements only begin on the second drum beat, which is of low timbre as it initiates the kinemic pulse, *dhikr* is first uttered during the first high timbre beat of the *marwas* drums. The *dhikr* verse from the *shahadah*, Lā ilaha illal-Lāh, ("There is no god but Allah") commences on the high timber beat while the dance begins on the low timbre beat, which forms the second drum beat. The entire *dhikr* would be completed at the end of the 8-beat phrase of the repetitive rhythmic 4-beat iso-periodic unit by the three or more *marwas* drums. By then, the *zapin* dancer completes his dance motif as he completes the first round of his *dhikr*. This would be repeated over the 8-beat phrase into a second round of *dhikr* as the dancers complete their dance over the 16-beat metric iso-period structure (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2009, pp. 33-39).

The corpus of reflecting religiosity in *zapin*, through the Ṭarīqa and *dhikr*, affirms the conception of oneness and absolute transcendence of God in an otherwise extrinsic display of dance and music within the domain of Malay music and dance. Although the semantics of *zapin* signifies both secular and religious affiliations designated by the practitioners, astute religiosity in musicking *zapin* is perceived as dancing and musicking with mental or verbal repetition of one of the divine names over the regular four beat counts of drumming pattern executed through repetitive steps of dance motifs and music in the respective Ṭarīqa (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 2009, pp. 33-39). Performing religiosity through musicking *zapin* as a process of perceiving the presence of God does not only give primacy to Sufism in the Islamised region of maritime Southeast Asia, but enhances the spiritual appeal of Sufism in Southeast Asia through the efficacy of *zapin* as the *habitus* of a hybrid performance tradition reflecting religiosity.

Conclusion

Bourdieu's "Logic of Practice" was primarily concerned with the dynamics of power in society, and especially the diverse and subtle ways in which power is transferred and social order maintained within and across generations. This paper has looked into concepts of *habitus*, "field", and "cultural capital" to reveal the dynamics of power relations in *zapin*. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, as a character and way of thinking, has dispositioned *zapin* into a lasting, acquired scheme of perception, thought and action embodying the internal structures of *zapin*'s corporeal religiosity.

Zapin has efficaciously demonstrated an intrinsic sublime secular performance tradition veneering the intrinsic agent of religiosity allied with performative Sufism, as a choice rather than habits by the Islamic Ummah. *Zapin* as *habitus* collectively reflects a practical sense of corporeality and religiosity.

> The socially informed body, with its tastes and distastes, its compulsions and repulsions, with, in a word, all its senses, that is to say, not only the traditional five senses—which never escape the structuring action of social determinisms—but also the sense of necessity and the sense of duty, the sense of direction and the sense of reality, the sense of balance and the sense of beauty, common sense and the sense of the sacred, tactical sense and the sense of responsibility, business sense and the sense of propriety, the sense of humour and the sense of absurdity, moral sense and the sense of practicality, and so on. (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 123-124)

Endnotes

[1] *Ummah* is a common Arabic word meaning "people group" or "nation", which corresponds to the notion of Ummah Islamiyyah, the Islamic Community, an entity that theoretically comprises all Muslims throughout the world, whatever their national origin.

[2] Matusky, Patricia. 2015, *The Shape of Musical Time: Periodicity in Malaysian Traditional Music* (unpublished article, April 2015). Building upon the use and explanation of M. Tenzer (Analytical Studies in World Music, 2006), the terms "period" and "iso-period" as found in Southeast Asian, including Malaysian, traditional music carries the meaning of "regular recurrence." Essentially, the "period" is a given time unit of a specific number of beats; in a "metric period" a specified musical meter governs the time unit; and in a "metric iso-period" the same time unit and meter are repeated in regular recurrence throughout the given music, such as in the case of main *zapin*. When the *kopak* (a different and short rhythmic pattern) appears in main *zapin*, then a "sectional period" occurs, that is, a given time unit that appears only at certain times in the music.

[3] Choremes are culturally grammatical choreographic units made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and sequentially (Kaeppler, 2007, p. 54).

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WORKSHOP: INTRODUCTION TO CAMBODIAN PERFORMING ARTS AND REVITALISATION EFFORTS

Song Seng
Cambodian Living Arts, Cambodia
Men Mao
Sounds of Angkor, Cambodia
Vann Sopheavouth
Wat Bo Puppet Troupe, Cambodia

This Workshop focuses on *Chapei*, *Tro Khmer*, *Kse Diew*, *Smot* and Shadow Puppet Theatre.

The first presentation introduces the work of Cambodian Living Arts (CLA) based on a video that tells about CLA and its work in supporting the endangered performing art forms in Cambodia. A short question and answer session will follow.

The second presentation is about *Chapei*, *Tro Khmer*, *Kse Diew*, and *Smot*. In this session, the presenter will start by introducing the instruments of *Chapei*, *Tro Khmer*, *Kse Diew*, and the vocal chanting known as *Smot*, by explaining their social function and how endangered or sustainable they seem at the moment. Ms. Men Mao will demonstrate each instrument to the participants after her introduction of each one. Video clips will be used as well with a question and answer period. The hands-on workshop begins with demonstrations of the *smot* chanting so that all participants can be involved. The presenter will extract a short verse of the *smot* song in the Khmer language, and then will invite all participants to learn how to pronounce the words and to practice the chanting.

The third section of the workshop is about Cambodian large shadow puppets. In this session, the presenter, Mr. Bann Sopheavouth, will start the introduction of the large puppet by briefly telling how it fits into society, and then he will share some thoughts about it being placed on UNESCO's List of Masterpieces in 2009. He will demonstrate the movement of each puppet character to the participants, and after a short discussion another hands-on activity begins. In order to involve every participant, only the movement of the puppet will be taught. The flying, walking, and fighting movements will be presented and taught to the participants. After the teaching, the participants will be asked to perform the movement. One of the participants will be asked to play the big drum to accompany the participants' performance.

Finally, another presenter will give a brief summary of the situation of all of these genres in modern Cambodia, and the participants will be able to ask final questions of all the presenters.

FROM SOURCE TO MARGINS: RITUAL *WAYANG GOLEK* AND THE EMBODIMENT OF RELIGIOSITY (WEST JAVA, INDONESIA)

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Wayang Golek and *Wayang Golek Ruatan* in West Java, Indonesia

The etymology of the word *wayang* is found in "shadow" (*bayangan*) and/or "spirit, ancestor" (*hyang*). It refers at the same time to the puppets used, the performance involving puppets and the whole event that surrounds a performance of *wayang*. *Wayang golek* is a rod puppet theatre, deriving from Javanese *wayang kulit* (hide shadow puppets). A single *dalang* (puppeteer) plays the *wayang* (puppets) during a performance that lasts seven to eight hours from 08.00 pm to 03.00 or 04.00 am. He is accompanied by one to three *sinden* (female singers) and *nayaga* (musicians) playing on a *gamelan*, a collective mainly of percussive instruments. The *lakon* (stories) that are performed in Sundanese and *kawi* languages, are adapted and/or derived from the Indian epics of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, as well as from the local cycle of *Babad Lokapala*. The audience participates actively and is large, never limited in age, sex or social status. Nowadays, the main contexts of performance are life-cycle events (wedding, circumcision), large scale public and political events and rituals (*ruatan*, propitiatory events). In this paper, I suggest that ritual *wayang golek*, known as *wayang ruatan*, participates to the embodiment of religiosity in the Sundanese society, through the action of the *dalang* to perform the four elements and to stimulate the five senses of the participants.

Wayang Golek Ruatan: From the Source to the Margins

A *ruatan* is a ritual usually held in order to purify and to fortify people or places threatened by the man-eating god *Batara Kala*. In this context, *wayang golek* is the ritual in itself. However, if *wayang golek* is the main modality of *ruatan* in the Sundanese society, it may also be performed through other practices (recitation, etc.) (Headley, 2001). Nowadays, *ruatan* is mainly performed as prevention. The performance enacts a single story, *Murwa Kala* (the origin of *Kala*), and involves an important written transmission unlike usual *wayang golek*: the structure of the story, the recited mantras and the list of the complex required offering are written into notebooks and handed through generations of *dalang*. The performance of *ruatan* requires complex offerings used for the domestication of *Batara Kala*. However, for non-ritual *wayang golek*, the main part is not only the story performed or the textual message delivered by the puppeteer, but the way it is performed also expresses and addresses the participants in a deep way.

On the one hand, *ruatan* is often thought to be the source of *wayang* in general, as a kind of primary function for the puppet theatre. Moreover, as Foley points it out, *Murwa Kala* can be considered as an ur-myth underlying main story materials (Foley, 1984). Through the set of offerings and the words through which *Batara Kala* is domesticated and sent back to his origin, *ruatan* also asserts a rural original Sundanese society based on agriculture. This discourse of *ruatan* at the source of *wayang* is nowadays reinforced by the "heritage discourse" on Indonesian *wayang* in general. This heritage discourse officially started in 2003 with the Proclamation of *Indonesian wayang* (including *wayang golek*) as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The proclamation insisted on the historical depth of *wayang* and acknowledged the ritual as the original function of *wayang,* be it true or not (Andrieu, 2014; Sena Wangi, 2002). On the other hand, *wayang golek ruatan* is nowadays rarely performed as a consequence of the deep changes experienced within Sundanese society that has been part of the Indonesian nation since independence in 1945. Its ritual function has been deeply challenged by industrialisation and urbanisation of the country, and also due to the development of a modernist Islamic thought within Sundanese society.

The *Dalang*

The *dalang* of the *ruatan* must fulfil specific criteria integrated into a genealogy (*silsilah*) of puppeteers and that a *dalang* be older than 45 to 50 years old. He has to be an experienced *dalang*, acknowledged by the population. As performing a *ruatan* contains risk (a misperformance brings danger), the *dalang* takes on responsibility for the safety of the person hiring him (his sponsor and his family) as well as for his own group or troupe. He becomes the mythical *dalang Kanda Buana*, an avatar of the god Vishnu as depicted in a story

within the story of *Murwa Kala*, and as such he is able to re-order the world by "holding *pamali*" or detaining taboo. As mediator between men and the unseen world, the *dalang* embodies, in the image of the demiurge, a dissembled but pervasive beneficent power (Keeler, 1987).

Becoming *dalang Kanda Buana* requires a combination for the puppeteer to be as an "empty vessel" (Foley, 1984) and the multiplicity of the *wayang* (as puppets) as possible bodies (and thus more empty vessels) for the embodiment of cosmic knowledge and power (Foley, 1985). As a result, the unicity between microcosm and macrocosm is achieved, the cosmos becomes the *dalang*'s body. In doing so, the *dalang* appropriates cosmic power and merges into it. The power in itself comes from the *dalang*'s mastering of arts, especially of *wayang*, and grows with use. As such, power does not emanate from his own person (and therefore it cannot be misused) but from the study and the acquiring of knowledge.

During the *ruatan*, the *dalang* possesses several modes of action and through their combination, allows the *dalang* to achieve his task. The *dalang* primarily realises a very physical action, as he works with the different elements, especially with water that will be effectively used after the ritual for curing or protecting the person or the place that needs it. At the same time the *dalang* undertakes a verbal action through the recitation of mantras (*Kidung*) as well as a spiritual action as he explains the world and the origin of *Batara Kala*. However, the *dalang* keeps the mystery by using a language from the past (old Javanese and Sundanese), as his knowledge is not for diffusion to the masses. Although not understandable as such for his audience, this language nonetheless addresses the perception by the inner self (*batin*) of each participant. It can also be studied by anyone who wants to acquire knowledge.

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The Four Elements

By performing the four elements, the *dalang* summons the god *Batara Kala* to life as well as to the entire world of the story realising, one more time, his demiurgic role. By domesticating him, the *dalang* re-orders the world and provides an effective protection for people and places. The performance is a demonstration of the impermanence of the elements and the permanence of the deity and of the power. The banana log with a *keris* (dagger) thrust into it, serves as a stage for the puppets each time the deity appears, be it *Batara Guru*—Shiva or Vishnu, and grounds the relationship to the earth element. The incense (*menyan*), also displayed at the appearance of the deity, stands for the fire becoming smoke. The incantations or mantras (*Kidung*) are breath (air) made sound and provide effective protection and therefore transformation of the participant, that is later conveyed by the water (*cai*) that can be shared, spread and/or absorbed by each participant.

In displaying transforming elements, *wayang ruatan* actually displays the turbulent process of life by which change is a condition for continuity. It also has a physical impact on its participants, as argued by Kleinsmiede, "Wayang changes you physically" (Kleinsmiede, 2002). "Opposites" are united (male and female, god and demon, human and divine), revealing their essential relationship, and making explicit the correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm. The balance of the cosmos can only be achieved through this unicity. This seems to confirm Lysloff's point, that *wayang* works as a meta discourse about the structure of ritual time in itself (a time out of time), and a dramatization of the process of transformation that

the participants undergo (Lysloff, 2009). In addition, time appears as the fifth element in this system, as *Batara Kala* is also the embodiment of linear time, forgetful of his own origin (Basset, 2010). I will now show that through the performance of these elements within a multisensory and all-encompassing performance, *wayang golek ruatan* contributes to the embodiment of religiosity in Sundanese society.

The Embodiment of Religiosity

Religiosity here refers to the numerous aspects of religious activity, dedication, and belief (religious doctrine). It includes how a person practices certain rituals, retells certain stories, reveres certain symbols, or accepts certain doctrines about deities and the afterlife. Embodiment refers to the body, particularly the five senses, as a primary tool for experiencing, practicing, transmitting and sharing religiosity/spirituality. This also concerns the very work of the researcher whose sensitive body is the primary tool for approaching performance practices (Bouvier, 1994). *Ruatan* deliberately involves the five senses of the participant. Sight is present through the very play of the puppets. Smell is stimulated through the thick smoke of the incense and of the *roko kolobot*, the traditional cigarettes lit and shared by the puppeteer. The *gamelan* represents an essential physical and sound stimulation. The crowd and the traditional struggle (*rebutan*) for the consecrated water, and consequently the use of the same water stimulates touch. Finally, the offerings (*sajen*) form a feast for the senses as they display agricultural products (rice, roots, fruits), cooked food, drinks, seeds, farming and kitchen tools, clothes, house equipment that are as abundant as they are beautiful and tasty. This process clearly is related to a tantric vision of the identification of the divinity and the adept in the quest for embodiment of power substance through the convening of the five senses (Foley, 2006). Further, if sight, smell, hearing, touch and taste are aspects of and are all encompassed into *rasa* as a mental state or emotional theme, the collective aspect of the experience, its togetherness of perception, is as such, of primary importance. *Wayang* indicates that all this can only be felt together with others. Perception, is in a word, a very social project.

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As a complex social event, *wayang ruatan* is also to be understood within the contemporary Sundanese society. It is affected by the political context of globalisation, democratisation and decentralisation at stake in Indonesia since the end of the New Order regime in 1998. Two economic crises in 1997 and 2008, directly affected the lives of citizens, and the wealthiest of citizens tended to turn to *ruatan* as a way to make their existence safer. On the other hand, *ruatan* became an unaffordable ritual for a population that is suffering economically. The practice is also impacted by the religious context, especially by changes in Islamic discourse and practice in Indonesia (Feillard & Madinier, 2006). Moreover, *wayang golek*, as is *wayang* in general, is also involved in the building of the national culture and identity of Indonesia (Andrieu, 2014), and as such has been categorised as "arts" within the cultural items of the country. In doing so, this process follows the path opened by Orientalist Dutch scholars during the 19th century (Pemberton, 1994). *Ruatan* and *wayang golek* can be considered as becoming subjects of distance and interpretation with its practitioners implementing adaptation processes in terms of discourse and practices. But has it not always been the case for *wayang* in general? The mantras are now called prayers (*do'a*) and practitioners make use of Arabic incantations together with the old verses. The story of *Murwa Kala* is interpreted in Islamic terms, the *keris*

is sometimes removed, suspected to be an object of idolatry (*shirk*) and the story may change. However, the core of the practice endures and its practitioners also adopt new methods of legitimation such as the discourse of Intangible Cultural Heritage inaugurated by UNESCO, to keep it relevant and acceptable in the contemporary context. Again, this makes explicit that change is a modality of continuity.

In conclusion, the multisensory performance of the transformative five elements appears as a way of understanding and acquiring knowledge and power. Through the mastering of his art and by retelling the origin of *Batara Kala*, the *dalang Kanda Buana* recreates the very universe and posits himself within it, as small and powerful as he can be. *Murwa Kala* teaches humility and power, summons demons and gods, humans and invisible beings in a re-created world through vertiginous self-reflection.

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WAYANG KELANTAN: BETWEEN INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ISLAM

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> With Malay annals, Thai theatre, Javanese stories
> passed down and played to the crowds
> by the original master puppeteer, passed
> within the *dalang* lineage
> of the [first] *dalang*, Mak Erak.[1]

This mantra, reports Pak Dain, is part of the opening of puppet masters (*dalang*) in the lineage of Tumpat, Kelantan, Malaysia, and points toward multiple influences (Malay, Thai, and Javanese) for *wayang Siam*, a shadow puppet theatre of peninsular Southeast Asia whose very name advertises its mixed roots. *Wayang Kelantan* combines local idiosyncrasies with cross-border influences, especially shared with Southern Thailand, since only in 1909 was Kelantan incorporated into the Malay States by the Anglo-Thai treaty. The genre is now, for national sentiments usually called *wayang Kelantan* rather than *wayang Siam* (its name until 1970) to identify it as a Malay Malaysian activity. During 2014, I visited Tumpat on the east coast of peninsular Malaysia, a site that continues to have the most traditional puppeteers in Malaysia.

Though linked to Hindu-Buddhist heritage (for example, *wayang parwa*—a related genre using shadow figures to tell Mahabharata stories—is strongly established in Hindu Bali) and often traced to India (since the major narrative, Ramayana, is from there), this shadow genre is a pan-Southeast Asian art which, from at least the 17th century, is intertwined with Muslim communities and thinking.

Of course, we find contrasting large performance ensembles in court venues—genres like *nang yai* (large panel shadow puppets) in Thailand, *nang sebek* (an analogous form to *nang yai*) in Cambodia, and *wayang kulit purwa* (leather puppets telling Mahabharata or Ramayana) in Central Java, and know that often these genres are linked with mask dances (*khon* in Thailand, *lakhon khol* in Cambodia, *topeng* in Indonesia) which required likewise a large group of performers. To gather such groups one needed courts or temples as an ideological centre where artists might cluster, either because they were elites with leisure and/or there were religious and economic incentives to collaborate. But for more rural areas that lacked courts, what was needed was simpler—a gifted storyteller with figures backed by a small group of musicians.

I argue there was a strong disposition toward puppetry in the trading circle encompassing the north coast of Java, Kelantan-Pattani, areas of Kalimantan (Banjar), Lombok, and southern Cambodia. It is likely that puppetry (both shadow and three dimensional figures) moved along these trade routes linking these areas even to Fujian in Southern China, that is, around the Gulf of Thailand and South China Sea, to north coast Java's *pasisir* [shore]. This area is prime puppet territory. While puppetry of course moved inland, the Southeast Asian coasts have been the area of circulation. The west coast of Malaysia, Sumatra and areas linked to the India trade, are not, I argue, puppet rich.

Though most histories have emphasised puppetry's east-west routes from India or the Middle East to Central Java, this view is limited. Puppetry in India does have linkages, but in there the narrator rather than a solo puppet manipulator is most often emphasised and this narrator has little relationship to exorcisms or curing potentials that we see in Southeast Asian puppetry. By contrast in the Islamic areas of Southeast Asia a solo storyteller-manipulator is preferred.[2]

In many of the important Southeast Asian genres with Muslim connections we find a tendency to make a correlation between the macrocosm and the microcosm, with the puppeteer, through the voice of his clown(s) and through his total control of figures, paralleled to the divine power behind the universe. I argue there is a preference that the narrator him (or sometimes her) self manipulates. *Wayang* and its related arts in Thailand (*nang talung* [leather puppets of "Pattalung" in south Thailand]) and Cambodia (*ayang*, named after the main clown) fit a pan-Southeast Asian puppet tradition that crosses language borders.

These genres differ from palace traditions a (i.e. Thai *nang yai* and Khmer *nang sbek*, using large puppets moved by multiple manipulator-dancers). The small puppet genres, as with Indonesian *wayang kulit* forms, use modest sized puppets and are largely performed by a single manipulator (*dalang* in Malay languages; *nai nang* in Thai). These are primarily rural entertainments of commoners that, traditionally, had ritual implications. They often share the concept of god-clown (as exemplified by Java's Semar, Malaysia's Pak Dogol, and the Khmer Ayang). They often have traditional narrative that stem from Hindu epics, but stories differ considerably from Indian versions and may show more consistency with each other than

normative Indian versions (for example, in coastal Java as in Kelantan Hanuman, the monkey general of the Ramayana, may be, in some versions, the son of Rama; Sita, Rama's wife can be the daughter of her kidnapper/suitor, Rawana; and Thailand-Malaysia-Cambodia share the story of Hanuman Ikan, the fish-monkey offspring of Hanuman).

Stories presented often are not the main narrative, but tales that "branch" from those epic events, highlighting the same characters. I posit that *wayang* and *nang* are parts of a united tradition of Muslim-Malay influenced puppetry (reformulated from Hindu-Buddhist precedents) that evolved through trade and cultural influences in coastal areas of Southeast Asia. Though court or temple forms fill analogous slots performing for festivals or royal events, these genres require considerable resources (personnel and space). The courts are impressive, but what was more functional in villages was a mobile performance, providing ordinary people entertainment; at the same time it served curative and/or exorcistic functions. It was both good for you and fun to watch.

Today political and religious changes are reducing some of these once lively genres to museum artefacts (see Wright, 1981; Matusky 1993; Ghulam-Sawar; and, contrast with Sweeney, 1972a, 1972b). Forms like *wayang Kelantan* are caught between the Scylla of Wahabi style Islamic thinking from the modern Middle East and the Charybdis of ethnocentric national heritage that prefers pure Malay products. Today Kelantanese performers lament their decline from 300 *dalang* in the 1960s (Sweeney 1972b, p. 3; Zahari, 2013, p. 105) to less than ten performers in 2014, with the youngest approaching fifty. In an interview on July 20, 2014, Dalang Rahim bin Hamzah, son of the National Artist Dalang Hamzah bin Awang Amat (1940-2000) predicted: "already by 2020, there won't be any [*wayang Kelantan* performance]—it will only sit in a museum!"

Cross Cultural Flows

Crossing borders is part of the origin story of *wayang Kelantan* told by puppeteers of Tumpat. Abang Mat (personal communication, June 9, 2014) claimed in an interview that the first Kelantanese *dalang* was Mak Erak, a Chinese-Thai woman. She is said to have studied *wayang* in Java about ten generations of *dalang* back (mid to late 1700s [?]) and then set sail for home with her puppets. When the ship sank in a stormy Gulf of Siam, Mak Erak held onto the figure of the Javanese god-clown Semar (Pak Dogol), and, with Semar as sail, magically reached Kelantan.

Local lore tells that Mak Erak performed with only two figures made of leaves without musical accompaniment, using Javanese language until returning to Java for leather puppets and instruments; after her death, her husband became the second *dalang*, Tok Erak, who elaborated the art (Dain bin Othman, 2011, p. 13). Malaysia has other *wayang* arts, which emulate Javanese sources more clearly; *wayang kulit purwa* was performed in diasporic Javanese communities and *wayang kulit Melayu* was a now defunct genre of the Kelantan court which historically sponsored *dalang*s to study in Java to present stories (about Panji, prince of East Java) for aristocratic entertainments. Compared to these genres, *wayang Siam/Kelantan*—which like *wayang gedek* "Thai-style *wayang*, that is, *nang talung*)—is a much more hybrid, localised mix.

The origin story of Tumpat *wayang*, of course, credits a mixture of local genius with Thai, Javanese, and even Chinese influences. While Central Java has been a powerhouse in puppet creation for hundreds of years and developed a deep sophisticated, religio-philosophical understanding of the art, the rough, village puppetry without Central Java's aristocratic overlay unites a wider area where shadow puppetry, was a medium of communication, entertainment, and ritual protection.

These puppet genres often originally focused on Indian stories (especially the Ramayana on the mainland) using small figures manipulated by a solo artist often accompanied by bronze keyed or gong-type ensembles. The performer is often believed to have a protective power that makes him (or occasionally her) a *shaman* (*bomoh* in Kelantan) as well as an entertainer.

Majapahit (thirteenth to sixteenth century) had trade connections with Champa (an Islamic kingdom on the coast of Vietnam, the Fujian region of China from which the Muslim admiral-explorer Cheng Ho sailed in the fifteenth century), and Cambodia. This particular trade route may have been important for the development of arts, which blended tantric Hindu and Islamic Sufi thinking. While puppetry was part of earlier Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, the period of the 15th to the 18th century brought Islamic reformulations. Indonesian tradition credits the arts to the Wali Songgo (Nine Saints) who converted the island to Islam. While some of the saints (i.e. Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Kalijaga) are Javanese locals, many were merchant-immigrants settled on the north coast of Java. For example, Malana Malik Ibrahim (d. 1419[?]) came from Champa and was the father of Sunan Ampel (Chinese name Bong Swi Hoo, born 1401 in Champa) who was

the teacher of the mythical first *dalang*, Kalijaga who is said to be a prince of Tuban on the north coast. This Islam-South China Sea-Gulf of Thailand trade connection is something that may have bound this area together economically, artistically, and religiously. Puppetry became important in coastal areas where these Islamic traders moved.

The tendency to have a solo puppeteer with bronze instruments performing in a raised stage house and initially, or in areas like Kelantan to the present, with puppets generally with a single movable arm, may indeed been carried as part of the Islamisation process—such traits we find in Kalimantan (Borneo), Kelantan (Malaysia), and the Islamic areas of Southern Thailand and Cambodia. Since the Muslim revival in the late 19th century fundamentalist have found fault with this theatre of images that invokes ancestral spirits, and tells stories that modern Islamicists consider to be about Hindu gods and hence *syirik* (worshipping a god other than Allah).[3] But these "problems" are no more a part of the older traditional Southeast Asian Islam than the unlikely ideas that women should be veiled or Sharia law must override *adat* (local custom). Islam in Southeast Asia was a religion promoted via the puppet theatre. The *wali songgo* were, it is said, artistically led by Sunan Kalijaga, creator with the other saints of *wayang*, mask, dance, and other arts. Sunan Kalijaga is called Shek Melayu because he supposedly went to peninsular Malaya and spread religion there.[4] These are stories, not history, but they attest to the interplay of puppetry and religious diffusion in Southeast Asian Islamic areas.

Cross-fertilisation of the arts continued across borders in *wayang Kelantan* in the early 20th century. Tok Yakob introduced the Thai-style *comprong* (crown/headdress) and epaulets for noble figures like the heroic Prince Rama and adding the bird like *sayap* (wings), costuming features from the Thai-language *manora* dance theatre which is generally thought of as "Buddhist". Music, credited to Tok Samun in that same period, was borrowed from *manora*, *mak yong* (a Malay female dance drama), and *main puteri* (a Malay healing music/dance/theatre genre). The Rama puppet of *wayang Kelantan* got the *sayap* (wings) of the *kinar*i (half-human half bird) in that era. These genres (*wayang* and *manora/nora* continue to share some repertoire, traditional *mantra*, and ritual ideas with *wayang Kelantan*—music, performers and aesthetic elements (stories, costume images) are shared across genres that traverse the Thai-Malay border. Indeed, in the 1960s Sweeney (1972b, pp. 31-32, 38) found that 60% of Malaysia's *wayang Kelantan dalang* over thirty-five earned additional income as *bomoh* (shaman), performing *main puteri*, a musical trance healing form. Thai Buddhist *mantras* were seen as more potent in healing. Today due to the drop off in commissions due to the bans on *wayang* and *mak yong*, the *main puteri* (as a private, healing event rather than an open, entertainment oriented affair) remains one of the few places that traditional artists keep alive the music and intertwined aspects of the larger arts-healing-entertainment complex. But the future remains unclear.

Creating Borders

The politics of the colonial and the post-colonial eras have led to hardening borders. For example, since 1909 *nang* and *wayang siam* have increasingly diverged linguistically and performatively due to the redrawing of the Thai-Malay border. Meanwhile additional political struggles that pitted Indonesia against Malaysia have, for purposes of nationalism, caused the cultural establishment in Kuala Lumpur to want to see *wayang Kelantan* as a purely Malay tradition. The National Cultural Policy implemented in 1971 after 1969 ethnic rioting (Malay vs. Chinese) led to the declaration of Malaysia's national culture as based on Malay-ness and Islam. This definition and the post 1980s movement toward a more narrowly defined Islam with ideas imported from Saudi Arabia (veiling, calls for sharia, etc.) has made the lives of contemporary *dalang*s more difficult. While distinguishing their art from Thai, Indonesian, and other ethnic strains has been part of the push for national support, fundamentalism, which disparages ritual aspects, such as the use of the Hindu Rama as character and the idea that Pak Dogol could be a "god-clown" has had negative impact.

By the 1990s "*wayang Siam*" was renamed *wayang Kelantan* and links or similarities with Indonesian or Thai forms de-emphasised. As the Islamic revival grew and Malaysia's Malay dominated government sought to keep its rule through distancing from Indian or Chinese culture (the other major groups that make up the nation); the *wayang* as a fusion that might have Hindu or Buddhist elements and contributions from these groups as well as Indonesia (with whom Malaysia often squabbles), was inconvenient. Nationalism wants pure local products.

In 1993, Dalang Hamzah (see Osnes, 2010, pp. 158-162) was named first Malaysian National Artist, an honour for *wayang Kelantan*. Ironically, this was shortly after the Islamic party won the government of Kelantan state and banned *wayang Kelantan* and sister arts due to "un-Islamic" rituals and stories. *Wayang*

could only be allowed for tourist display or the university classroom. Thus began an on-going battle in Kelantan between safeguarding the art as national heritage and banning it as un-Islamic.

Today, the Kelantan government sees that the art is almost dead and ritual elements have been largely discarded by performers in open performance. Thus, some of the restrictions have been lightened. But current *dalang* are unlikely to present traditional Ramayana characters/stories and they have cut the sections that use traditional ritual language. Performers do not undergo the ritual initiations. Ironically the only *dalang* who can do ritual performance with impunity is a Chinese-Malaysian, Dalang Eyo Hok Seng (b. 1955)—as a Buddhist, he is exempt from restrictions felt by Muslim performers.

Today the borders that *wayang Kelantan* confronts are borders of the nation (its support depends on it being defined as pure Malay) and borders of religion (it must fit Islamic parameters increasingly defined in the Middle East). These forces have moved *dalang* to identify what they do as pure secular entertainment. Successful *dalang* like Dalang Nik Mat (Hasim Kemasin, b. 1951) multiply the clowns (borrowing many from Thai *nang talung*) and turn the performance into a concert of newer music of *dikir barat*. They cut talk of Pak Dogol as the god Sanghyang Tunggal, and Rama stories are largely out. This is, of course, still *wayang* but performers recognise performing is a minefield that only the brave enter.

Pak Nik Mat is brave and people do value the outdoors performances in season. Music and comedy are featured and ritual parts excised. Of course, we find similar statements from mask dancers and puppeteers in Hindu Bali that today who may claim, it is all jokes. We also find the rise of comic interpolated into the middle of Sundanese and Javanese *wayang*. In sites like ASWARA, the tertiary level academy of the arts in Kuala Lumpur, most of the students learn only music, not actual puppet performance. The *dalang* who teaches there, Dalang Nasir, does the puppetry, but few indeed are the students that can do the *dalang muda*— the opening scene of the apprentice puppeteer comprised of the fight of the *dewa panah* (arrow deities), their admonition by the *rusi* (hermit) and the entrance of Rama and his followers in the audience scene that follows. Even where the *dalang* does have a student, as does Dalang Yusef from Kampung Laut who has taught in Kuala Lumpur, such students are not seeing performances on a regular basis. Except for Dalang Nik Mat and Dalang Eyo Hok Seng, most other *dalang* are mostly doing short demonstrations, often for tourists. This does not allow students or musicians to master the repertoire or understand the larger arc of a show. And traditional stories are replaced with newly invented tales. This means that *dalang* are not passing the knowledge of the background and history of characters that fifty years ago were a prerequisite to improvising a new tale. People like Rahim bin Hamzah are trying to go into the schools to maintain his father's legacy, and arguing for government support. But little is forthcoming. If Rahim is right, it seems likely that *wayang Kelantan* will not survive. Efforts have been made to create new experimental works (for example, by Ghulam Sawar-Yousof and Pak Dain with a "Star Wars" *wayang Kelantan*—but these are one time, short term projects and not ongoing efforts).

While cross cultural fusion, in the past, served as *wayang Kelantan*'s strength, the mix is today its undoing. Racial, religious, and ethnic purity force the form to jettison its history and a once thriving puppet genre struggles for existence. In such an environment few young people feel the *angin* (wind, enthusiasm) to take up the art.

Endnotes

[1] *Membawa hikayat Melayu, Wayang Siam, Cerita Jawa*
Dari bawa bak kelolangan
Asal dalang, turun temurun
Daulat dalang, titih menitih
Asal titih dalang Mak Erak. (Dain bin Othman, 2011, p. 16)

[2] Khmer and some Thai versions use multiple manipulators, indicating perhaps that they are further from the central circle where this god-clown relationship, which is important in Java, holds. In some interpretations the development of Pak Dogol as the prime clown happened rather late in Kelantan and forest clowns without this more exalted lineage prevailed. Mubin Sheppard argues that the divinity of the clown was introduced by a "Malay puppeteer who had studied shadow play in Java for thirty years and returned about 1835" (1972, p. 79). Sheppard argues that earlier versions of the clown were Pak Diman and Pak Kadir who had no metaphysical pretensions and even earlier the clown figures might have been Eneng and Epong and a "Forest Clown" who kills a tiger as the hermit (Maha Risi) does an exorcism. While it is possible that the god-clown is a relatively recent development, one finds clowns often act as shaman or "minders" in trance dance genres in Southeast Asia and seems indigenous. It is likely the god-clown is related to "spirit sibling" belief, where the afterbirth is often considered the mysterious spirit sibling of the child. The ideas of afterbirth and umbilical cord as related to spirit siblings related to trance

curing-shamanism and clowns seems present in Kelantanese culture as in Java and make me argue the god-clown is not just (as Sheppard, for example, infers) a late introduction.

[3] See Wright (1981, pp. 54-60) for the disapproval of Pak Dogol by Islamic *ulama* and stories of the clown as Haji Mula (i. e. first or early person or visitor to Mecca) who gave *wayang kulit* to the Prophet who then give the art to the Hindu gods (p. 56).

[4] The crediting of Kalijaga's travels in Malaysia is probably better known today in Java than in Malaysia. However, I have heard Malay martial arts masters refer to Sunan Kalijaga as the source of their art. In visiting Kelantan I was also struck by the architectural similarities of the earliest mosques there with the design of first mosques on the north coast of Java (i.e. Cirebon or Demak).

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RELIGIOSITY IN JAVANESE *WAYANG* PUPPET PLAY

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For article see published Proceedings

LECTURE-RECITAL: POPULARITY AND CULTURAL SENSE

WHAT IS POPULAR IN MUSIC AND THROUGH MUSIC?

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I had become a teacher after 18 years of working in Orkestra Radio Television Malaysia—I was playing jazz pop rock piano, and I was composing daily for the orchestra. When I started teaching at ASWARA in 2008, it was clear that I was going to share the skills, or the craft of writing popular music: popular music that is fit for radio and television broadcasting purposes, and popular music that is fit for "live" large-scale public performances.

For the purpose of this lecture-recital presentation, I had decided to leave singer or singers out of the ensemble—they are simply too much distraction. And, you can see the instruments line up on stage: *bonang*, *tabla*, *gendang*, *sitar*, *erhu* and keyboard. The first question I ask is, "what makes listeners judge this piece to be popular music, or not?"—popular music in the broadest sense. Against the background of popular music studies that discuss identity, gender, nationalism, and gesture, this lecture-recital aims at pointing to features of popularity of music, experienced in the music. I will also briefly address the question of traditional instruments playing popular music—what are the dictionary definitions of "popular", and why I use traditional instruments in my work. I aim to conclude this presentation with the "so what"—why this research.

Let's go straight into listening to a short piece of music, just about one and a half minutes in duration, performed by these wonderful musicians. Please enjoy the music as a passive listener—whether the music is "popular" or not, or if there are other issues, we shall discuss it thereafter [performance of *Lenggang Kangkung*: 1 min 30 seconds].

If we were to discuss the music we've just heard, how would you describe it? Remember, the questions I ask are, "what is popular in this piece of music, experienced in the music?" and "what makes listeners judge this piece to be popular music?"

- Popular melody? For many people here today, we recognise immediately the tune to be *Lenggang Kangkong*, a children's tune popular in Malaysia and Indonesia. Quoting from the Polish poet Czesław Miłosz, the 1980 Noble Literature Prize winner, "whatever takes place has meaning because it changes into memory" (Milosz, 2001). I argue that music becomes popular when we remember it. We remember the tunes we "use" when we were walking down the aisle, when we were singing in a choir, or when we heard them from the radio and that special someone is next to us.

- Popular rhythm? In the piece we'd just heard, the "beat" appears to be the so-called "R&B" genre, in straight 16ths, perhaps deriving from the category of *balada* in the Malay language. Broadly speaking, I'd argue that popular music rhythms would also be "groovy", dance-able, and recently they would be "techno". The timbre in the imagined popular music would be electronically generated, percussive, and "consistent".

- Popular chords or harmony? The "sound" of this example here seems to be derivative of jazz standards harmony—of Jay Chow in Taiwan, of Melly Goeslow in Indonesia, of Sheila Majid and Dayang Nurfaezah in Malaysia for example. Arguably, the soundscape is urban, contemporary and "industrial"—industrial as in "produced by the industry." Arguably the production of this music needs to be handled by professionals—by people who had trained, formally or informally, to produce this kind of music.

As listed in the online site etymonlin.com, the term "popular" can be traced back to the early 15th century in Middle French, to mean "public", or direct from Latin, *popularis* to mean "belonging to the people, general, common," "devoted to or accepted by the people," and "democratic". Tracing the term "popular" from another Latin word, *populus*, it means "people". What interests me is the definition of "suited to ordinary people" from the English language in the 1570s, therefore, of prices, "low, affordable to average person" in 1859. Particularly, the etymology listing states "popular song" as used in 1819 meant "favored by people generally" (etymonline.com, 2016).

Now, before I move on to further discussion, let's listen to another short music clip. This time around, however, please listen to the melody as played by Sim on the *erhu*, by Kumar on the *sitar*, the rhythms by Kumaran on the *tabla* and by Kamrul on the percussion and *gendang*, and the chords on the keyboard. The question I ask is: could we call this popular music? Why, if you say yes? And why, if you say no? [performance of *Joget Pahang*: 1 min 30 seconds].

At this point, I shall quote Professor Jon Aldrich who teaches song writing at the Berklee College of Music in Boston. I quote:

> A hit song is actually somewhat formulaic—the repetitiveness, the rousing section that leads us to that ever-so-hooky thing that we call a chorus—those things seem to happen over and over in hit songs, whether we like to admit it or not. It's not necessarily a good song from a musical standpoint…it's not that at all. I think one of the most difficult things to give students a grasp of is an idea of the dire simplicity of most of the music in a song. (berklee.net, Faculty Profile)

Following Jon Aldrich's idea that most of the music in a "hit song," here I equate it to be popular music—is very simple, I want to add that, it is probably derivative.

I teach composition subjects at ASWARA. When I face a class of bright-eyed, fresh-faced 17 and 18 year olds eager to learn about writing the next big hit, I can't be telling them, "Hey, you know, it's not about the chords, the melody or the rhythm. It's about the singer's personality, the marketing and a lot of luck." Then, we would have to close the program! Purportedly they had come to learn about playing, writing and producing music. No doubt, they must be aware of these external non-musical factors that may ultimately dictate the "fate" of the music they produce. But first, let's learn how to write popular melodies, common chord changes, and popular rhythms, hence, I work on this research question of "what is popular in popular music."

Why do we use non-electrical, or so-called, traditional instruments, partly if not all in an ensemble? There are at least two reasons: first, it is because we study and work at ASWARA, an organisation that champions traditional art forms. The instruments are readily available and it is "natural" and "legitimate" to use traditional instruments in our institution.

The second reason is that, we find that playing and recording on traditional instruments is becoming attractive or so-called "exotic" in the world. There seems to be an emerging trend of popular traditional music. Some call it "fusion", or "world music," and we find that practising this kind of music can provide substantial income. In other words, seen from the viewpoint of academia, the questions raised here connect to preservation issues as well as to the sustainability of local music productions, "about" which I cannot get into here.

Before I end my presentation, allow me to register my appreciation to the musicians on stage—my friends, Mr. Kumar Karthigesu on *sitar* from Temple of Fine Arts Kuala Lumpur; Mr. Kamrul Hussein on *gendang* and percussion; Mr. Teuku Umar Teuku Ilany on *bonang* from ASWARA; Mr. Sim Er Wen on *erhu* from ASWARA; and Mr. Kumaran from Penang Temple of Fine Arts on *tabla*.

I also must thank Orkestra Tradisional Malaysia at Istana Budaya for their kind permission to use this set of *bonang* tuned in C. I thank my ASWARA and UMS students who came and supported in so many ways, my colleagues from the Faculty—Jai and Hamdan, and the PASEA Local Arrangements Committee for putting up with my never-ending requests.

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LECTURE-RECITAL: POPULARITY AND CULTURAL SENSE

"TERE BINA NAHI CHAIN"—SPONTANEOUS DEALING WITH AVAILABILITIES AS A MATRIX OF MUSICAL THINKING

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This paper gives a personal account on spontaneous dealing with availabilities of performers and musical knowledge as a matrix of musical thinking while composing a musical piece to be performed on the occasion of the 4th symposium of the Study Group "Performing Arts of Southeast Asia" in the International Council for Traditional Music in Penang, Malaysia. The musical piece *Tere bina nahi chain* (No peace without you) and the elaboration about its creative concept is based on a seven year working experience in the Music Department of Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM), and the many encounters observed in the realm of inter-discipline creativity between ethnomusicology and contemporary music composition.

When in 2014/2015 the UPM student orchestra was struggling with financial problems, I extended my exercises drafted for *gamelan* training and composed a fixed piece for *gamelan* and orchestra in order to give the students an opportunity to choose their own level of difficulty. Initially, I thought of following a call of the Head of Department who wanted us to participate in "something about birds" since Universiti Putra Malaysia organises annual NYAWA (Nature's Yield and Wonders of Art) exhibitions. The music piece that I named subsequently *Scarecrow* was performed in Kuala Lumpur at the Bentley Music School on 30 May, 2015, on occasion of a final concert for a symposium advertising music therapy in Malaysia. The concert was recorded, however, the recording was unavailable for a long time for various reasons. A first year student copied the recording to a pendrive then left the pendrive at home without even watching again, while the SD-card of the video camera recorded another part of the event over the hard drive thus deleting the piece without a trace.

This relates to one of the many details I could observe as I was part of the Malaysian academia working in a university department that is proud of its performance orientation. Music created, practiced, rehearsed, and performed is often not kept as a process. The only way to reproduce a composition seems to be the re-enacting using the same performers. That makes the performers become definite co-creators in a quite different sense from what I was used to knowing about the composition of music and archiving outcomes.

Recently, I read a very enthusiastic review of Yampolski's thesis on "Music and Media 1903-1942 in the Dutch West Indies" (Miller on Yampolski, 2015). One striking feature of his thesis is the equal focus on what is omitted from commodification in a society (Miller, 2015, p. 52). Applying this principle of the "non-exploited," the "non-said" or the "non-thought" on the process of musical conceptualisation in an environment different from the historical and social place (Fanning, 2014) of its early development (Halstead, 1997) means to re-introduce the primary impact of individual resources and the rules of pure common sense. Saying this, the way music pieces come into being for exploration, teaching, entertainment, or as in this case, for a single event, is actually not untypical in the setting of a large university in any Southeast Asian country. Compositions are created when there is a necessity of using available resources. The process is kept short with a strong focus on practicalities.

However, the longer I think about it the more possible becomes the fact that musical concepts in general are produced mainly with an intent for a special performer rather than a special audience. At least this applies to compositions in the framework of individual conceptualisation deriving from European patterns of music compositions. Chong Kee Yong (2016), one of the most successful contemporary Malaysian composers and current Visiting Professor at Shanghai Conservatory of Music, says that despite challenging his own capability in composing something satisfying for oneself, the main inspiration is the availability of performers that are not only capable but personally keen to play what is composed. Only then, the bigger picture comes to mind which includes an audience that might share the enthusiasm of the performers and the composer (Chong K. Y., personal communication, June 3, 2016).

Considering Malaysia, the question of whether composers or compositions are generally necessary to a diverse culture that regularly resorts to self-sufficiently tolerating musical import from all directions can be answered with "yes". Contemporary compositions are needed due to the same reason mentioned earlier. Compositions that fit those available resources are extremely rare. The intrinsic motivation of the composers actually serve the social necessity of conceptualising music for performers made available through some kind

of musical literacy. Though this musical literacy is often criticised (Loke, 2010) for being too general and too detached from local roots, it is a given precondition for conceptualising contemporary music in an interactive way. That means that there might be many more excellent performing musicians in a place. However, they would not be ready to depart from their understanding of their repertoires or their way of approaching performances. They are, therefore, not available for this type of spontaneously created concept and they are, therefore, not part of the matrix that shapes the musical thinking of a contemporary conceptualist.

While ethnomusicologists are diving deep into the history of each slight musical trace of the various cultures to understand the current state of music traditions within the country, the necessity of contemporary allies in the practice of creating music must become obvious. Traditions need the thinking of an informed musician and conceptualist, and the musicians and the conceptualists need the traditions in whatever stage of their development. Therefore, I take this opportunity to present my very individually created example that is nevertheless valid in space and time because I was authentic to Malaysia as Malaysia was authentic to me.

The example that will be performed here is the piece *Tere bina nahi chain* (No peace without you) that was actually composed within a day and a half after I was asked to put something together for an ensemble of *sitar*, *erhu*, *bonang*, piano, percussion and *tabla*. Pleased by so many important local names of great performers, I started immediately to think of something that fits all of them and makes cultural sense to all of them at least in a few essential points, adding myself as a *bawu/sao* player and a professional vocalist with a soft voice. I proposed some flexible *ragas*, of which I have chosen raga *khamaj*, using the cyclic modelling of *gamelan* compositions. Due to my own experience with cross cultural presentations and misinterpretations, I did not aim at a general fusion of all the object-related stereotypes, but rather at fitting different instrumental timbres and production principles into one overarching framework of a *raga* with a cyclic structure that appears to complement a *gamelan* way of modifying various sections.

The vocal part is without doubt this overarching framework. It derives from the cultural knowledge of the singer, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda, which is achieved through many years of studying in the North Indian cultural cradle of Lucknow and Varanasi, translated into Indian and Sri Lankan modernity and preserved through a mixture of co-research and practice routine he experienced in Malaysia. The performer is my previous student. I know his voice, his musical capability, but most importantly, I trust in his reliability of not imposing strictness of Hindustani classical musicianship on his co-musicians. Following the cultural traits, the next complementary musicians are the drummers. Kamrul Hussin is unavoidably necessary to fit in as he will not be distracted from the well trained *tabla* player at his side, and as a fabulous representative of the Malay voice in the story. It seems a stereotype but everyone who knows Kamrul also knows his mediating skills. Then, the *sitar* of Kumar that cannot be missed, mainly for the same reason of being a Malaysian *sitar*.

The *bonang* and the *erhu* being added may have an influence on timbre rather than on the entire concept. Their musical potential varies a lot. While the *erhu* can adapt to any type of melodic framework and may be seen as a modification of a Hindustani violin in the piece, the *bonang* depends on quite fixed pitches within this framework. The *bonang* cannot serve with melodic versatility in the given context and is rather limited to colouring the rhythmic structure. Though in a traditional context of some *gamelan* cultures, the *bonang* is the main melodic instrument, but here the *bonang* is rather reduced to a percussion instrument. A similar role is played by the piano. The piano is not the all-embedding guide for the ensemble participants, rather it is stressing emphasised parts in the metric framework thus giving a stronger coherence to the music. This is to show the amount of stereotyping and biased accommodation of necessities that take place prior to the conceptualisation. While doing research about Malaysian music traditions, I was always puzzled by general explanations such as "the Chinese pentatonic scale," or "typical *kompang* rhythm," or "Indian singing" found in a number of popular teaching materials (Ang, 2002; Lee, 2006; also Tan Sooi Beng, 1993, p. 88). Resorting to simple box schemes may have some reasons beyond uninformed cut and paste from uninformed digital encyclopaedias. Composers may find it very useful in justifying arrangements that—looking at the pure necessity to compose a piece with available personal resources—may need a verbal embedding.

The underlying truth is possibly that composers just take what they imagine being practical. The fact that the piece *Tere bina nahi chain* can be performed is strictly confined to the ensemble participants in this time and in this place with all their joint personal experience, sense of musicianship, and their strong will to let the music say the rest. That is what the title "No peace without you" means to me: inclusiveness and at the same time uniqueness.

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LECTURE-RECITAL: POPULARITY AND CULTURAL SENSE

WHO IS A MALAYSIAN COMPOSER: MOVING TOWARD A MALAYSIAN IDENTITY IN MUSIC

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In Malaysia, music generally falls under the category of classical and folk, based on the Indian, Chinese or Malay ethnicity, and then there is syncretic, popular and contemporary art music. As a composer, I have found it difficult to place my work into any of these categories simply because I feel some of them are, ethnically divisive, or just that my music does not quite comply with the given definition of that particular genre. In my readings the only category I found that was somewhat fitting was "Contemporary Art Music" as written by Matusky and Tan in *Music of Malaysia* (2004).

As a practicing composer in Malaysia I feel that this definition is lesser known amongst art practitioners and audiences, therefore it does little to set us apart from the many other experimental fusion works that exist in the world today. Of course, it must be acknowledged that Malaysia's multi-ethnic community maintains a diversity of artistic traditions that interact, and yet remain tangential to one another. Therefore, to define an integrated Malaysian culture is not easy. It is made even more difficult when various politically motivated cultural policies are put in place in the name of racial integration but end up debunking that very notion in its implementation

Literature

My topic is supported by literature that I have come across during my readings and these are some that I would like to highlight.

In Benedict Anderson's book, *Imagined Communities* (2006), the contention that a nation is "imagined" does not mean that a nation is false, unreal or to be distinguished from "true" (unimagined) communities. Rather Anderson is proposing that a nation is constructed from popular processes through which residents share nationality in common. This understanding, according to Anderson, both shapes and is shaped by political and cultural institutions. This occurs as people "imagine" they share general beliefs, attitudes and recognise a collective national populace as having similar opinions and sentiments to their own. Blacking & Bryon (1995) state that ambiguous interpretations of musical signs are probably the most potent sources of musical innovation and change: that is, when one's social circumstances encourage the development of the idiosyncratic, rather than culturally approved, way of listening to music, one is more likely to compose music that strikes out in new directions.

Matusky and Tan (2004) have said that Malaysian music, one in which various elements of the various local cultures are merged and blended into a uniquely distinguishable musical style, is something that has become attainable only in recent times.

According to Mohd Anis Md Nor (2008), the young contemporary musicians and choreographers of Malaysia are interested in constructing their work based on a multicultural landscape of Malaysia.

So What Exactly Do I Mean by "Malaysian Music"?

I would liken it to the identity associated with Malaysian food and language where the product can only be described as an outcome of integration. The components that make up the dish may have an ethnic origin but the dish itself is uniquely Malaysian, such as "curry *laksa*" for example! A dish with multi-ethnic ingredients whereby the whole is more than the sum of its parts.

Like me, there are many other Malaysian composers who believe that they are performing the Malaysian identity in their music. One such group is known as Hands Percussion, and for the rest of this lecture I will be using them as the subject of my topic.

HANDS or Hands Percussion, a Malaysian Chinese percussion ensemble, was established in 1997. This percussion ensemble began with *shigu*, the Chinese barrel drum used famously in the Chinese Lion Dance as its main instrument. This research examines the change in Hands Percussion's repertoire after the year 2007 that re-contextualised this all-Chinese percussion ensemble, into a multi-ethnic Malaysian ensemble.

The performances of Bernard Goh's Hands Percussion, promote a multicultural perspective, particularly when playing in concert with instruments such as the *gamelan*, *rebana* and *tabla*. It is important to observe that, it is not so much what is being played, but what cultural background each of the instruments stems from and therefore what ethnicity they signify.

For HANDS and its founder Bernard Goh, incorporating musical instruments from the various cultures in Malaysia began with a search for a Malaysian Chinese identity. Growing up in a pluralist society, the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia has assimilated some of the cultural practices of the surrounding communities thus inventing their very own localised brand of culture in time (Chan, 2013). Bernard himself grew up in a kampong in Kuala Pilah and has learnt some *tabla* drumming as a young boy. He has said and I quote:

> I don't know how else to describe myself other than to say that I am Malaysian. I start my day with Nasi Lemak and I end my day at the *mamak* stall. In fact, my best friend during my childhood days was *mamak*. Yes, we feel that our Chinese tradition is important but it is also important for us as Malaysian Chinese to be ourselves, and we are different. Our music is a culmination of the people we grew up with. I grew up listening *to joget* and P. Ramlee" (Goh, personal communication, January 2014).

Why is this so Important?

During the course of my research I found through interviews and performance analysis, the notion that, ethnic boundaries aside, the "imagined" identity of being Malaysian first, and Chinese second, is a major contributing factor to the formation of the group's identity. This phenomena, highlights the fact that in Malaysia, music is defined monolithically by ethnic divisions, and therefore there is a lack of terminology to recognise this special "genre" of music produced by HANDS and many other similar music groups in Malaysia.

There is limited research on the territory that exists in between cultures which is currently being negotiated, by contemporary artistes, through intercultural exchanges in their performances and arts education. Extensive research and supportive literature, denotes the current situation in the cultural scene in Malaysia, very little has been said regarding the intermingling and intercultural exchanges that have become an important part of the performing arts scene in Malaysia.

Very little has been done to promote this idea to the Cultural Ministry who till this day insists upon having visual and separate representations of music and dance performances during official functions and parades.

There is much debate as to what constitutes being Malaysian, and due to many racially motivated riots, the government has implemented policies that safeguard the indigenous majority of Malaysia which are enshrined in our Constitution as well as in Cultural Policies. Various other government related policies, with a seeming all inclusive aura, are often deemed paradoxical when juxtaposed against other policies from the same government.

At the very heart of this study is the fundamental question about the sense of belonging and a search for an identity that pays respect to the differences in cultural background and acknowledges the similarities in shared experiences as equal participants in a national imaginary.

As an active member of this society that prescribes to the statements above, I do feel that it is imperative that socially motivated "change" in thinking and planning is not only important but a necessary process. At this point, it is difficult to define what it means to produce music with a Malaysian identity. It is easier to say that the music produced by HANDS does not fit into the current definition of Chinese music or any other category that has definite parameters to gauge what belongs and what doesn't. Deeming it to be fusion music simply isn't enough either. Due to the rise in local Malaysian talents and productions this research will definitely warrant a second look at our current musical definitions.

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"SACREDNESS" BEYOND TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY PERFORMING ARTS IN BALI

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Abstract

Balinese religion represents an expression of Bali's lack of assimilation into the surrounding Islamic world of the Indonesian archipelago, as well as a vehicle through which to promote tourism to the island. In the 1970s, a new category of the "*sacral*" was created in order to preserve dances, which were part of religious practice, from the perceived threat of profanation posed by tourism.

Where once there was no real separation between daily life and religious practice, Balinese learned to think and talk dichotomously in terms of the sacred and the profane for the sake of preserving the purity of their religious and cultural practices from external attacks. Partially as a response to the need to demonstrate the sacredness of performance practices, old texts explaining their cosmological functions have been published in Indonesian. These texts reinforce the sense of how Balinese performers embody that cosmology. The emphasis on the religious function of the performer's body has acted as a constraint upon dancers, who have seldom successfully explored dance techniques beyond tradition.

This lack of success in the domain of contemporary performing arts is in marked contrast to the position enjoyed by several Balinese visual artists, who are well established in the contemporary art scene. What is the reason for this absence? Is it that traditional dance-drama is a constraint? Or that the embodied cosmological principles are an impediment to explore the domain of the modern world? Are Balinese audiences interested in non-traditional performances?

We can attempt to answer these questions by looking at those examples of non-traditional performances appreciated by Balinese audiences. In this paper I aim to show how the work of writer, director, dramaturg and performer, Cok Sawitri, employs "sacred" elements to preserve not a specific traditional form of Balinese performance, but rather to preserve Balinese culture as whole.

TRADITION, CUSTOM, AND RELIGIOSITY: MUSLIM BALINESE INTERPRETATIONS OF THEIR PERFORMING ARTS

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In Bali, Indonesia, amid the prevalence of Hindu culture, many Muslim communities, or *kampung*, have developed various performing arts. Most traditional Muslim Balinese performing arts are associated to a greater or lesser degree with the Islamic faith through their language, vocal texts, sound, and performance contexts. A large part of the texts of vocal music are in Arabic, which is used almost exclusively for religious acts in Indonesia, and their contents are usually based upon the Islamic faith and its ethics. The text most often performed is "al' Barnzanji," an Arabic poem depicting and praising the life of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). *Rebana*, frame drums commonly used for accompaniment of recitations and singing, are also strongly associated with Islam because the instrument originated in the Arab world, had been used for proselytization by the Javanese saints (Yampolsky, 1998, p. 66), and is performed almost exclusively by Muslims in Bali. Performances are most often held as part of communal celebrations such as weddings, or for Maulud (Mawlid), the birthday of the Prophet, all of which are executed according to Islamic teachings. However, these arts are generally categorised as secular entertainment, and are considered as a practice of *tradisi* (tradition), *adat* (custom), or *kebudayaan* (culture), all of which are usually regarded as inseparably bundled together, rather than as an expression of *agama* (religion), although *tradisi*, *adat*, *kebudayaan* and *agama* in such contexts as Maulud often appear to overlap and interconnect in practice.

As previous studies (see Harnish, 2006 and Harnish & Rasmussen, 2011) have explored, in Indonesia, especially in the context of Islam, *agama* is often clearly and strategically distinguished from, and often confronts *kebudayaan*, *adat* and *tradisi* in theory. The latter categories usually incorporate pre-Islamic or non-Islamic beliefs and practices, and therefore the modernist and reformist camp of Indonesian Muslims often regard them as running counter to *agama*. As David Harnish points out, in neighbouring Lombok tensions between *adat* and *agama* have led to contestation, debate, cultural change, and new interpretations of music (Harnish, 2014, p. 81). Although the performing arts are less often problematized in Bali, the conceptual distinction and the assumed contestation between *kebudayaan-adat-tradisi* and *agama* are also echoed in the Muslim Balinese interpretation of the performing arts. Another factor often closely associated with and influential on the *kebudayaan-adat-tradisi* concept is ethnicity or more accurately the history of the *kampung*.

In this paper I will compare a few examples from the Muslim Balinese *kampung* in order to explore two points: (1) How the Muslim Balinese associate the performing arts with their culture-custom-tradition (*kebudayaan-adat-tradisi*) and religion (*agama*); and (2) How the confluence or contrast of these concepts represents the Muslim Balinese cultural identity.

Case 1: Loloan Timur, Jembrana

Loloan Timur is located in Negara, the prefectural centre of Jembrana District, west Bali, where some Muslim communities of east Javanese and Bugis origin have existed since the mid-seventeenth century (Mashad, 2014, pp. 151-162); later the Melayu from Pontianak, Kalimantan, or Trengganu (on the west coast of Malaysia) had joined them. A man from Loloan said that the Melayu had historically been excellent businessmen and naturally have had the upper hand over the Bugis as fishermen. The Loloan people often speak Melayu language, which according to some is recognition of Melayu primacy over others, although frequent traffic, cultural interchange, and intermixing occurred through marriage among the different ethnic groups.

Loloan Timur also has *zapin*, a male pair dance accompanied by a *gambus* ensemble. *Zapin* and the *gambus* can be traced back to Hadramaut, Yemen, and were developed by the Melayu in the Malay Archipelago. As Mohd Anis Md Nor describes, the strong association with Arab culture has equipped *zapin* with religious and cultural permissibility, legitimacy, and authority (Mohd Anis Md Nor, 1993, pp. 4-9; see also Capwell, 1995, p. 81) Ancestors from Malaysia could have been brought *zapin* and the *gambus*, or it might have been more recently integrated into Muslim communities in Bali through Java. Further research is needed to clarify the history of *zapin* in Bali. For the Loloan people, *zapin* clearly represents their Melayu-ness, as well as a pan-Indonesian Islamic-ness, typically seen in the costume (*songkok* hat and *sarong*), Arabic texts, and the fact that performers are exclusively men, in compliance with Islamic teaching. The musical

instruments used, such as the goblet shaped drum called *dumbuk*, and the dance movements explicitly belong to Melayu culture in particular.

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Haji Abu Bakar, an *ustad* or religious teacher, who is from the *kampung*, explained that compared to religion, music and dance have only a secondary significance: they are only entertainment and nothing more (Haji Abu Bakar, personal communication, February 25, 2016). The performing arts are positioned in secular contexts, belonging to the *kebudayaan-adat-tradisi* sphere, and remain basically separate from *agama*.

Case 2: Sasak Communities, Karangasem

In the following case I consider the *rebana* ensembles from Danginsema and Nyuling, located in Amplapura, Karangasem District, East Bali. These *kampung* consist primarily of the Sasak, a major ethnic group of Lombok who came to Karangasem at the time when the king of Karangasem governed Lombok from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries (see also Mashad, 2014, pp. 174-175; Tim Peniliti Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Bali, 1979/1980, pp. 19-20). Residents there still speak Sasak inside the *kampung*.

The most distinct musical characteristic of *rebana* found there is that they are tuned to the four-tone *slendro* scale, so that four *rebana* as a basic unit can create a melody through interlocking playing, along with *manolin* (zither) and *suling* (bamboo vertical flute), which were added later.

For people in Nyuling and Danginsema, the *rebana* is primarily a legacy from their Sasak ancestors, while they recognise that the music has been deeply influenced by Hindu Balinese bronze *gamelan angklung* that is also tuned in *slendro*. The musical similarities between *rebana* and *angklung* are positively interpreted as the result of historical interactions and peaceful relationship between Muslims and Hindus (see also Mashino, 2014). The people of the Puri Karangasem, the former king's family and relatives, and Muslims in these *kampung* have long had an interdependent relationship. For example, the *puri* (or "temple") financially supported the building of a mosque, while Muslims offered labour for *puri* rituals. The sympathy between them and the Muslim peoples' strong sense of belonging to Karangasem, and to Bali, are reflected in the positive interpretation of their cultural similarities. In a sense, the *rebana* musically depicts how the people have fit in. On the contrary, in Lombok recent Islamisation has spurred the exclusion of Hindu elements from Sasak culture. Harnish (2011) reports that the *rebana* ensemble in Lombok has developed in response to the prohibition of bronze instruments, which carried a definite association with pre-Islamic and Hindu elements (Harnish, 2011, pp. 92-93).[1] In Lombok, the *rebana* is contrasted with the Hindu *gamelan*, while in Karangasem the *rebana* is musically reconciled with the *gamelan*.

However, the interpretation of Balinese-ness might have evolved much throughout history. Haji Hasyim, a central figure from Danginsema, expressed that he was not allowed to learn *Baris*, a popular dance form of the Hindu Balinese, when he was young because it was *di-haram-kan* (to be made *haram* or "forbidden") and "too Balinese" (Haji Hasyim Achmad, personal communication, April 24, 2008). In this case, the ethnic distinctions of Bali/Sasak, which are subsumed within the Hindu/Islamic distinctions, became the criteria for judging the appropriateness of the performing arts, as expressed by the religious term *haram*. The interpretation and acceptance of the Hindu influence might have its limits, or the interpretation might have only recently changed in response to the current increase of tension between people of different faiths

in Indonesia (see Pedersen, 2014, pp. 181-184). Currently, Haji Hasyim who is over the age 80 thinks that performing Hindu arts is not *haram*, nor a problem, because it is *seni*: it is only an "art" and not *agama*. Haji Hasyim separates *seni* from *agama* to ensure *seni* freedom from restriction.

Case 3: *Rudat* in Gelgel, Klungkung

Gelgel in the Klungkung District in southeast Bali is perhaps the oldest Muslim community in Bali, tracing back to the fifteenth or sixteenth century when the Hindu-Balinese king of the Klungkung dynasty brought forty Muslim attendants from Java, who established the *kampung* of Gelgel (*Sejarah Berdirinya Kampung Islam Gelgel*, 2015; see also Mashad, 2014, p. 136).[2] The community has a tradition of *rudat*, male group dancing accompanied by *rebana*. The official website of Gelgel describes *rudat*, saying it "fully contains the mixture of values; religious, ethic, aesthetic, and patriotic value, and the virtue of unity and intimacy" (translation by the author) (*Sejarah dan Filosofi Tari Rudat Kampung Gelgel*, 2015).

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 Rudat is performed throughout and beyond Bali. The aestheticized militarism in *rudat*, as typically found in its costumes and organised movements, gives the impression of a rather modernised and westernised patriotism, rather than a specific local or ethnic cultural tradition. In short, in contrast to the cases of Loloan and Karangasem*, rudat* in Gelgel does not have a direct connotation of the *kampung*'s specific ethnic roots, while *rebana*, the texts in Arabic and Melayu language, and the choreography based on *pencak silat*, a traditional fighting art, provoke a pan-Indonesian Islamic association.

Similarly, I have never heard the Gelgel people identify themselves as being Javanese. Perhaps this is partly because of their long history in Bali, and partly because they do not speak Javanese and ordinarily speak Balinese. To Gelgel people, the heroic atmosphere of *rudat* directly and more specifically represents their ancestors' past when they had served the king of Klungkung as faithful and brave soldiers, rather than their Javanese origin. In Karangasem, Gelgel has also maintained a tight relationship with the *puri* until today. At the coronation (*penobatan*) ritual of the *raja* of Klungkung in 2010, *rudat* from Gelgel was performed together with Hindu Balinese dances (*Pementasan Rudat Kampung Gelgel Saat Penobatan Raja Klungkung Yang Dihadiri Utusan Raja Se-Nusantara*, 2015; Budhiana, 2015). The image of brave soldiers, effectively demonstrated by *rudat*, contributes to reconstructing the glory of the past dynasty and the interrelationship between the *puri* and the *kampung*, while simultaneously providing a cultural and religious identity for the *kampung*.

Culture, Tradition, History, and Religiosity

The traditional performing arts symbolise the Muslim Balinese cultural identity, reminding viewers of the communal history and jogging the memory of their ancestral pasts. Despite their explicit association with Islam, through cultural elements typically found in other Muslim cultures but not in those of the Hindu Balinese, the Muslim Balinese performing arts are generally positioned within the realm of *kebudayaan-adat-tradisi* and not *agama*. One reason for this is that the former is mostly local and more specific in essence, reflecting the *kampung*'s own origins, history, social circumstances, and interactions and interrelationship with others, while the latter is presumed to be a more essentialised concept, universal and global in nature. However, religion is often also a distinctive and a decisive factor in one's cultural identity, especially in

societies such as Bali where people of different faiths coexist. The Muslim Balinese identify themselves in multiple ways, practicing and interpreting their performing arts in a dynamic equilibrium involving the universal/local and culture/religiosity.

Acknowledgements

Endnotes

[1] Harnish (2006) also has discussed the issues involving other genres in Lombok because of religious/ethnic connotations.
[2] Other versions of Gelgel's origins also exist. See Tim Penelitian Sejara Masuknya Islam di Bali, 1979/1980, pp. 18-20.

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THE *TRI SANDHYA:* POLITICS AND SOUND IN A BALINESE DISPLAY OF RELIGIOSITY

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Introduction

Over the past several decades, broadcasts of the *Tri Sandhya* mantra accompanied by *gendér wayang* and *genta bell* have become a daily display of religiosity in the Balinese soundscape.[1] Translated by Wallis (1980) as "The Three-fold Expression of Faith," the *Tri Sandhya* is blared through loudspeakers in temples and village meeting halls (*banjar*) and televised on local Balinese TV stations during the three joints, or transition times, of the day known as *sandyakala* (dawn, noon, and dusk).[2] Like the Islamic call to prayer (*adzan*) broadcast five times a day from a mosque, the thrice-daily "call to prayer" of the *Tri Sandhya* is an auditory reminder of Balinese spirituality. However, unlike the *adzan*, which dates back to the dawn of the Muslim religion, the *Tri Sandhya* is a relatively recent practice that arose shortly after Indonesian independence. A closer look at the development of the *Tri Sandhya* reveals the complex field of religious politics in post-independence Indonesia and positions music and sound as important tools for bringing power and authority to new expressions of religiosity.

Historical Underpinnings

Tracing the emergence of the *Tri Sandhya* requires understanding the position of Balinese religion at the start of Indonesian Independence in 1945. Following independence, Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, was charged with bringing together an extremely diverse nation and solving conflicts between Muslim and Christian parties vying for religious dominance. To solve this, he instituted the *Pancasila*, a set of five principles that would allow for religious diversity while retaining a nationalism founded on "unity through diversity," or *bhinneka tunggal ika*. The first of the Pancasila principles, "belief in one supreme God," or *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*, invoked monotheism to reach several political ends and created a solution in the face of Muslim leaders vying for an Islamic state and others advocating a secular state given large populations of Buddhists, Hindus, and Christians in the archipelago (Tarling, 1999; Aragon, 2000).[3]

To enforce this principle and provide a concession to the Islamic party, Sukarno established the *Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia* (KAGRI), or Ministry of Religious Affairs in 1946 (Picard, 201l). One of the first tasks of the organisation was to restrict the legal acceptance of Indonesian religions and to categorise religious communities as either *agama*, belief systems having a name, a rational doctrinal philosophy, and a monotheistic God, or *adat/aliran kepercayaan*, belief systems and rituals not recognised by the state. Initially, many indigenous religions, including Balinese Hinduism, were not included on the list of acceptable monotheistic religions outlined by the government.[4] Obtaining religious legitimacy presented a problem, as the Balinese orthopraxy of rituals devoted to the worshipping of ancestors and deities to ensure prosperity and fertile rice fields was said to be *belum beragama*, or "not yet to be a religion," and was subsequently classified as *adat* in 1952 (Geertz, 1973; Pringle, 2004).

This designation became a problem in several parts of the country and forced many Indonesians to either convert to one of the major religions or devise some way to legitimise their own.[5] To avoid potential Muslim or Christian proselytization, the Balinese provincial government began to work with Balinese intellectuals to legitimise what was then called *Agama Tirtha*, or "religion of holy water," to assert that Balinese religion was a variant of Hinduism. To achieve this, reformist organisations looked to the Islamic and Christian models of an acceptable religion and began to redefine the Balinese belief system in a number of ways, including: systematising Balinese religious doctrines and scriptures; creating a creed known as the *Panca Sraddha*, or "Five Beliefs" (similar to the five pillars of Islam); simplifying rituals and translating Indian religious texts into Indonesian; standardising Balinese theology and prayers such as the *Panca Sembah*, or "five prayers," performed at a temple; initiating the religious greeting *Om Swasti Astu*, a Balinese version of the Muslim greeting *As-salāmu ʿalaykum*; and promoting the god *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* as their monotheistic deity (Pringle, 2004; Lanus, 2014; Bakker, 1997).[6] As a result of these efforts, the newly reformed and renamed religion, *Agama Hindu Bali*, was recognised as an acceptable national religion of Indonesia in 1958. Following this, *Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia* (PHDI), the unified organisation of Hinduism in Indonesia, was created on February 23, 1959 to oversee additional ethnic groups from Java,

Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and others wishing to join the classification of Agama Hindu in Indonesia (Pringle, 2004; Dana, 2005).[7]

It was also during this time of reflecting on Muslim practices and their five-time daily prayer, or *sholat*, that the question of whether Balinese Hindus had a daily prayer arose. In response to this, the PHDI decided that every Indonesian Hindu should perform the *Tri Sandhya* three times daily (Lanus, 2014; Bakker, 1997). Prior to the 1950s, Balinese Hindus did not recite mantras and did not have a standardised prayer. Recitation of the *Tri Sandhya* was a practice reserved for priests, and instruction in the teachings of the Balinese religion had only taken place within the confines of the Brahman caste compounds, or *griya*. Following the push to legitimise Balinese Hinduism, the Balinese started to instruct school children in the Hindu creed (*Panca Sraddha*) and in Hindu Doctrine, and throughout the 1950s and 60s, the *Tri Sandhya* became a daily prayer for school children.[7]

Since the 1970s, the *Tri Sandhya* has been broadcast on Balinese radio stations like RRI (*Radio Republik Indonesia*) and more recently on televised stations such as Bali TV (Lanus, 2014). TV broadcasts of the *Tri Sandhya* mantra accompanied by *gender wayang* music, *genta* bell, and beautiful images of Balinese scenery and culture are strikingly similar to the TV broadcasts of the *adzan* that often interrupt Indonesian public programming. Although the *ketua*, or head, of the Parisada, Dr. I Gusti Ngurah Sudiana, claims that the *Tri Sandhya* shares no connection to the Islamic call to prayer, these TV broadcasts demonstrate that there is an effort being made to make these daily displays of religiosity uniform (I Gusti Ngurah Sudiana, personal communication, July 1, 2016).

This uniformity is also found in the practice of broadcasting the prayer into the soundscape. Since 1992, when Balinese temples and *banjar* (community meeting halls) were equipped with loudspeakers to accommodate *Tri Sandhya* recitation as part of the *Lomba Desa Adat*, or "Traditional Village Contest," recordings of the *Tri Sandhya* "call to prayer" have been played each day at 6am, 12pm, and 6pm (Lanus, 2014). While this is yet another point of similarity to the Islamic *adzan*, which also began to be broadcast into the soundscape upon the rise of technology, a closer examination of the music and performance practice surrounding the *Tri Sandhya* reveals an effort to retain traditional aspects of Balinese culture and belief despite the pull toward conformity in the fight for religious legitimacy.

Music and Sound in the Balinese *Tri Sandhya*

When considering the ways in which music and performance practice have functioned to contribute a sense of power, authority, and uniqueness to the *Tri Sandhya*, let us first consider the way in which the mantra is recited. The mantra is sung in Old-Javanese (*Kawi*) language in the melismatic *kakawin* style commonly heard at temple celebrations and anniversaries.[8] Unlike the *adzan*, which is often sung by different *muezzin*, who display different modes and ornamentations through each individual rendering, broadcasts of the *Tri Sandhya* mantra have, for the most part, been relegated to a single recording.[9] A possible reason behind the standardisation was to create a reliable version with Balinese *gender wayang* and the *genta bell*.[10] In my conversations with Balinese musicians and the director of Parisada, many have said that the addition of *gender wayang* and *genta bell* makes the mantra more powerful. The *slendro* scale of the *gender wayang* is feminine, complements the vocals, and invokes the sacred atmosphere of a ritual or temple ceremony. Both *gender wayang* and the *genta* are aspects of the *panca gita*, or five sounds, heard in a Balinese temple ceremony, or *odalan*. What more, mantra, *gender wayang*, and the *genta bell* are the only three sounds heard in the innermost courtyard of the temple (*jaba tengah*), thought to be the holiest, most sacred courtyard reserved for offerings, sacred shadow theatre, and the rituals of the priests (Hynson, 2015). The addition of music to the mantra also helps to invoke the *adat* side of Balinese Hinduism, reaffirming music's place as an offering and sacred aspect of the religion. This is opposed to the legal and spiritual dimensions of the Islamic tradition, in which instrumental musical is considered controversial (*makruh/mubah*) or forbidden (*haram*) and deliberately set apart from aspects of worship.

Despite its religious association, the *gender wayang* piece chosen to accompany the mantra adds another layer of complexity. According to I Wayan Suweca, the pairing of *gender wayang* with the *Tri Sandhya* mantra is directly connected to his father I Wayan Konolan (1931-2008), when Konolan was asked to find a piece to accompany the *Tri Sandhya* while he was a musical advisor for RRI (*Radio Republik Indonesia*) (I Wayan Suweca, personal communication, May 23, 2016). According to Suweca and Gold (2016), *Merak Ngelo* was formed from a number of influences, even travelling overseas to America (where Suweca learned it) and then back to Bali (where he taught his father) before it became a traditional part of the repertoire. This piece has taken on such a degree of spiritual association, that many only know the piece

as *gending Tri Sandhya*, or "the Tri Sandhya song," and, in the words of Gold (2016), has become "an emblem of Balinese religion and culture as it accompanies the Tri Sandhya each day" (p. 2). While a great deal more can be said about the *Merak Ngelo* piece, the main point here is that *Merak Ngelo* and the *Tri Sandhya*, although recent and somewhat contrived practices far from "tradition", have functioned to bring each other power and authority to the point that they are now both held as important aspects of the Balinese religion.

This is important, as Balinese Hindus like Ida Bagus Oka Geni Jaya (an influential Brahman from the village of Mas) have stated that "the Tri Sandhya, in a sense, has killed the religion, because it is as if knowing the Tri Sandhya you know the religion. The real Balinese religion was so complex that they needed a tool to unite the people, so the Tri Sandhya became a political tool to standardize and show togetherness" (I. B. Oka Genijaya, personal communication, June 1, 2016). The use of *kakawin* singing, *gender wayang*, and *genta*, become important then, to help contribute to a sense of religiosity and authenticity through already established religious association. This idea bodes well with Cornwall, Albrecht, Cunningham and Pitcher's (1986) conceptual model of religiosity comprised of three components to religious behaviour, namely: knowing (cognition in the mind), feeling (affect to the spirit), and doing (behaviour of the body), as pairing traditional religious music and performance practice (behaviour) with the *Tri Sandhya*, has functioned to lend it more of a religious affect.

It is also important to mention Canadian composer and environmentalist R. Murray Schafer's view on soundscape, specifically, the notion that soundscape includes the listener's *perception* of sounds heard as an environment and how that environment is understood by those living within it (Schafer, 1993, p. 10). Given that the mantra is broadcasted into the soundscape each day, music, sound, and performance practice play a major part in how the community perceives the *Tri Sandhya* to be an authentic and acceptable aspect of their religion.

Conclusion

This short paper leaves a great deal of room for more research on the *Tri Sandhya* and its musical accompaniment. However, it does present an interesting and compelling look into how expressions of religiosity are created within a given community and how these expressions can bring power and authority to musical traditions and repertoire and vice versa. This case also shows that expressions of religiosity may be driven more by political struggle than traditional practice, and suggests that music and sound can be used to eclipse controversial histories and invoke a sense of religiosity that resonates with traditional orthopraxy and beliefs.

Endnotes

[1] *Gender wayang* is a form of Balinese gamelan consisting of four, ten-keyed metallophones, commonly used to accompany shadow puppet theatre and Balinese rituals such as tooth filings and cremations. For more on *gender wayang* and its religious significance see Gold (1998), Heimarck (2003), and Hynson (2015).

[2] According to Sugriwa (1967), *tri* means "three," *san* means "good" and/or "word of God," and *dhya* means "meditate," so *Tri Sandhya* means "to meditate, three times (a day), good (clean) thoughts to God" (p. 1). S*andyawela/sandyakala* are points of the day in Balinese philosophical and mystical belief that are considered dangerous times to travel, leave one's home or be in an intersection.

[3] The Pancasila principles include: 1) Belief in one supreme God; 2) Just and civilised humanitarianism; 3) Nationalism based on the unity of Indonesia; 4) Representative democracy through consensus; and 5) Social justice (Aragon, 2000).

[4] The accepted religions were Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Buddhism (Pringle, 2004).

[5] In some cases, those who did convert were able to maintain their indigenous rituals by labelling them *adat*, or custom, so that they could be practiced alongside their new *agama*, or religion. For examples of this in Sumba and Sulawesi, see Hoskins (1987) and Adams (1993).

[6] The *Panca Sraddha* include: 1) Belief in *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*; 2) Belief in the *Atman*, or divine self; 3) Belief in *Karmaphala* (the law of karma); 4) Belief in *samsara* or *purnarbhawa* (reincarnation); and 5) belief in *moksa* (self-realisation and liberation from *samsara*) (Lanus, 2014; Bakker, 1997).

[7] The PHDI was established in 1959 by Ida Bagus Mantra and was initially intended as an anti-communist organisation. For more on PHDI see Nordholt (2007), Dana (2005), and Picard (2001).

[8] *Kakawin*, are long narrative poems in *Kawi* that are sung melismatically in patterns of long and short syllables. For more on *kakawin*, see Rubenstein (2000).

[9] The recording made by RRI in the 1970s and still used today was sung by Ida Pedanda Putra Tembau. Aneka Records also released a *Puja Tri Sandhya* CD by I Bagus Gede Digsa in 2011, but the *gender* piece used to accompany the mantra is different and unspecified.

[10] Lanus (2014) provides a full account of how the Gayatri mantra was combined with the Vedas and Upanishads and standardised by the Parisada in 1991.

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BEYOND THE VALUE OF REPRODUCTION: THE IMAGINED REVIVAL OF THE SACRED *GAMELAN SELONDING* IN BALI, INDONESIA

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For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

PANEL: PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES TO TEACHING BALINESE GAMELAN

MAGURU KUPING **AS A TEACHING APPROACH IN BALI, SOLO, AND THE UNITED STATES**

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Abstract

This paper examines pedagogies for improving Balinese *gamelan* student performance in Bali, Solo, and the United States. Based on my 37 years of *gamelan* instruction, I will discuss my approach and strategies for relaying performance techniques and musicality through the Indonesian teaching method known as *maguru kuping*, or learning by ear. I look at notation (both Balinese *bantang*/*pokok* and western cypher) as a way to convey music and address the transmission and technique necessary to teach according to the level of students (all the while adjusting for exposure and experience with *gamelan* music). Many of the strategies I employ are not only about creating proficient *gamelan* musicians, but are also about increasing interest and building community around *gamelan* music.

PANEL: PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES TO TEACHING BALINESE GAMELAN

PUTTING THE "GAME" IN GAMELAN: IMPROVISING GAMELAN AS PRAXIS IN PUBLIC CHARTER SCHOOLS

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Abstract

For the past fifteen years, the Museum School of San Diego has incorporated Balinese *gamelan* into their core curriculum as a primary course. In association with the Center for World Music, Dr. Alexander Khalil began teaching *gamelan* to students from kindergarten to eighth grade. Within the span of this time, the school has housed *gamelan angklung*, *gender wayang* and *gamelan gong kebyar*, and occasionally *tarian*, or dance. Guest artists such as I Nyoman Wenten (CalArts) and I Made Lasmawan (Colorado College) have participated in residencies at the museum school to teach traditional Balinese repertoire. While students *learn gamelan* by the traditional *maguru panggul* or teaching through the mallet, teachers have utilised other methods to accommodate the diverse learning styles.

I began as instructor in fall of 2013 and have been employing improvisatory methods in search of a way to engage kindergarteners through game, not as a critique to traditional methods but as augmentation of such practices. This paper discusses a system that derives from an improvisatory practice called "sound painting" (created by Walter Thompson) or "conduction" (created by Butch Morris), in which performers use a series of hand gestures to create new music in real time. I modify the gestures to suit kindergarteners as a way to learn traditional *gamelan* techniques by conducting their peers while still harnessing individual agency. Applying improvisatory practices into Balinese *gamelan* is an avenue that has seldom been taught and thus able to perpetuate innovation within traditional *gamelan* practices.

PANEL: PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES TO TEACHING BALINESE GAMELAN

*GAMELAN SEMAR PAGULINGAN SAIH PITU***: PEDAGOGICAL ISSUES OF TRANSMISSION AND PRESERVATION IN TRADITIONAL BALINESE MUSIC**

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Abstract

Traditional *Gamelan Semar Pagulingan Saih Pitu* occupies a unique space in the colourful spectrum of Balinese music. Currently neglected in favour of newer musical genres, the disregard of *Semar Pagulingan* is undoubtedly affected by the difficulties inherent in its transmission. This pre-20th century genre exhibits a number of challenging musical idiosyncrasies generated by prolonged melodic periods; its mastery therefore represents a formidable task for any student regardless of musical or cultural experience. With experience teaching this music in its traditional setting of Kamasan, Bali (as the sole student of the ensemble's leader, the late I Wayan Sumendra), and away from its cultural context in Los Angeles, CA, I am in a unique position to observe the varied ways in which students interpret the musical information I communicate. These two cases exhibit seemingly polar-opposite methodologies, yet they can be viewed as complementary facets of a universal search for musical meaning.

I categorise the Balinese internalisation process as essentially "emic"—predominantly concerned with the functional meaning of each musical phrase or pattern. The Californian approach, however, requires an emphasis on "etic" qualities—quantifiable aspects of musical sound. The Balinese focus on musical functionality, which inevitably yields multiple acceptable "etic" realisations, de-stresses the aspects that identify it as traditional *Semar Pagulingan*. Tracing the transformation of the Kamasan repertoire through a half-century of audio documentation (including both commercial and private recordings), I demonstrate the ways in which the lines firmly delineating *Semar Pagulingan* from related genres have become obscured. Relating this to the genre's very tangible issues of sustainability and preservation, I examine the results of each pedagogical approach and their implications towards the future of *Semar Pagulingan*. Synthesising the contrast of these two approaches, I then suggest a pedagogical solution to sustain this music and transmit both its "emic" and "etic" values.

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"CAN I WRITE IT DOWN?": REPETITION, IMITATION, AND TRANSMISSION IN SITU

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In January 2015, seated on low stools on an open-air stage ten-thousand miles from home in the small village of Bangah, near Baturiti, in the regency of Tabanan in Bali, Indonesia, my students (who were mostly novices) found themselves struggling with pedagogical methods both jarring and ultimately unfamiliar in their approaches. The rapid-fire oral/aural method of teaching music and the unfamiliar isolated body movements (alongside the style of instruction that included having their bodies manipulated into the correct position) challenged their own ideas about how they learn. This paper traces the ways in which they and I negotiate, understand, and later reinterpret (back home) techniques and methods of transmission when studying Balinese *gamelan* music.

Drawing on the way my students experience learning transnationally, I aim to both address the manner in which Balinese tripartite concepts like *desa kala patra* (place, time, and situation) and *Tri Hita Karan* (a Balinese traditional philosophy connecting humans, nature, and the spirit world) interact in the classroom setting (in both Bali and the US), and to build on Timothy Rice's 2003 theoretical framework for understanding musical experiences through time, location, and metaphor. I wish to examine how these three-part conceptual models lead to a better understanding of both pedagogical approaches and student learning outcomes. In considering how the study of Balinese *gamelan* is translated beyond the college classroom into the context of a Balinese village in study abroad situations, I look at how pedagogical approaches to learning challenge student ideas and understanding through the lens of metaphor, where the Balinese concept of consequence—of the fortuitous happening of events and auspicious moments in time—reflect Rice's interpretation of the term. Furthermore, I'm particularly interested in the way that learning *gamelan* music becomes a lens for understanding Balinese culture and concepts.

My purpose here is threefold: (1) To examine some of the theoretical concepts that shape how I mediate teaching techniques and methods of transmission with American students abroad while blending and balancing academic and experiential learning; (2) To address the way in which students come to understand pedagogy, situations, and metaphors as having larger implications upon process, progress, and understanding; and (3) To consider how we reinterpret and integrate these concepts upon our return to the US. In the end, the particular pedagogical methods are more telling of Balinese culture and society as a whole, and provide students with a deeper understanding of music, dance, art, religion, environment, and community.

This method of teaching and learning can be difficult to process, especially for students who are accustomed to a particular style of education. My tongue in cheek "Can I write it down?" title references the questions I often receive as students attempt to adapt to what Balinese master drummer I Made Lasmawan refers to as *Panca Guru*/*Meguru*—a methodology that emphasises traditional pedagogical techniques for teaching Balinese *gamelan*. But my focus here is less on the music learned and the skill gained (or not), and more on the pedagogical method as a means of conveying culture concepts. My students undoubtedly learn to play *gamelan* to varying degrees, but the long-lasting lessons come in the way they relate to and understand Balinese cultural concepts and Balinese Hinduism.

Ethnomusicologist Elizabeth Clendinning, in her 2013 dissertation, cites Putu Tangkas Adi Hiranmayena as understanding *gamelan* as a "metaphor for how he thinks about life." She writes that: "just as he was learning how to integrate his *kotekan* part with other instruments, he was simultaneously growing up, learning how to integrate himself as part of his broader community" (p. 215). This sort of metaphor for understanding is important in thinking about how Balinese *gamelan* pedagogy is articulated. While my students gain only very preliminary exposure to Balinese music and culture in their nearly three weeks in Bangah, the manner in which they come to understand Balinese tripartite concepts and to relate to their new surroundings (and community) is shaped by their music study in a similar manner.

According to ethnomusicologist Michael Bakan (1993/1994), the advantage of *maguru panggul* (the Balinese technique of learning by ear) "is to be found in its holistic orientation" (p. 17). We've seen how this approach to pedagogy can be adapted in different ways, drawing on both cognitive understanding and what ethnomusicologist Sonja Downing (2010) references as "bodily learning" or "embodiment" (p. 61). Balinese music pedagogy, in its varied forms, may differ, but the modelling and conveyance of technique, and the "embodiment" of style is critical to instruction.

The traditional Balinese concept of *desa kala patra* exhibits a way to better relate to students, dependent on the particular circumstances under which instruction takes place and the kinds of exposure or familiarity that students may have with *gamelan* music. Further underpinned by the *Tri Hita Karana*, a traditional philosophy in Bali (the three causes of well-being, or three reasons for prosperity) that promotes balance through an interconnectedness between humans, nature, and the gods, Lasmawan's teaching philosophy (which I follow) utilises both traditional teaching methodologies and situation-specific techniques to better relate to specific students.

In focusing on the way in which foreign students adapt (or don't, as the case may be) to this pedagogy in situ, and the questions they form and lessons they take away (often in the form of metaphors), I draw on ethnomusicologist Rice's "three-dimensional space of musical experience" (2003, p. 152), which shares a similar relationship and framework to traditional Balinese concepts. While Rice calls for a focus on time, place, and metaphor as a means to bring the focus "away from culture to the subject as the locus of musical practice and experience" (p. 152), I see his focus on time, place, and metaphor as a much more direct parallel to these Balinese concepts (in particular, *desa kala patra*), and a way to further illuminate traditional Balinese culture as a whole. To that end, I'm most interested in Rice's "music is social behavior" or "music is a symbolic system or text capable of reference…to a world beyond music" (p. 166) metaphors.

2015 Skidmore College Bali Travel Seminar

In January 2015 I brought a group of 17 undergraduates from Skidmore College to the central mountain village of Bangah, where we studied music, dance, religion, the environment, culture, and the arts alongside our teachers, Lasmawan and his wife Ni Ketut Marni (both of whom returned from their primary home in Colorado to co-teach our class). Pak Lasmawan and I have now been working closely together for nearly twenty years, first as his student at Colorado College, later as his colleague. This was the second class we'd taught together in Bali (and the first with Skidmore College), though my interlocutor role in Bangah has been ongoing for several years now. Our class concept is based on a model first developed by Pak Lasmawan and Colorado College professor Victoria Lindsey Levine in 1997 (incidentally, the first time I travelled to Bali). Our program is centred in an agrarian village setting, where students live with a close-knit family in an expanded traditional family compound. Students live and study in our *sanggar*, Manik Galih, amid women's *gamelan* rehearsals, ongoing children's dance lessons, and daily village life. Founded in 2011 by Lasmawan and Marni, Sanggar Manik Galih is a transnational music and dance studio that functions both in Bali and in Colorado in the United States. While my students are clearly differentiated from Bangah villagers, their unique position in a family compound allows for interaction on a more personal level than many similar programs. In addition to daily music and dance lessons and class meetings (during which we discuss readings and unpack everything going on around us), students participate in art lessons, tour the island, attend performances and temple celebrations, plant rice, and interact with the local community to some degree.

In 2015, our group included 3 men and 14 women. These students were introduced to both *gamelan* music (*gamelan gong kebyar* and Javanese *gamelan*) and Balinese and Javanese dance (*Rejang Dewa*, *Merak Jawa*, and *Joged* for the 7 women, and brief exposure to *Baris* for the men) before focusing their time on one or the other—here, our group divided into 6 musicians (3 of the women and all 3 men), and 11 dancers, though all students continued to play *gamelan* leading up to our final performance. Of our students, one had travelled to Bali before (for intensive yoga training), and two had been to other parts of Asia. Three had previously studied Indonesian music with me, and the rest were entirely new to the subject matter. Skidmore College, a small liberal arts college in upstate New York, attracts a largely middle to upper class student body primarily from the east coast. Our students ranged from music and dance, to biology and Asian studies majors. While some had previous musical training, the majority had little to no music performance experience. Moreover, their interest in the trip was generally less about content and more about location and experience (and an escape from upstate winters).

Repetition/Imitation/Transmission

For our class, music instruction took place on a daily basis on the stage near the back of the compound. Mornings were typically organised around a class session during which we would discuss readings and answer questions about the performances we were seeing, the experiences we'd had, or anything that students were puzzled by or interested in, followed by music and dance instruction. Student satisfaction and frustration levels were constantly in flux, with students generally enthusiastic about participation. This "be-there-and-

do-it" musical experience (as discussed by Steven Cornelius and David Harnish in their 2002 article on "Music Workshops Abroad") was (and is) critical to our short immersion class. But even with readings, discussions, and explanations, some students will elicit a desire to write it down, slow it down, or generally stray from Balinese pedagogical methods. The overall desire for the familiar over the foreign (literally, the desire for something tangible to grasp) may overcome student adaptability. In emphasising repetition (and patience), students start to adapt. Having to accept that instruction takes different forms, and that adjusting to new methodologies is imperative becomes clear through repetition and imitation. This imitation and repetition is the thing that, perhaps, is most notable among students—superseding the desire to "write it down"—as they adapt to pedagogical differences. Mirrored in Balinese dance and artistic instruction, my students routinely referenced this in conversations, discussing the ways in which instruction—in its varied forms—often circled back to repetition in some form. For my students, realising that imitation and repetition is a mode of instruction is often jarring, but becomes very telling over time as they start to adapt their own levels of discomfort and their understanding of Balinese culture to reflect this new model of instruction. Returning to Rice's notion that "music is a symbolic system or text capable of reference…to a world beyond music" (p. 166), students take pedagogical methods at face value as a way to understand and relate to culture on a broader level. As an entrance point, this proves particularly interesting in terms of metaphoric understandings of Balinese culture. Similar to Putu's understanding of *gamelan* as community, my students come to that playing *gamelan* together with Pak Lasmawan's family allowed us to collectively form a community with disparate ability levels.

The process of imparting information—which Pak Lasmawan facilitates through his teaching methodology—is an important part of the process of forming metaphorical relationships to Balinese music and culture. In discouraging students from "writing it down," I (and Pak Made) encourage embracing the process. And that process transcends music to include Balinese culture writ large. Taking Rice's "metaphor", music is art, but music is also culture and music is community. The process—of learning through enculturation—is something that students started to comment on in different ways as they observe it in action. Notably, for this particular group of students, we travelled north to Singaraja where we visited an organic farm. Upon our visit to Pak Oles, where our tour of the medicinal herb garden consisted of walking around and sampling herbs without detailed explanations, one student said to me: "I get it, Liz. The Balinese don't just tell you things. They give you context to figure it out on your own" (personal communication, Skidmore College student in Bali, 2015). The idea that Balinese music pedagogy is about a process of learning through contextual clues is interesting. It's also one that I've found particularly salient in helping students unpack their experiences abroad in Bali upon their return to the U.S. Student realisations about the interconnectedness of Balinese culture—of *desa kala patra* and *Tri Hita Karana*, and of music and the arts as metaphors for community and culture—are the main themes that students share with me in journals and papers.

Context, Community, and Situation

Travel abroad fosters community in unique ways, and travel seminars remain quite close with each other and with me. In the fall of 2015, I approached all of my students about participating in a concert with my current *gamelan* students and the "Bali All-Stars," my coined name for Pak Lasmawan and family, along with our other visiting guests who included Pak I Nyoman Windha and I Gusti Agung Ayu Warsiki, I Nyoman Suadin and his wife Latifah Alsegaf, and I Nyoman Saptanyana and his son Putu Krisna Saptanyana. Nearly every participant in our 2015 Bali travel seminar was able to join the performance as a dancer or musician, and their enthusiasm to perform and revisit our shared time in Bali was strong. Moreover, the opportunity to perform with their teachers and this extended family of Balinese musicians and dancers reinforced their own ideas about Balinese music as community. For my students, seeing all of this come together was probably one of the most salient lessons on *desa kala patra*. From our small college in upstate New York, to the village of Bangah in Bali, and back again, they were witnessing first-hand this sort of connectivity and communal space formed through performance. Metaphors take different shapes, and the spaces we inhabit and community we form through pedagogical methods and performance facilitates a sense of attachment that moves beyond the classroom in myriad ways.

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LITURGICAL MUSIC PRACTICES IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MULTICULTURAL MALAYSIAN COMMUNITIES
(Lightning Paper)

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The objective of this paper is to report my ongoing research examining the current state of liturgical music in the Malaysian Roman Catholic Church, and to investigate the musical identities within the multi-racial communities in their liturgical celebrations.

While the history of Catholicism in Malaysia is long, rich, and well documented, there has been very limited documentation on the liturgical musical practices in the multi-ethnic communities.

The documentation of Christian Missionaries in Malaysia goes back as far as the 7th century. Most research indicated that the most influential time for the local Catholic Church was the arrival of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries that came with the Portuguese in the 16th century to Malacca. Other Catholic missionaries followed suite. Most notably were the priests from The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in the 18th century to Penang, the Sisters of St. Maur/Infant Jesus Sisters (IJ) and the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian School (La Salle Brothers) that founded Christian schools and orphanages in the Peninsular of Malaysia in the 19th century.

A pivotal moment in the Catholic Church worldwide was the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, where permission was officially granted for Mass to be celebrated in vernacular languages. The first Malayan Bishop Dominic Aloysius Vendargon was a Council Father for Vatican II.

A brief clip on YouTube (Arch LiveStream, 2014) shows a report on Archbishop Vendargon's consecration as Malaya's first Bishop. The video gives us some insight to what the official musical practices were in 1955 in Malaysia.

As this celebration was prior to Vatican II, the formal rubrics of the Mass was still in Latin. The choir was singing in chant and polyphonic harmony. Linguistically, they were not singing or pronouncing their vowels in the Italian style that this style of choral music is usually associated with. It has a distinctive Asian lilt that is quite raw, and very musical. They are matching each other's vowel shapes, so musically they are still in tune with each other. The choir doing the *Veni Creator Spiritus* chant looks and sounds linguistically like they were mostly Indians, but due to the discolouration of the video, it is difficult to be sure.

Decolonisation within the Catholic Church in Malaysia is not a realistic possibility because Christianity itself in Asia is not indigenous. Contextualisation and syncretism is necessary. That has been acknowledged by Church several times, most notably in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* or *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (Pope Paul VI, 1963) which was one of the constitutions that came out of the Second Vatican Council. It emphasises the importance of incorporating local musical traditions into worship and recognises native genius. It also states the importance of missionaries to be trained to competently promote local traditional music in schools and the liturgy.

Malaysia has struggled with this more because of the necessity to meet the needs of the multi-ethnic community, particularly in Kuala Lumpur. In recent years, it has not just been the Tamil, Chinese and Malay-speaking communities from East Malaysia, but the Filipino, Indonesian and African communities as well.

Musical training has never really been a priority, and lay people are usually put in charge of liturgical music without any liturgical training. The liturgical music that has been practiced most commonly in the past 30 years has been the more "accessible" charismatic praise and worship style of music, whose use is problematic within the context of the Roman Rite. This practice has been slowly dissipating over the past few years with the encouragement of Pope Benedict XVI during his tenure to use more theologically appropriate music for the liturgy.

Dominic Anscar Chupungo, a Filipino Benedictine Monk, and a leading authority on liturgy and inculturation suggests several methods of worshiping in multi-ethnic communities in many of his publications. The one that Malaysia seems to be adopting is what he refers to as a "mosaic liturgy" (Chupungo, 1993), where Sunday Mass is celebrated using the various languages of the community.

A good example of this was the ordination of Archbishop Julian Leow. The Episcopal Ordination was held in the Church of the Holy Family in Kajang, Selangor, and was celebrated multi-lingually.

The Entrance Hymn was the well-known hymn *Praise to the Lord, the Almighty*, with verses sung in English, Malay, Tamil and Chinese. The other subsequent hymns were also multilingual. The *Kyrie*,

Sanctus and *Angus Dei* was chanted in Latin, while the *Gloria* and *Pater Noster* was chanted in English. According to the Head of the Liturgical Commission at the time, this was done partially for practical purposes as the *Gloria* was too lengthy for the choir or congregation to sufficiently grasp the Latin (L. Lexson, personal communication, February 8, 2016).

From my observation, part of the struggles of the multi-ethnic churches has been to applying the principle of "Dynamic Equivalence" to their liturgical music practices. "Dynamic Equivalence consists in replacing an element of the Roman Liturgy with something in the local culture that has equal meaning or value" (Chupungo, 1992).

This is mostly due to the lack of understanding of the liturgical function that the music plays in each part of the Roman Rite. The musicians that play for mass are all volunteers. Some might have Western musical training, some play by ear. Until recently though, most of them did not have any basic liturgical training. The Liturgical Commission does provide sporadic liturgical training, but nothing ongoing to solidify the theology and formation. The musicians are also dependent on the preference of their own parish priest, liturgical committee, and sometimes the congregation.

Sourcing music of dynamic equivalence also proves to be quite difficult. A recent attempt was made by the Archdiocese of Kuala Lumpur to ask for composition submissions from East Malaysian based on the texts in the Roman Missal, but they only received 2 submissions.

Attempts to utilise cultural and musical semiotics are also difficult due to a lack of exposure and training towards local traditional music and its instruments. The communities still do try their best to retain elements of their cultures in worshiping.

One curious example is the *Kagape* Mass. *Kagape* is an acronym for *Kaamatan* (Sabah), *Gawai* (Sarawak) and *Panen* (Borneo) that was coined by the Archdiocesan Bahasa Malaysia Apostolate Language. The term was coined to consolidate the harvest festivals from the various regions of East Malaysia to ease the strain of multiple celebrations within the Archdiocese of Kuala Lumpur. The trend seems to have bounced back, and some East Malaysian churches have started using the term and consolidation the celebrations as well.

In the Archdiocese of Penang, the Church of the Divine Mercy had their celebration of the Harvest festival in May 2016, and it was called *Gawai*, *Kaamatan* and *Kesyukuran* celebration. A description of the celebration was reported on the parish website (Johnny, 2016). The celebration included dancing around the *Ranyai* (Tree of Life), and cultural dances from the Iban, Kadazan-Dusun, and Batak tribes. The *Sape* (traditional lute of indigenous tribes in Borneo) was also played during Mass.

What has been observed in the course of my research is that the majority of Malaysian Catholics are quite happy to incorporate syncretism in their worship. However, they are still unwilling to incorporate Latin regularly into their celebrations because of their negative associations with Latin and colonisation. Most importantly, there does not seem to be any resentment with any ethnic groups being under-represented.

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CONNECTING THE CULTURAL PAST WITH THE FUTURE: CONTEXTUALISING DANCE AND MUSIC TRADITIONS INTO CHRISTIAN WORSHIP AMONG THE DUSUN TINAGAS OF SABAH, MALAYSIA

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Introduction

Changes in religious beliefs and practices can provide opportunities for exploring "religiosity" or the religious impulse among indigenous Borneo cultures, especially in terms of music and dance. Thus, in line with the theme of *Performing Arts and the Religious Impulse in Southeast Asia*, this paper seeks to answer the following questions. How do music and dance articulate the religious impulse among indigenous societies of Sabah in traditional ritual contexts? How do traditional music and dance articulate the religious impulse among the Dusun Tinagas, an indigenous community who have largely experienced religious change only over the past thirty years, in the context of their Christian worship? Hence, what is the underlying logic of practice of the religious impulse in terms of music and dance for indigenous societies in Sabah and possibly wider Borneo and Southeast Asia?

Spiritual Concepts and Ritual Practices among Indigenous Societies in Sabah

Sabah's rich cultural diversity of over fifty major isoglots, or communities each with their own traditional culture and language, includes around thirty-two who are indigenous to the state and mostly speak languages of the ancient Dusunic, Murutic, and Paitanic Families of Austronesian Languages. Despite such wide cultural diversity, there are several underlying spiritual concepts and elements of ritual practices that are commonly found.

According to traditional beliefs, the unseen spiritual world parallels the physical world of humans. It is important that a state of "balance" (*mitimbang* in Dusunic languages) or "neutrality" is maintained between the human and spiritual realms. This ideal balanced or neutral state of the universe is described as being "cool" (*osogit* in Dusunic languages).

Imbalance between the physical and spiritual realms is caused by sinful human actions, from unwarranted clearing of forests to extremely serious offences against the Creator and the spiritual world, such as adultery and sexual sins. The unbalanced universe is described as being "hot" (*alasu/ahasu* in Dusunic languages). This imbalance results in the withholding of blessing and protection from the Creator. This opens the guilty to attacks by evil spirits (*rogon* in Dusunic languages), causing family misfortune, illness, crop failure, sickness and death of livestock. In serious cases, this can affect the whole family, the village and the wider community, even the entire society causing famine, floods, epidemics, wars, and other calamities. Appropriate ritual ceremonies and sacrifices must be conducted by priestesses to atone for the sins committed and restore balance to the universe.

Ritual among indigenous societies in Sabah is generally organised at three basic levels depending on who are the initiators. At the conjugal family or domestic household level, the conjugal couple or husband and wife as equal family heads may initiate a ceremony by inviting a priestess or group of priestesses to officiate. Ritual ceremonies occur at the longhouse or village level when organised by several families simultaneously. In times of major calamity, the priestesses may initiate a series of ceremonies at the level of the whole society to cleanse the universe from the effects of imbalance.

Important ritual events include: the recitation of long sacred ritual poetry (*rinait* in Dusunic societies) by the priestesses; ritual drumming and gong ensemble music; ritual dancing by the priestesses, some form of animal sacrifice where the blood is an atonement or "cooling compensation" (*sogit* in Dusunic languages); and rice, which has a spiritual aspect, in offerings and sometimes consumed as food or drink by members of the community. Some ritual events may include social celebratory dancing by ordinary people towards the end of a successful ritual series (Pugh-Kitingan, 2014, pp. 170-172).

Expressing the Religious Impulse through Music and Dance in Traditional Contexts

In Dusunic societies, the *rinait* constitute a huge body of poetic oral literature that is memorised and chanted exclusively by priestesses. Its poetry varies among the different languages, but it is the basis for all

cosmological beliefs, ritual, *adat* or customary law, and morality in the various societies. The *rinait* consist of pairs of lines, each pair having its own shared meaning. The first line in each pair is in the local language for the human world, while the second is in the ritual language of the community concerned to address the spiritual world. As such, the *rinait* is liminal, because it addresses both human and spiritual worlds and is articulated by the priestesses as mediators between the two realms (John Baptist, 1988).

Ritual gong ensemble music (usually including drumming) played by skilled musicians is a feature of large-scale ritual events. Depending on the culture and community concerned, this music may be the same as that played on non-ritual social occasions, or it may be uniquely specific to the ritual event in question. Its sound is said to awaken and summon the spiritual world to attend the event, and is believed to merge the seen and unseen realms. Gong ensemble music in ritual contexts is thus liminal, because it merges or bridges the human and spiritual worlds. It marks the processual flow of rituals, and also supports ritual dancing by priestesses (Pugh-Kitingan, 2014). In some cases, in certain communities it supports social dancing by ordinary people that may occur in conjunction with the ritual event outside of the ritual space.

When it occurs, ritual dancing by priestesses often proceeds in an anti-clockwise direction, but may also move in a linear progression and sometimes clockwise movements, depending on location and ritual space. Supported by gong ensemble music, it symbolises through movement and gesture, activities that are believed to be taking place in the spiritual world according to the *rinait* being chanted by the women as they shake their idiophonic ritual paraphernalia.[1] It is liminal between the seen and unseen realms as it articulates transactions and relationships between the human and spirit worlds, as well as within the society itself (John Baptist, 1988; Pugh-Kitingan, 2014).

Social dancing by ordinary people accompanied by gong ensemble music expresses rejoicing and celebration on special occasions. It articulates shared social values and social solidarity. When it occurs at ritual events, dancing by ordinary people celebrates and socially ratifies transactions that have been made in the spirit realm by the priestesses on behalf of members of the community.

The Dusun Tinagas, their Gong Ensemble Music and Dance

The Dusun Tinagas are a branch of the Kadazan Dusun (or Dusun) and speak the Central Dusun dialect. They live in the upper reaches of the Sugut (Labuk) River, a hilly area at the intersection of the Administrative Districts of Ranau, Kota Marudu and Beluran in northern Sabah. Like other indigenous Sabahan societies, the Dusun Tinagas are acephalous or egalitarian with bilateral kinship and gender balance. They cultivate rice as their staple (especially dry hill rice), and live in villages that were formerly composed of longhouses. Marriage is legalised by bride wealth paid from the husband's parents to those of the bride, and post-nuptial residence tends to be uxorilocal (in the wife's village) unlike most Kadazan Dusun but like other northern Dusunic peoples such as the Rungus, Tobilung and Kimaragang, as well as the Labuk Dusun (also known as Labuk-Kinabatangan Kadazan or Kadajan) (Pugh-Kitingan, 2012, pp. 150-152).

As discussed previously, the Dusun Tinagas gong ensemble, known as *songkogungan* or *tinuhiyan*, consists of six hanging gongs. Three are smallish brass gongs with steep sides and flat front surfaces around their bosses (elsewhere described as *sanang*), and three are large, heavy, deep-sided brass or bronze gongs with raised ridges around the bosses (called *tawag* types). The three *sanang* types, here collectively called *salasakon* (indicating a fast playing speed), are named *salasakon*, *poloniton*, and *kolimbongbongon* respectively according to the rhythms they play. They are each struck on the boss with a thin stick (*pokoritik*), and *kolimbongbongon* is also hit with a second stick on its side producing a high-pitched "bong bong" sound. The three *tawag* are named *polian*, *sunduron* and *bogilon* respectively, indicating their individual sounds. Their hanging ropes are tied together so that the three gongs face inwards and their bosses can easily be hit by a single performer using a rubber or dried beeswax-headed wooden mallet (*sosontuk*) to produce a composite musical pattern. In some villages, the ensemble may also include the *kulintangan* set of small kettle gongs on a rack. This instrument was adopted from the neighbouring Kimaragang, but its performance has declined markedly as older musicians pass away (Pugh-Kitingan, 2012, pp. 152-154, 157-159).

The *songkogungan* ensemble accompanies dancing on festive and ceremonial occasions. Traditional Dusun Tinagas dancing consists of *mongigol* by a line of women, often accompanied by *mangalai* by two men, one at each end of the line of women (see Figure 1). In *mongigol*, the women move sedately with their arms hanging at their sides and occasionally turn their shoulders while moving (*sumirid*). Their foot movements progress according to the composite rhythm of the three large *tawag* gongs. They may move along in a straight line, before circling anticlockwise and sometimes clockwise. In *mangalai*, the men also move their feet according to the *tawag* rhythm, but alternately raise and lower their arms and continually turn

their hands from the wrists. Sometimes, the men may cross over (*misulak*) from one end to the other in front of the line of women (Pugh-Kitingan, 2012, pp. 154-157, 159). The term *mongigol*, which refers specifically to the women's dancing, is also used as a general term for traditional dancing.[2]

Gong ensemble music and dance are performed on important social occasions such as wedding celebrations, as well as at *kaamatan* or post-harvest feasting among families in the villages. Formerly, they were also performed as part of major ritual events such as the *moningolig*. During times of severe calamity, the *bobolian* or priestesses organised *moningolig* to entreat the Creator named *Kinorohingan* ("God most high") and referred to as the *Minamorun* ("the Source" implying the Creator) among the Dusun Tinagas for help to restore balance to the universe. Each family constructed a *tingolig* or seven-tiered open bamboo structure, around one and half meters tall and half a meter wide, in front of their individual longhouse apartment or house. The seven tiers represented the seven spiritual layers of the upper world. The most senior *bobolian* placed the blood and feathers of a fowl as *sogit* on each of the six lower tiers to the good spirits in each layer of the upper world, with the blood and feathers of seven white fowls as *sogit* on the highest tier to *Kinorohingan* who was believed to inhabit the highest realm in the universe. Thus, they entreated *Kinorohingan* to restore his protection of the community against attacks of evil spirits from on the earth and the underworld (Pugh-Kitingan, 2012, pp. 151-152).

Nowadays, the *moningolig* is no longer extant, and most Dusun Tinagas have become Christians, while some are Muslims and a few continue to practice the traditional religion. The main Christian denomination among the Dusun Tinagas is Sidang Injil Borneo (SIB) or Evangelical Church of Borneo, but others such as the Roman Catholic Church and the Basel Christian Church of Malaysia (BCCM), are also present. Christianity was brought to the area over thirty years ago by Dusun pastors from other areas. More recently, from around ten years ago, there has been a Christian revival among the Dusun Tinagas.

The Religious Impulse Expressed through Music and Dance in Dusun Tinagas Christian Worship

Like other churches, the Dusun Tinagas SIB churches normally sing standard Christian songs in Dusun or Malay language during worship services. These are accompanied by guitar or, where electricity is available, electric band instruments with drum sets. Other social events in the community, such as wedding celebrations and *kaamatan*, continue to include traditional dancing and gong music.

Over the past few years, however, there has been an emerging trend for special SIB church events among the Dusun Tinagas to be celebrated with traditional *mongigol* and *mangalai* dancing accompanied by the *songkogungan*. This was first observed at the remote village of Kg. Tagibang during several days of special services in 2010. One afternoon, a line of four women dressed in the elaborate ceremonial *lapoi* costume performed *mongigol* to the accompanying *songkogungan* music. The next afternoon, a line of three women and two men all clad in their *lapoi* performed *mongigol* and *mangalai* respectively. This dancing with gong music was seen as a form of rejoicing, celebration and social solidarity for the community in the presence of God (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Women *mongigol* and men *mangalai* at Kg. Tagibang. (Laurentius Kitingan, 28 March 2010; used with permission).

More recently, SIB churches in other Dusun Tinagas villages have begun to incorporate *mongigol* with *songkogungan* music into special church events held at both local and district levels. During an event in

September 2014 held in the church at Kg. Tibabar, a large group from Kg. Nawanon performed. The group was headed by a female conductor who danced at the front of the group moving her feet as in *mongigol* while "conducting" with her arms as for an orchestra or choir. Twelve other women dressed in *lapoi* and wearing conical *sirung* hats danced *mongigol* followed by one man performing *mangalai* (Figure 2). They moved in a straight line stopping below the platform at the front, while the *songkogungan* played by four men sounded forth from the right side of the space from the congregation's viewpoint.

      A tall rice plant with ripened seeds (*parai*) stood in the centre of the large space between the platform and the congregation. To the right, three tall *basung* baskets, winnowing trays (*raya* and *rolibu*), a rice pounding block (*tosung*), two rice pounders (*tututuh*) and other items associated with preparing rice grains lay on the floor. On the left of the rice plants, two long bamboo poles lay together on the floor with a third cross piece lying under them at one end.

      As the women stood and moved in *mongigol* on the spot, three women from the front of the line followed by the male dancer circled anticlockwise around all the objects. These women donned the *basung* baskets on their backs, joined the circle again then danced towards the rice plants. Using small hand-held harvesting knives (*linggaman*), they took turns to symbolically *mongomot* or harvest the rice.

      They then circled again and the danced towards the winnowing trays. After pouring out clumps of harvested rice stalks from one of the *basung* onto a large round *raya* on the floor, the three women took turns to *mongogik* or thresh the rice with their feet on the *raya*. After this, they collected the debris into one of the *basung*, poured the separated rice grains into another, circled again then joined the back of the line of women. The man entered the line near the front behind three other women. These front women then circled in *mongigol* around the objects, followed by the man in *mangalai*. These women also donned the *basung*, circled around, then poured rice grains onto the *rolibu* or smaller oval-shaped shaped winnowing trays. After *monoud* or winnowing the grains, they poured them back into the *basung* and circled again. They then poured the grains into the hollow of the pounding block and *monotuk* or pounded the grains with two *tututuh*. When they had cleared away all the rice, the three women danced in anticlockwise in a circle again, followed by the man, and joined the other line of women.

      The whole group danced anticlockwise around the objects, then stopped and danced on the spot as before. The original three women separated from the line and circled again then moved over to the long poles on the floor to the left of the rice plants. While one woman stood firmly on the ends of the two poles on the floor, a second knelt at the other ends, clapped them and banged them rhythmically on the bamboo crosspiece in time to the gong music. The third woman, wearing a shorter woven heirloom skirt hemmed in small bells that fell to mid-calf, hopped in and out of the clapping bamboos. This dance is *mogunatip*, performed in various forms throughout Sabah. Among the Dusun Tinagas, it is a form of celebration and fun during *kaamatan* feasts after the end of the rice harvest.

      After performing *mogunatip*, the women rejoined the others. The whole line circled around the space, then exited the building at the side near the *songkogunga*n.

Figure 2. Selection of scenes from Kg. Nawanon presentation at Kg. Tibabar: (Top row, from left) dancers' entrance, female conductor (foreground), man's *mangalai* (foreground) and women's *mongigol*; (centre row, from left) *mongigol* with *basung*, harvesting rice, threshing the rice with the feet; (bottom row, from left) separating chaff from grain, pouring out the grain, winnowing. (Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, September 2014, film clip).

The entire performance lasted for around forty-five minutes, and the gong music and dancing continued throughout in an atmosphere of joy and celebration. Episodes enacting various phases of the rice process cycle from *mongomot* to *kaamatan* were embedded within this continuous swathe of colourful movement and brassy sound. Rice is socially important as an essential staple in Sabahan societies and ritually significant

because it has a spiritual essence given by the Creator. Women have an important role in rice cultivation, because they maintain their families' rice grains for planting at the start of a new agricultural cycle and they determine when the rice is ready to be harvested.

The episodes about rice in this presentation, however, were not merely telling the story of rice processing and the importance of women therein, but functioned as statements of thanksgiving to *Kinorohingan* who as the *Minamorun* created rice and provides sustenance for human beings. The Dusun Tinagas, like all rice farmers in the remote interior of Sabah, are dependent on successful annual rice harvests to feed their families in the following year. A poor harvest means that there will not be enough rice to feed their children. Hence, they expressed their heartfelt gratitude to God for his bounty through *mongigol* and *songkogungan* music in special worship.

The contextualisation of traditional dancing and gong ensemble music into Dusun Tinagas Christian worship provides an opportunity to understand their religious impulse and its logic of practice. Table 1 summarises the contextualisation of religiosity from traditional ritual elements of practice that are commonly found in Dusunic cultures, to this specific example of special Dusun Tinagas Christian worship.

Elements	Major Traditional Ritual Events	Special Christian Worship Events (eg. from Kg. Nawanon)
1. Liminars	Priestesses as mediators between the human and spiritual realms	All believers as intercessors through prayer and praise
2. Sacred texts	Sacred *Rinait* memorised and articulated only by the priestesses	Sacred Scriptures (Bible) accessed by all believers
3. Specially performed gong ensemble music	Gong ensemble music merging the human and spiritual realms	Gong ensemble music celebrating the transcendent Presence of Kinorohingan
4. Sacred dancing	Ritual dancing only by priestesses to articulate transactions and pacts with the spiritual world and the Creator	Sacred celebration dancing by believers (mainly women) to articulate their covenant with Kinorohingan
5. Blood sacrifice (*sogit*)	Animal sacrifices as *sogit* for sin	Christ's completed sacrifice as perfect *sogit* for sin
6. Rice	Rice offerings and symbolic gestures	Symbolic actions of *mongomot* (harvesting), *mongogik* (threshing), *monoud* (winnowing) and *monotuk* (pounding) to praise Kinorohingan for His provision of rice
7. Celebration dancing	Celebration dancing by ordinary people outside of the ritual space (sometimes)	*Mogunatip* of three women embedded in the *mongigol* performance
Nature of interaction with the spiritual realms	Liminality	Transcendence

Table 1. Contextualising and Manifesting Dusun Tinagas Religiosity.

From examining Table 1, it can be seen that the religious impulse is manifested through these elements in both traditional ritual events and special Dusun Tinagas worship. In traditional contexts, priestesses mediate between the human and spiritual realms. The nature of interaction with the spiritual realms is through the liminal performance of the chanted *rinait* and special gong ensemble music and ritual dancing. In Dusun Tinagas Christian worship, every believer is said to have direct access to the *Minamorun*. The nature of interaction with *Kinorohingan* is believed to be transcendent rather than liminal, because he is believed to transcend into the human world. Dancing and gong ensemble music in Christian worship are believed to occur in his transcendent presence.

Conclusions: Religiosity and the Logic of Practice of Music and Dance in Sabah

The performance of gong ensemble music and dancing articulate the religious impulse in traditional ritual ceremonies among indigenous societies in Sabah by, it is believed, merging the human and spiritual worlds in a liminal context. The sound of the music is said to be a conduit between the seen and the unseen. Ritual dancing by priestesses, built upon the gong ensemble music, acts out transactions taking place in the spiritual world between humans and the spirits. When it occurs, social dancing by ordinary people in ritual contexts expresses rejoicing and thanksgiving, and socially ratifies transactions and pacts made on their behalf by the priestesses with the spiritual world.

In Christian worship among the Dusun Tinagas, the performance of gong ensemble music and dance articulate the religious impulse by expressing praise and thanksgiving in a transcendent rather than merely liminal context, that is believed to be in the abiding presence of *Kinorohingan* who transcends into the human

world. The sound of the gong music expresses rejoicing. The sacred dancing by ordinary people, especially women, supported by the gong music, also expresses rejoicing and thanksgiving and hence reaffirms their covenant with him.

The religious impulse or principle of religiosity manifested through the performance of gong ensemble music and dancing thus continues across socio-cultural change as traditional genres are performed in new religious contexts. Similar logics of practice of traditional gong ensemble music and sometimes dance in Christian worship can be found among other cultures in Sabah, such as in the Anglican churches of the Labuk Dusun and Paitanic peoples of the Upper Kinabatangan River, and the Roman Catholic churches of the Kadazan Dusun and others. The underlying logic of practice of gong music and dance among indigenous Sabahan cultures in religious contexts may manifest a wider Borneo and even Southeast Asian religious impulse.

Endnotes

[1] When chanting the *rinait*, a Kadazan Dusun priestess or *bobolian* shakes her *gonding*, a clapper made from pieces of brass that are strung together from a tortoise shell or bone handle. The same term is used in the Rungus language for the same item used by a *bobolizan* or priestess. The sound of these objects is believed to attract the familiar spirit of the priestess. Among the Lotud of Tuaran, a *tantagas* or priestess uses a set of *giring-giring* or small silver bells stitched to a cloth to attract the attention of good spirits, and a *tutubik* made from a metal plate and a coin string together from a tortoise shell handle to chase off bad spirits.

[2] During fieldwork in 2010, I was informed by supposedly reliable sources in the village that *mangalai* was the term for women's dancing and *mongigol* for men's dance. Only after publication of my 2012 article on Dusun Tinagas dance and music did I learn that *mongigol* is the correct term for women's dance, and *mangalai* for the men's dancing.

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EXPRESSING RELIGIOSITY THROUGH THE PERFORMING ARTS AMONG THE TAGALOG-SPEAKING PEOPLE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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Introduction

The performing arts of music, dance and drama play a significant role in Tagalog religious celebrations and devotion that sometimes go beyond expectation and perhaps, even rationality. Consider the multitude of devotees literally swarming Quiapo Church in Manila every 9th of January to attend the procession of the Black Nazarene chanting "Nuestro Jesus Nazareno" as they wave white towels and cloths amidst sweltering heat, health risks, and safety threats.

It raises the question of why people continue to participate yearly in this religious event, knowing the danger inherent in a frenzied, uncontrollable crowd. On another occasion, flagellants walk along streets during Good Friday whipping their backs, bleeding and enduring pain as their public admission of having committed grievous sins. In the context of ritual drama, flagellants mask their identity as they proceed to perform their self-imposed corporal punishment, raising the question of why they publicly engage in a humiliating act that is today discouraged by the Catholic Church and yet pervades in Tagalog communities. As a Tagalog myself, I have witnessed and experienced extra-ordinary Catholic gatherings, including the recent Holy Week celebration where the singing of Christ's passion (*pabasa*/*pasyon*) concluded with faith healing, possession and trancing. The performance and performativity of such extra-ordinary expressions of Tagalog religiosity anchored in folk Catholicism invite a discursive analysis of the meaning that these activities carry today in the context of contemporary church-related public events like feast days (*pista*) and Lent (*kuwresma*). This paper aims to explore Tagalog religiosity through an examination of *Panata*, an indigenous term applied to all of these phenomena. Literally meaning "vow", "promise", "oath" or "offering", the label *Panata* I submit is integral to the ontological formation of Tagalog religious expressions, particularly in the realm of the performing arts.

The Tagalog People: A Brief Profile

The Tagalog-speaking people form one of the largest ethno-linguistic groups in the Philippines. With their homeland in the islands of Luzon, Mindoro and Marinduque, they number about 30 million[1] who mostly live in urban areas and at the centre of government. They largely contribute to the country's national development, as they are involved in all sections of public and private institutions that are national and international in scope.[2] Today the Tagalog live and work in many parts of the world.

The name Tagalog means "people dwelling along rivers." Etymologically, it comes from two words, namely *taga*, meaning "coming from," and *ilog* or "river". Early accounts of pre-colonial Tagalog portray a stratified society with families forming themselves into a community called *barangay*. They used an archaic writing system commonly referred to as *baybayin*. Aside from being literate, the Tagalog were agriculturalists and traders who engaged in the import and export of goods with their Southeast Asian neighbours, including Borneo, Malacca and Timor, as well as China and Mexico with the galleon trade. Tagalog trading ports were and continue to be located in Manila, Batangas, and Mindoro.[3] Spanish colonisation, beginning in the sixteenth century (1521-1898), introduced Catholicism through Mexico, resulting in so-called folk Catholicism, a mix of indigenous beliefs and Catholic doctrine.

Panata and Tagalog Religiosity

I bring out the idea that the indigenous term *Panata* ("vow", "promise", "oath", or "offering") is a core concept of Tagalog religiosity. *Panata* is spiritual self-agency characterised by an individual's religious commitment to God. It is personal, secret and interiorised. Yet paradoxically, *Panata* propels a person to move, act and perform in the public sphere through such activities as singing, dancing and playing musical instruments. In other words, *Panata* is a performance that fulfils a promise to God in exchange for special favours like healing, passing an exam or getting a job.

Panata animates a person to express his or her faith and religiosity; ultimately to seek God's indulgence for a better life and to offer thanksgiving for blessings received. The Tagalog concept of *Panata*

offers an opportunity for an individual to negotiate, transact and bargain with God. It is relational with the Divine and the individual's lifeworld. For example, a sick person himself or even a relative or friend of the sick, can secretly offer a religious vow (*Panata*) in exchange for a healing miracle. A time frame for fulfilling the vow is likewise addressed, taking into account the person's capabilities, for example, physical strength and social support. There are also instances where a vow is fulfilled over the person's entire lifetime. Still in other cases, the *Panata* is handed over to and inherited by a relative so that a family Lenten tradition, for example, is assured continuity in the next generation.

Tagalog *Panata* springs from and flows out of a person's inner self or *kalooban*. From the root word *loob* meaning "inside", *kalooban* is a holistic and multi-dimensional perspective of Tagalog personhood whereby *loob* relates to his/her intellect, emotion, volition and ethics.[4] Emanating from *kalooban* (inner self), *Panata* is fulfilled externally in public. Most often, *Panata* manifests itself in the performing arts.

For the sake of contrast, I present two distinct expressions of Tagalog religiosity in the context of two Catholic events, namely the Holy Week celebration I witnessed in March 2016 in my province of Cavite and the feast day of Santa Clara, celebrated on 18 May 2016 in the province of Bulacan. These religious performances are themselves *Panata*. While *Panata* during Holy Week offers penance and sacrifices connected with singing, ritual drama and the playing of musical instruments, the feast of Santa Clara characterised by a festive mood is marked with a dance for fertility and petition for a child.

Tagalog Performing Arts in the Context of *Panata*

A. Holy Week Practices

The Catholic world observes Holy Week with religious activities that relate to the life and passion of Christ. In my hometown in Rosario, Cavite, just 31 kilometres south of Manila, the observance of Holy Week is marked with long-standing Lenten practices, namely the singing of Christ's passion called *pabasa* (also called *pasyon*); praying at stations of the cross along main streets of town (*via crusis*); procession of the religious image of Jesus Nazarene; self-flagellation (*penitensya*) on Good Friday; and the veneration of the Dead Christ (Santo Entierro), represented by a sacred image. The week's activities culminate in a long procession (*prusisyon*) of well-adorned religious images in the evening on Good Friday. All of these Tagalog expressions of religiosity have endured until today because of their status as *Panata*.

Lenten singing in my community takes place in private homes as well as in a 60-year old private chapel that houses an heirloom of the Dead Christ (*Santo Entierro*) believed by the community to be miraculous. Intimately called *Lolo*, meaning "grandfather", the sacred image evokes pathos and grief. Community members from all walks of life, including those from neighbouring towns, converge in the chapel from Palm Sunday until Good Friday not only to pray but more importantly, to fulfil their personal *Panata* through Lenten singing called *pabasa*.

From the root word *basa*, meaning "read", *pabasa* entails old-style chanting (*basa matanda*) as well as singing various tunes (*tono*), utilising the poetic texts of a popular Tagalog book entitled *Pasiong Mahal* (translated as *The Beloved Passion of Christ*).

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The book *Pasiong Mahal* consists of 2,660 stanzas with each stanza having five lines in octosyllabic verses. Its text is didactic as it instructs and moralises both the singers and the community on Catholic teachings and local values. The book also contains short sermons called *aral*, which serve as spiritual reflections. Derived from the book's title *Pasiong Mahal*, *pasyon* is an alternative term for *pabasa*. Signifying Christ's agony and suffering on earth, the Tagalog *pasyon* singers empathise with Christ's misery as they themselves experience emotional and physical exhaustion, including loss of voice, due to non-stop singing. The sacrifices of *pasyon* singers are part and parcel of *Panata*.

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The physical challenges experienced by individuals in connection with Lenten *Panata* are epitomised in the performative practice of self-flagellation (*penitensya*). A ritual drama witnessed by the Rosario community every Good Friday involves men with covered heads walking along streets, whipping their incised backs and bleeding all the while. In the context of *Panata*, these men self-flagellate as penance for their sins, despite discouragement of the practice by the Catholic Church today. The penitents kneel and pray upon reaching the chapel then later fall onto the ground, where they are further whipped by their companions, somehow in imitation and reminiscent of Christ's suffering on His way to Calvary. The flagellants then leave the chapel and continue walking towards the nearby sea to wash their wounds with salty water for faster healing.

Still on Good Friday is a reunion of members from an inactive brass band named Rosarian Band. The band has been playing at the chapel for the past 60 years until today, again because of *Panata*. Although the group has been neglected since the passing of its founder with no family member taking over, the Rosarian Band is revived every Good Friday as a vow of thanksgiving for better jobs and opportunities abroad as musicians. Gathered outside the chapel at 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon marking Christ's time of death, band musicians play their standard repertoire of classic and modern pieces, such as Rossini's "Barber of Seville" overture and "Jesus Christ Superstar" medley by Andrew Lloyd Weber. The playing of a brass band at wakes and funerals, as in the case of the Dead Christ, is symbolic of the deceased's revered social status in the community.

Good Friday culminates with a long procession of beautifully decorated religious images whose owners consider joining the procession as *Panata*. The performativity in expressing religiosity during Holy Week in a Tagalog community like in Rosario manifests varied activities constituting *Panata*. *Panata* as a recurring theme in Tagalog religiosity becomes even more intense as people empathise and mimic Christ's sufferings during Lenten season.

In contrast to the solemn mood of Holy Week practices in Cavite, I proceed with a more festive performance of dance as *Panata* in the town of Obando in province of Bulacan. The town of Obando, dating back in the sixteenth century, is located only 16 kilometres away, north of Manila.

B. Obando Fertility Dance as *Panata*

The town of Obando celebrates a three-day festival in honour of three religious figures, namely San Pascual Baylon (Paschal Baylon) on May 17th, Santa Clara (Claire of Assisi) on May 18th and Nuestra Señora de Salambao (Our Lady of Salambao) on May 19th. Although marketed to tourists as a "Fertility Dance Festival" by the local government, the celebration itself is a ritual marked by liturgical masses, prayers, processions and *pandanggo* street dancing, which is characterised by arms swaying in coordination with triple-time footsteps.

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The festival relates to a local story[5] of a pre-colonial practice of performing a fertility ritual for women unable to bear a child. Because barren women are considered low class and are ridiculed by society, a ritual is conducted for them at the home of the village leader (*datu*) with the aim of prevention or curing. The ritual may last for days, with much drinking, singing and dancing. The synthesis of local belief and Catholicism thus represents a folk-Catholic event in which devotees aptly render the song "Awit kay Santa Clara":

Santa Clara, pinung-pino	St. Clare, most refined
Ang pangako po'y ganito	My promise is this
Pagdating ko sa Obando	That when I arrive in Obando
Sasayaw ako ng pandanggo.	I will dance the *pandanggo*.

Refrain:
Abaruray, Abaruray	Abaruray, Abaruray
Ang pangako'y tutuparin	I will fulfill my promise.
Abaruray, abaruray	Abaruray, Abaruray
Ang pangako'y tutuparin.	I will fulfil my promise.

For figures see published Proceedings

The promise to dance for fertility to Santa Clara is *Panata* in exchange for a child. In solidarity with the community, the locals, visitors and various organisations join the childless couples in the procession that starts at 8:00 a.m. in the morning after the early mass. *Pandanggo* dancers, devotees, government officials and invited music bands arrange themselves along the main street just outside the church. Dressed in different attires with some wearing colourful native dresses and others garbed in specially-marked festival T-shirts, they gracefully dance and sway with much fun and delight accompanied by live bands playing Santa Clara's

tune. The three religious images join the procession led by Santa Clara together with a unique bamboo band called *Musikong Bumbong*.

The procession returns to the church in time for the end of its noon mass. In an overwhelming crowd inside the church, they sing and dance in unison to Santa Clara's song led by the *Musikong Bumbong*. While the crowd waves hands and kerchiefs, Santa Clara's religious image likewise "dances" moving her carriage to and fro at the centre aisle. The tremendous enthusiasm of attendees concludes the celebration with the hope that couples will come next year with their babies as testimony of a petition granted through dancing.

Summary

In summary, I put forth the idea that *Panata* is a Tagalog concept that is central in understanding performative expressions of Tagalog faith and religiosity. Embodied in the term *Panata* is the person's drive to act, sing, play and dance to accomplish a religious commitment to God for a better life. Indeed, Tagalog performances in the context of Holy Week and Obando fertility dance are *Panata*. The performing arts and the performativity of *Panata* highlight their intimate relationship of mutually reinforcing each other. Tagalog expressions of religiosity will therefore continue as a living tradition because of the spiritual energy of *Panata* to perform before God.

Endnotes

[1] http://www.joshuaproject.org (accessed July 14, 2016).
[2] See Peralta (2000, pp. 26-27).
[3] See Scott (1994, pp. 189-242).
[4] See P. Leonardo N. Mercado in Alejo, S. J. (1990, pp. 13-17).
[5] See De los Reyes. http://www.geocities.com/obando81 (accessed July 4, 2016).

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NOVELTY AND *PAKANA* AS LOGIC OF PRACTICE IN A CORONATION RITUAL?
(Lightning Paper)

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For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

MUSIC AND THE EXOTICISATION OF THE MALAY WORLD: EUROPEAN LITERATURE ON THE *NOBAT*

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NEGOTIATING MODERNITY IN THE HISTORY OF IBAN POPULAR MUSIC
(Lightning Paper)

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This paper examines how modernity has historically framed the development of the Iban popular music industry in 1960s and 1970s. The Iban is the largest indigenous ethnic group in Sarawak, Malaysia and make up approximately one third of the total Sarawak population. Historically, the Iban have been accepted as a cultural group in the multi-cultural nation of Malaysia, although exposed to the agents of change in their lifestyle and socio-cultural development. On the other hand, the Iban were a culturally homogenous group, located geographically and politically on the periphery of Malaysia's power centres. It is seen that during the twentieth century, Iban society had gone through a state of dramatic flux where the Iban have gone through processes of readapting themselves to meeting the demanding challenges of Malaysian nationalism. As seen in the Iban music industry, this transformation of rapidly embracing modernity through the nation was to the detriment of traditional practices in culture in order to adapt them to the era of modernisation. Drawing upon Barendregt's (2014) "alternative conceptions of modernity" this paper examines how the Iban references both a national as well as a local music industry, particularly through their use of language as an expression of Iban. First, this paper will examine how modernity has historically shaped developments in the industry of Iban popular music through political and economic modernisation. Using a historiography method, I will then look at differential transformation within the Iban music industry because of agents of socio-cultural and political changes in Sarawak. This reflects how the Iban people react to and reflect upon adaptation and modern demands of change as a result of the effects of historical processes on their social, cultural and physical environments.

Introduction

Modern, modernity, modernisation and modernism are the terms used in describing the transformation of socio-historical process these days. Objectively, modernity is seen as a "process of modernization, by which the social world comes under the domination of asceticism, secularization, the universalistic claims of rationality and differentiation of various spheres of the lifeworld, bureaucratization of economic, political and military practices, and the growing monetarization of values" (Turner, 1990, p. 6). The basis of modernity consists of historical, cultural and social formations (Mee & Kahn, 2012) and includes large areas of social process and cultural orientation comprised of globalisation, transnationalism, nationalism, identity, the state, secularism capitalism, techno-rationality and religion.

From the colonial period to postcolonial era, Southeast Asian nation states have gone through dramatic historical developments and experienced political and economical changes. But looking at the history of popular music through the lens of the nation does not in itself produce the whole picture. Instead Barendregt (2014) proposes "alternative conceptions of modernity" (p. 6) that problematize nation-centred narratives about the history of popular musics in Southeast Asia. Barendregt observes that modernity's production of new fashions, markets and lifestyles offers, "a glimpse of how and why people have taken up ideas of the modern, how it is made, unmade and remade, paying ample attention to how such reconfigurations may serve various claims and are constantly haunted by yet others" (Barendregt, 2014, p. 6). Those who are attached to how and why popular music is produced and created to meet the market demand attempt to fit into the current needs at that particular time period as well as create their own trends and developments within that society.

Theoretical Framework/Discussion

Recognising the defiance of Western modernity, Barendregt's (2014) alternative conceptions of modernity avoids nation-centred narratives and takes a holistic approach towards examining the multiple ways in which popular musics are attached to socio-culture developments in society. Some of the multiplicity of factors includes issues of socio-economic and stages of socio-cultural development, educational development, Christianity, literacy, as well as stages of economic development in infrastructure, lifestyle and technology. All have been critical factors influencing definitions of modernity in Iban society. The Iban people in Sarawak have encountered various waves of modernisation since the arrival of James Brooke in August 1839 where

the history of Sarawak as a modern nation-state began (Kedit, 1980). Adapting to the new environment after the arrival of Western influence, the Brookes controlled, administered and maintained order to prepare the Iban people to meet the needs and demands of a modern economy.

During the Brooke administration, influence from the Christian missionary and education had exposed the Iban to Western music through hymn singing where they were exposed to Western melodic structures and harmony through the expectation of memorising the hymns. Since 1950s, the Iban had listened to the radio on a regular basis (Postill, 2006); the Iban established their contact to Western, Malay and Indonesian popular music played by the radio station. With radio providing a model, the Iban soon accelerated these innovations by creating their own popular music, while expressing Iban-ness through their own language, adapting Western pop music melodies into their own early creations of pop music. Nevertheless, mimicking could also be seen as a reconfiguration in conveying their culture and expressions as social entertainment.

Looking as a form of mass communication, popular music could serve as a mediator to communicate the "desirability of modernity" (Hobart, 2006) as one of the ways to achieve rational development in the society. As the modern infrastructure development happened in the longhouse environment, young girls are eager to follow Western entertainment, popular music, dancing and copying the way the western people dress in the longhouse in order to be modern (Kedit, 1980). Consequently, as the desire of the Iban people to be modern, they had created a space in pop music and learning the music-making process in innovating the Western, Malay and Indonesian music styles into a newly created pop music. Hence, popular music had opened up the opportunity for the Iban to perform on stage and participate in singing competitions, creating the space among the community to explore their talent and skills in music.

Case Studies, Evidence and Empirical Data

Popular music influences from Kuala Lumpur, Penang, as well as from Indonesia, have been considerable throughout the history Iban popular music. These popular music styles have dictated from the centre to the periphery, where the Iban music industry is located in Sarawak. This centre-periphery paradigm certainly describes the emergence of the Iban popular music industry in Sarawak between 1954-1976, an era of Iban radio broadcasting.

Radio Sarawak was officially established on 8 June 1954, when the Sarawak Legislative Council decided to create a broadcasting service with technical assistance from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Among the four broadcast programs, including Malay, Chinese and English, Iban programming was initially broadcasted for just one hour from 7-8pm daily. In the early days, the programs were limited to news, information on agriculture and animal husbandry, Iban folklore and sung poems (*pantun* and *renong*) and epics (*ensera*). In the 1950s, external musical influences from Indonesian and Indian popular musics dominated Iban airwaves, and in the 1960s and 1970s British and American popular music also received substantial airplay. Radio Sarawak listeners enjoyed songs sung in Malay and Indonesian, as well as English songs sung by British and American artists. Therefore, in order for an emerging Iban popular music industry to modernise, Iban musicians composed songs using a popular form in their own language.

Both sisters, Senorita Linang and Pauline Linang were brought up listening to Western songs on the Sarawak Radio. Among their favourite singers were Tom Jones and Engelbert Humperdinck (Postill, 2006). Senorita Linang was an Iban beauty pageant winner and was very much seen in the public eye as an icon of Iban-ness. As an Iban singer cum artist, she was often perceived as a central icon to urban Iban audiences. She became the voice of Iban popular music in places where her songs reached her listeners in Sarawak through medium or shortwave frequency radio transmission. Senorita Linang may also be considered as a periphery artist among the larger, more dominant Kuala Lumpur, Indonesian and Western artists promoted at the time. As the major ethnic group of Sarawk, the Iban people established themselves through the vehicle of popular music yet predictably remained a minority in larger urban centres.

In the 1970s, Christopher Kelly emerged in the Iban pop music industry after winning the RTM star competition (Pertandingan Bintang RTM). His first album entitled *Beraie Nganti* was recorded in the 1970s and received an overwhelming response from Iban music fans. Kelly was crowned as the most popular Iban artist in 1970s and the first Iban artist who had performed together with the RTM orchestra for National Day in year 1973. "Bungai Layu," "Nuan Meruan di Atiku," "Agi Idup Agi Ngelaban," "Tinggal Sari Asai Setaun" and "Beraie Nganti" are among the titles of Iban songs that were popularised by Kelly. In total, he had recorded 24 vinyl albums with RTM from the 1970s to 1980s, and each vinyl disc contain four songs.

Positioned on the periphery, the Iban artists borrowed tunes and rhythms from Western pop songs and adapted them as their own. Influences in Iban popular music also included Malay and Hindustani genres. As Iban songs were broadcasted on the radio station, the Iban popular music might have reached a wider audience in Indonesia, especially in the Kalimantan region and the Malay Peninsula through radio transmission.

However, Iban radio programming did not always broadcast the sounds of modernity for its Iban listeners. In the 1960s, the Sarawak government used Iban radio broadcasting for psychological warfare tactics against communist insurgents. During the end of the Indonesian confrontation in 1965, priorities of broadcast shifted from warfare propaganda to "mental revolution of the people" (Postill, 2006, p. 49) with the aim to educate people with health and economic development information. Christopher Kelly was especially brought to sing in the communist area of Sibu in the early 1970s, where the former whole Third Division of Sarawak (presently covering the areas of Sibu, Kapit, Sarikei and Mukah). The Third Division was declared a special security area under the administration of Rajang Area Security Command (RASCOM) that was administered by the Chief Executive Officer; the Director of Operations is the Chief Minister of Sarawak. The places where Christopher Kelly was brought to perform as a singer cum entertainer included Pentas Rakyat (community stage show) in the Nanga Ngungun operational area (Kanowit), the Nanga Tada Operational area (Kanowit), the Nanga Jagau operational area (Kanowit) and the Nanga Sekuau operational area (Sibu) where he became the centre figure of popular music.

During the communist movement of the 1960s, Iban soldiers were sent to Malaya (the Malay Peninsula). The song entitled "Nganti Ti Pulai" was sung by Senorita Linang, translated as "Waiting for You to Come Back" (see Table 1). The melody of this song is taken from "Sealed with a Kiss," slow rock ballad sung by Brian Hyland, an American popular recording artist. The recording was released as a single in 1962. The Iban lyrics of the song portray the longing of a lover or fiancé for a soldier. With separation as the theme, the soldier had left her for a place far away, either for war or *berjalai* (literally translated as "walking", meaning acquiring new knowledge or wealth to be brought back to their village at the end of the journey). As depicted in the lyrics she misses him so much and prays he will be back soon.

Anang nuan lama pegi	Don't go too long
Aku ditinggal	I am left behind
Anang ngasuh aku braie	Don't make me love sick
Pulai lengkas sulu	Please come back as possible, my love
Ngagai aku ti nganti	To me that waiting for you
Anang lama pegi	Don't go too long
Sekumbang nuan dah ngejang	Since you have been away
Lesa idup ku	I feel so gloomy
Puas ngasuh ati lantang	It's hard to make myself happy
Engka ti ka badu	Hoping my gloominess will stop
Tang endaulih oh sulu	But it cannot be stopped
Pulai lengkas kitu	Come back here soon
Besari aku besampi	Every day I pray
Ke nuan tetap lengkas pulai	Hope you will come back soon
Ngelama aku udah nganti	All this long I have been waiting
Ka nuan ti ambai lalai	For you, my love
Anang nuan lama pegi	Don't go too long
Lengkas pulai	Come back soon
Aku nganti besari-sari	I wait everyday
Ka nuan ti ka pulai	For you to come back
Ngagai aku ti nganti tu	To me that wait for you here
Ngambi lengkas pulai	So that you come back soon
Besari aku besampi	Every day I pray
Ka nuan ti tau lengkas pulai	Hope you will come back soon
Ngelama aku udah nganti	All this long I have been waiting
Ka nuan ti ambai lalai	For you, my love

Ka nuan ti ka pulai	For you to come back
Ngagai aku ti nganti tu	To me that wait for you here
Ngambi lengkas pulai	So that you come back soon

Table 1. "Nganti Ti Pulai" ("Waiting for You to Come Back"). Lyrics in Iban with English translation.

As seen in the lyrics in Table 2, the song evokes an Iban battle cry "Agi Idup Agi Ngelaban," which literally means "To Fight to the Death." It was composed during the 1960s and sung by Christopher Kelly during the government's era of urgent "Malaysianisation". The song depicts the scene at the time of Sarawak joining Malaysia during the communist insurgency. Kelly's voice in the song urges the Iban soldiers to sacrifice all for their country. Since the song lyrics were in Iban and not the Malaysian language, it creates a strong sense spirit of comradeship, a bond between Iban soldiers who fought bravely for their rapidly modernising nation. The style of this song is very similar to the 1960s Malay popular songs ornamentation in the melody.

Diatu kitai udah Merdeka	Now we are a free country here
Pegai perintah serakup Malaysia	Governed by the formation of Malaysia
Anang sekali bebagi ati	Don't be half hearted
Ngetan ke menua sereta neggau negeri	Protect your country
Chorus:	
Aram meh kitai ti nyadi sedadu	Come, those of us who are soldiers
Berambun ka nyawa napi peuluru	Sacrifice your life against the bullet
Anang undur ngapa ari menalan	Don't ever retreat from the war field
Enti agi idup agi ngelaban	Fight until your last breath
Kitai meh bejuluk bujang berani	We are the brave warriors
Ti tampak rita serta pegari	Who are famous and well known

Table 2. "Agi Idup Agi Ngelaban" ("Fight Until the Death"). Lyrics in Iban and English translation.

Christian missionaries, formal education, as well as political and economic development dramatically changed the cultural and physical environment of the Iban as well as the Iban's perception towards their traditional culture. In addition, many Iban people themselves were involved in internally discrediting their own culture. For example, traditional Iban belief systems were animistic and often involved shamans and ritual healers. As a reflection of modernisation through migration to urban areas, the song "Cherita Manang Ula" ("Story of Manang Ula") (See Table 3) portrays the urban Iban's sceptical attitude towards rural Iban traditional animism healing rituals. These rituals were conducted by Iban shaman known as *manang*. Sung in the rhythm and melody of an Indonesian song with an exotic Hindustani flavour, this song depicts how a bogus shaman conducted a phony healing ritual.

Dinga kita cherita	Listen to the story
Aku manangula	Shaman 'manangula'
Lebuh iya di ambi	When he was invited
Orang belian	For healing ritual
Puchung sakarung	Bundle of charms
Di ma enggau baka	In a basket he carried on his back
Endang siku orang	One men
Di asoh iya ngesan	Ask him to carry
Leboh iya datai	When he arrive
Ba tudah ke sakit	At the place of the sick
Dia iya nanya	Then he ask
Nama pemedis	What kind of sickness
Tudah ke sakit	The poor sick person
Pan madah diri	He tell about himself
Kena hujan nyala	Because of the 'hujan nyala'
Pulai iya nginti	When he comes back from fishing

Manang ula lalu	Shaman "manang ula', then
Enda chamang-chamang	Immediately
Mantai ka lupong	Take his basket
Batu pemandang	Batu pemantang (crystal to see kind of sickness)
Dia iya lalu	Then he start
Muchau besampi	Recite the spell
Mandang ke batu	Looking at the crystal
Segenap tisi	In every angle
Batu iya kumbai	That crystal he called
Iya batu ilau	As 'batu ilau' (crystal for seeing)
Di kena nenggau	For him to see
Ngabas penyakit	Find out the sickness
Udah nya baru	After that
Iya mantai puchau	He start recite the spell
Di kena ngabau antu ti jai	For him to ward away the bad spirits

Table 3: "Cherita Manang Ula" ("Story of Manang Ula"). Lyrics in Iban and English translation.

Summary

This paper has addresses how "alternative conceptions of modernity" (Barendregt, 2014) have shaped and contributed to the musical development and socio-cultural meaning of Iban popular music in Sarawak. Popular music in Iban society has endured influence from the hymns and Christian liturgy rendered into Iban language, English songs sung in mission schools, and a mixture of Western, Malay and Indonesian popular songs diffused into the Iban community. Since the beginning of radio station broadcasts, Iban popular music has been a strategic form of media towards nation building especially in the era of Malaysianisation when Sarawak joined Malaysia as a nation state.

A historical rupture between earlier modernities and the modernity we are presently in is explained by Appadurai (1996): "This theory of a break-or rupture-with its strong emphasis on electronic mediation and mass migration, is necessarily a theory of the recent past (or the extended present) because it is only in the past two decades or so that media and migration have become so massively globalized, that is to say, active across large and irregular transnational terrains" (p. 9). I agree with Appadurai because the Iban people progressed remarkably over the few decades and immerse themselves in the economic development process from the Brooke Monarchy to Malaysia nation state. At the same time, the radio became a symbol of modernity for the Iban who lived in the longhouse, whereas the gramophone became the emblem of modernity for the urban Iban as crucial accessories to the development of new mass-mediated culture of consumption.

Due to the limited sources of music available to the Sarawak listeners during 1950s to 1970s, the uniqueness of Iban popular music is seen through the mixture of various genres of music ranging from Malay and Indonesian popular music, Hindustani music, and Western ballads. This shows how these musical concepts blend together with the Iban language in the form of purely entertainment-based popular music. Although Iban popular music is not fully original compositions, Iban popular music reflects the popular culture and lifestyle of Iban people especially how Iban people express their culture as well as their identity of Iban-ness in the modernised environment.

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HINDUSTANI ELEMENTS IN VOCAL LINES OF MALAY GHAZAL AS PRACTICED IN JOHOR
(Lightning Paper)

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For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

For article see published Proceedings

THE MUSIC OF *JALAN SESAMA* (*SESAME STREET*): TELEVISED INDONESIAN APPROACHES TO TEACHING CULTURAL DIVERSITY

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A bird of paradise circles down from the sky, taking a colourful descent towards the islands of Indonesia. The bird swoops towards a stately tree where an orangutan puppet, Tantan, sits playing a *kendhang* drum, accompanied by human children playing *kendhang* and the bamboo *suling* flute. Tantan tosses a green street sign up into the sky where it changes colours, revealing a batik-clad, purple-skinned girl puppet dancing *tari piring*, the West Sumatran plate dance. As the credits continue to unfold, the theme song exhorts children to play, sing, dance, draw, and study together in a magical place found only on their televisions: Jalan Sesama. *Jalan Sesama* (2008-2010) is the Indonesian co-production of *Sesame Street* (1969-present), the award-winning American children's television program best known for its combination of entertainment with curriculum-based educational approaches. Set on a prototypical inner-city American street populated by an ethnically diverse human cast and a colourful array of puppets called Muppets, *Sesame Street* intersperses live-action street scenes with animations and other short skits that emphasise basic literacy, mathematics, and social skills. Music has been an integral medium through which these lessons are presented. *Jalan Sesama* adopted many of its American predecessor's approaches—including the use of brightly-coloured Muppet characters and the prominent incorporation of music—to teach children academic skills and in particular, to address the island nation's diverse ethnic heritage. Despite presenting information in a similar format to *Sesame Street*, *Jalan Sesama* portrays Indonesia's cultural diversity in a way that is distinctly tailored to present a pluralistic narrative of Indonesian society.

I examine how excerpts of *Jalan Sesama* that feature Indonesian performing arts promote learning about the nation's cultural diversity. Focusing on music found within what I term ethnographic film scenes and street scenes, I demonstrate how children's personal musical narratives and hands-on music-making within a diverse array of Indonesian musical traditions are presented to represent cultural diversity—one through which Indonesian children of diverse backgrounds are encouraged to experience and identify with their nation's distinctive performing arts cultures.

Jalan Sesama is a recent addition to a family of *Sesame Street* programs that Children's Television Workshop president Charlotte Cole has called "the single largest informal educator of young children in the world (Cole, Richmond & McCann-Brown, 2001). Initially an American phenomenon, *Sesame Street* has become the most watched children's television program in the world with a peak viewership of over 120 million children worldwide in 2001. Over the past fifty years, broadcasts of the program have reached children in more than 140 countries. Many of these broadcasts were versions of the American program dubbed into the local language. However, beginning in 1972, independent, local co-productions of *Sesame Street* have been broadcast in thirty-three countries around the world. Each co-production is produced in the local official language and formulated to reflect the country's cultural values and traditions. In many countries, show writers have used the program as an opportunity not only to teach basic literacy and arithmetic skills but also to address pressing local social issues, such as ethnic conflict and endemic health concerns.[1]

In particular, *Jalan Sesama* was developed to enhance primary-level educational opportunities in more remote areas of the country and was promoted as an attempt to reduce the secondary school dropout rate in Indonesia, which was about 40% at the time the program aired (Weiss, 2012). Though previous locally produced Indonesian children's television programs such as *Si Unyil* (1981-1993) endorsed nationalised Indonesian values, few contained the explicitly curricular approaches featured in *Jalan Sesama*. Dubbed foreign imports with little educational value, such as *Teletubbies* (1997-2001) and *Spongebob Squarepants* (1999-present), have been also been increasingly popular in Indonesia over the past two decades (Harnish, 2005).

The *Jalan Sesama* partnership was initiated between Children's Television Workshop and Indonesian partner Creative Indigo Production in 2006 and received its primary funding from the United States federal government (Rice, 2006). During its initial broadcast run, *Jalan Sesama* was shown on a daily basis on television network Trans7, a large private broadcast channel based in Jakarta that reaches more than 133 million viewers in Indonesia—over half of the country's population. Within three years, 156 half-hour episodes of *Jalan Sesama* were viewed by approximately 7.5 million Indonesian children, or two-thirds of the target age group (Sesame Workshop, 2011). The program now airs regularly but less frequently as re-

runs on Kompas TV, and some episodes can be purchased on VCD or DVD as well as found online. School outreach programs in West Java, West Nusa Tenggara, and Papua that were sponsored by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Indonesia) from 2011-2014 also brought specially developed *Jalan Sesama* materials to underserved populations.

The pedagogical goals of *Jalan Sesama* are similar to those of *Sesame Street*, and like its parent program, the series drew on a consulting team of education, culture, and health specialists to design its content. Each episode of *Jalan Sesama* follows the distinctive *Sesame Street* format—the episodes alternate short animated or puppets-only segments that are interspersed between a single, "real world" storyline that features Muppets and human characters and takes place on *Jalan Sesama*. Though imported from the United States, the program's format resonates with Indonesian traditional arts in an interesting way. The Muppets of *Jalan Sesama* join Indonesia's rich history of traditional puppetry genres and the short scenes that form each episode's overall narrative, mirror the format of many *wayang* performances, that combine moral lessons and entertainment within a narrative comprised of a number of shorter scenes.

In *Jalan Sesama*, one of the main lessons is cultural diversity. The name *Jalan Sesama*—literally, "street for all"—mirrors Indonesia's national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*—"Unity in Diversity." The four newly-created Indonesian Muppet protagonists—Putri, a purple-skinned human girl; Momon, a yellow monster; Jabrik, a baby rhinoceros; and Tantan, an orangutan—transcend the concept of ethnic diversity through presenting human qualities without ethnicity attached and portray endangered Indonesian wildlife species. Scenes featuring live actors from diverse locations around the nation bring attention not only to the Central Javanese culture that features heavily in nationalised television productions, but also incorporate visible representations of other geographic areas and Indonesian ethnicities.

Like in the American *Sesame Street*, musical learning is not specifically listed among *Jalan Sesama*'s pedagogical goals. However, musical segments are integral to promoting the program's educational messages. The *Jalan Sesama* website highlights recordings and lyrics to over fifty newly-composed songs—primarily in the popular Indonesian *dangdut* style—on topics such as animals, parts of the body, and numbers and letters. The program also features performing arts in two types of narrative segments: ethnographic film scenes and street scenes.

Ethnographic film scenes—extended scenes that follow child narrators in exploring real-world environments—were a part of the *Sesame Street* model from its first season. While the American program initially used these scenes to expose urban children to rural landscapes and lifestyles, *Jalan Sesama* focused instead on transporting children to other parts of Indonesia. Performing arts-based segments in this series largely focused on West Java, Bali, and Papua, which were specific areas targeted for representation by the program.

One of the most vivid ethnographic films follows a young boy from Bandung as he goes to a *wayang golek* (rod puppet) performance. The establishing shots show the narrator and his older brother as they are led by their father through the crowd at the *alun-alun* (city plaza) and take their seats. The shot cuts next to a close-up of musicians playing instruments—*rebab*, *kendhang*, and *saron*—before cutting to focus on the *dhalang*, the shadow puppeteer, as the boy explains his role in directing and voicing the puppets. As the boy describes how the puppets are made, clothed and manipulated, the repeated short *saron* melody that serves as background music to the narration gives way to a few seconds of uninterrupted audio-visuals from the performance. As the boy provides a basic explanation of the Pandawa Lima, the characters from the Mahabharata whose story is depicted here, quick cuts show the full gamelan orchestra, the puppets, and the audience, before settling again on the stage as the boy discusses his favourite character, the comedic Si Cepot whose antics bring the whole audience to laughter. The scene concludes with the family leaving after the performance finishes.

Typical of the other ethnographic scenes, in the *wayang golek* excerpt, the young boy narrates an experience with traditional culture from his home region. Though providing visual and aural introduction to West Javanese puppetry traditions, the excerpt does *not* attempt to provide a comprehensive explanation for the music or its mechanics, rather choosing to evoke a more general understanding of the art form. By providing viewers an age-peer "friend" with whom to learn about *wayang golek*, this *Jalan Sesama* excerpt offers an approachable way for children from other regions to learn about the people and arts of West Java.

In contrast, street scenes—those in which the primary Muppet and human protagonists interact on a set that is part of the world of the *Jalan*—provide the Muppets and humans alike the opportunity to interact with traditional artists. Many musical street scenes also focus on *wayang*—in fact, one of the recurring characters is a *dhalang*—but other musical street scenes show the children and Muppets of *Jalan Sesama* learning about traditional music and dance.

In one such excerpt, the Muppet Putri and the young human character Icha are walking together when they hear something interesting. Upon investigation, they find that Bapak Kompyang is playing melodic patterns on a *gangsa* instrument from Balinese *gamelan gong kebyar*. Icha is fascinated by the sound and wants to learn how to play, but she is afraid to make a mistake. Putri and Pak Kompyang reassure her that it is normal for new learners to make mistakes, and Kompyang shows her how to hold the mallet and strike the keys. As Icha gains more dexterity and skill in her strokes, Kompyang encourages her that the more she practices, the more she'll be able to play. As Icha plays, Pak accompanies her on the *ceng-ceng* cymbals, then switches to play on the other *gangsa*, corralling Icha's erratic melody into a melody more idiomatic for Balinese gamelan. Putri dances gleefully in front of them, enjoying the sound of the Balinese gamelan.

Once again, this excerpt provides child viewers from other areas of Indonesia with a basic audio-visual introduction to this artistic style rather than giving an in-depth exploration of Balinese gamelan. Importantly, this metonymic introduction to Balinese culture is paired with a supportive message about trying new things. By following Icha's story, children viewing the program also learn the basics of the *gangsa* and moreover are encouraged to participate in hands-on learning of Indonesian cultural heritage.

Though enthusiastically followed by millions of Indonesian viewers, *Jalan Sesama* faced no shortage of controversy when it was first announced. Particularly outspoken was Fauzan al-Anshari, former Director of the Institute of Political Studies and the Islamic Sharia, who declared the program to be a propagandistic attempt to bend Indonesian educational curriculum to American ideals (Powell, 2006). Indeed, as noted previously, *Jalan Sesama*'s financial ties to the United States government are no secret. Furthermore, then-US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice first announced the program within a speech that also addressed the US war in Iraq and rising anti-US sentiment in Indonesia. In this sense, the program continues a history of artistic and media-based negotiations of soft power between the two nations that dates back to the 1960s, when the American Ford Foundation and other entities provided financial support for Indonesian-American artistic exchanges (McGraw, 2013).

However, despite sharing the same basic production format as *Sesame Street*, *Jalan Sesama* addresses Indonesian cultural diversity through music in a way that is quite different from the approach taken on the American program. Since its inception, *Sesame Street* has been lauded for the extent to which it exposed children to a racially and ethnically diverse set of performing arts traditions. Yet, despite featuring a wide variety of musical styles representing the cultural diversity of the United States, they are frequently presented without clear cultural contextualisation or any particular sense of attribution to specific groups. Therefore, while firmly advocating against an assimilationist viewpoint emphasising sameness in American culture, this more passive musical and cultural presentation does not take a particular stance on how these musical segments may enlighten children.

Some elements of *Jalan Sesama* suggest a unified Indonesian culture: the program is set on a generic neo-colonial Indonesian "everywhere" type of street and the program does not explicitly address religion or religious values at any point—and of course, like the majority of broadcast TV in Indonesia, the program is presented entirely in Bahasa Indonesia rather than local languages. However, artistic segments like those previously analysed purposefully introduce viewers to musical styles distinctive to the different ethnicities and geographical regions within Indonesia. In this way, *Jalan Sesama* favours a pluralist approach to cultural diversity education—defined here, following the model illustrated by anthropologist Robert Hefner as one in which a number of minority cultures are promoted as distinctive but equal (Hefner, 2001). In presenting interactive musical excerpts for children, *Jalan Sesama* goes beyond simple acknowledgement of distinctive traditions within a more homogenised majority nationalist culture but also, to quote director of Harvard's Pluralism Project, Diana L. Eck, involves an "energetic engagement with diversity" by inviting children to explore cultural and musical difference (Eck, 2006). In doing so, the model of *Jalan Sesama* provides a distinctive new method through which to use music and multimedia to reach Indonesia's culturally diverse child population.

Endnotes

[1] In the past decade, two *Sesame Street* co-productions have aired in Southeast Asia: *Sabai Sabai Sesame* (2005-2006) and *Jalan Sesama* (2008-2010). A third Southeast Asian co-production, the Philippine show *Sesame!*, aired for a single season in 1983; when the co-production partnership broke up due to political issues with the Marcos regime, the independent program *Batibot* was born, lasting from 1984-1998. It was revived from 2010-2013 and has been the subject of a learning app released in 2015.

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TWENTY YEARS AGO, SERGEANT PEPPER TAUGHT THE BAND TO PLAY
(Lightning Paper)

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Report on Research Topic

My paper shows how comparing observations of ordinary life with musical and dance practice during two twenty-year periods help me to understand to be a better Javanese *gamelan* music performer. Through a longitudinal—long-term—point of view, I hope to solve my unending effort to understand the "secret" of a music that is not of my own culture. Due to this being a lightning paper, I will focus only on high points of one of the methods of my researching.

The Meaning of Sergeant Pepper

When I started this paper, I was being cute in giving the title. Then, I realised that in 2016, readers may not know that it is a lyric from The Beatles' 1967 revolutionary rock album. The subtext being that a band twenty years before must be remembered and revitalised.

Objectives of this Research

In 1976-1977 in central Java, I learned from the great masters from the heyday of the first half of the twentieth century. This lightning paper promotes longitudinal comparative research.

Brief Background: Twenty Years Ago

In 1992, after a hiatus from central Java classical *gamelan* music, I returned to my field-research location, and discovered—shocked by—changes in classical music and dance. It seemed that the foundation was dropping out—that there was an impending demise of the arts' aesthetic. Was I to presume this loss, or had the performing arts "merely" transformed, developed, and moved into a space congruent with central Java's modernisation? I will conjecture reasons of these unexpected changes in 1992. Then, I fast-forward to 2016, to another twenty years after my unexpected observations in 1992.

This paper will show the community's re-vitalisation, relevancy and sustainability of traditional dance and music in a modern Java's space of: McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Pizza Hut; where young musicians' staple is the Eagles' "California Hotel," where pre-teenagers take hip-hop lessons; and where DJs sample and modify Jefferson Airplane's "Somebody to Love."

Brief Discussion of Current Work: My "Methodology"

Continuing the use of metaphor and analogy of my paper at the 2014 ICTM PASEA in Bali where I compared playing Javanese classical *gamelan* with driving traffic in the roads of Central Java, here, I reflect the changes I saw between 1972 and 1992.

I will not say this is a methodology, but is an approach in order to see the behaviours of the society and milieu of the classical music and dance.

Changes at 1992 after Twenty Years

Here is a list—in no particular order:

- People wear shoes more often than sandals
- Women wear pants
- Few people wear *sarung* (traditional wrap-around) and *kebaya* (traditional blouse)
- The latest fashions are mostly American or Western
- Most people don't own but rent *kris* (heirloom dagger) and traditional clothing
- In the palace, the Javanese intelligentsia wear suits, the foreigners wear traditional clothing

- Young people do not speak *krama* (the higher polite form of language) very much any more
- Nescafe is hip
- Kentucky Fried Chicken is preferred to *mbok mberek* traditional fried chicken
- There are frozen french fries in the supermarkets
- People prefer to pay more in supermarkets or department stores rather than go to the *pasar* (market) to bargain
- Chinese weddings (increasingly more Javanese ones) are stand-up parties (buffet)
- Weddings rarely use live *gamelan*
- More western popular music is heard, loved, and sung
- Karaoke is very big and a lot of it is western music (there is Hong Kong pop but that's generally for Chinese-Indonesians)
- There is not much *gamelan* music on the radio
- No one knows *Pangkur* but everyone knows *Den Pasar Moon*
- The sound system plays *dangdut* (pop music) (or whatever they prefer) right after an all-night *wayang* (shadow play)
- American movies predominate
- American TV predominates
- Graffiti is everywhere
- People have cars and go places alone
- Everyone has colour TV (even in a small hovel on the side of the road)
- Many people have hand phones
- Young couples display affection or have physical contact in public
- Orthodox Islam is more prominent
- There is more crime (ninja robbers holding servants at bay while whole houses are ransacked)
- Apparently more violent crime (mass murders, shooting of police)
- Young boys get drunk and violent in public
- People yell in public
- Everyone uses notation. It's an exception when *pesindhèn* (female singer), especially of the younger generation, sings without notation
- *Pesindhen*s (female singers) hold the mike sometimes
- Most *pesindhen*s sound like each other
- No one remembers all of the *cakepan* (lyrics)
- There's more choral singing in *wayang*
- RRI seems more *kasar* (rough)
- *Gamelan* groups don't play classical pieces much, preferring *langgam*, *campursari* (two types of pop music), and fast pieces
- *Gérong* (male chorus) sings too loudly

These items might be tied together in order to understand why, and what it means to the performing arts. There is no space here to go into all interactions and links between them, moreover the second level for a deeper analysis.

But for example: to be invited to attend the Solonese king's coronation anniversary is to join the A-list, to partake in the spiritual power, especially during the sacred ritual Bedhaya Ketawang dance. One of the ladies in audience complained that the dance was too long—too repetitive. But, the Bedhaya Ketawang is not a performance or entertainment. It is a ritual—an *upacara*—and for that reason doesn't have to entertain us or keep us interested visually. If we tune into the spiritual quality, then it is completely engaging, and we gain something by being there. It is for us to find meaning in what is being done.

This is reminiscent of some of the observations above—that:

- Most people do not own, but rent, *kris* (heirloom dagger) and traditional clothing
- In the palace, the Javanese intelligentsia wear suits, the foreigners wear traditional clothing
- Nescafe is hip
- Kentucky Fried Chicken is preferred to *mbok mberek* traditional fried chicken
- There are frozen french fries in the supermarkets

This can be related to music too; the reliance of female singers on notation in performance is "frozen french fried" music.

Projected Outcomes: Living Again (but can it Last?)

To bring this back to Sergeant Pepper who taught a band to play twenty years ago, in 1992, there seemed a need to return to the lessons of Sergeant Pepper—in other words, to the Javanese master musicians and dancers who gave something valuable to the world.

Happily, between 1992 and 2016 today, the apparent loss of cultural understanding rebounded like a rubber band—an elasticity giving hope and delight that a younger generation (born in the 1960s) with different social outlook, frame, and approach has picked up and has begun to re-maintain the traditional arts of that heyday in the early 20th century.

Some examples include: the *Pujokusuman* 35-day dance rehearsals; star younger musicians under Saptono in Solo; and *Pujangga Laras* supported by mainly foreigner music lovers and students.

In my longer paper, continuing the metaphoric approach, I have a new list of observations for 2016—to be compared to 1992's. Whether this rubber band lasts will only be known over time.

What is the Upside of this Approach?

I like raw ethnography and field research. I hear that in some academic circles, field research is no longer required or recommended. I believe in first hand observation, notation, and analysis—for searching understanding. The longitudinal comparing of things over time puts things into relief.

Umar Kayam, a noted Indonesian writer who was close to many Western scholars, respected what they had to say. However, he said that they almost always got it wrong.

Maybe I will get it wrong, too. I will not give up scientific or intellectual tools. But, perhaps combining with a metaphoric and analogy approach may give a better, clearer picture of how things work.

LECTURE-DEMONSTRATION: **MUSIC PATTERNS IN *MELAYU ASLI* AND *MAK YONG***

THE STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF *MELAYU ASLI* SONG

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Introduction

This paper is the result of research done in fulfilment of the requirements for MA in Creative Arts, at the Graduate School of the P. Ramlee Chair, ASWARA, in 2015. The aim of this study was to examine the details of the style of *lagu Melayu Asli* songs by studying the domains and to analyse the important aspects of style and ornamentation that is common practice in the playing of this traditional Malay song, especially in Peninsular Malaysia. It is hoped that the results of this study can meet these particular interests:

  1) Providing exposure and new knowledge about the style of playing of *lagu Melayu Asli*
  2) Generating documentation and reference materials about the technique and playing style
  3) Maintaining many of the features found in this type of traditional Malay song as played over the decades of the past century (at least) by Malay musicians

In this study, I make three observations through interviews with selected informants, which include aspects such as:

  1) Selection of *lagu Melayu Asli* which are still popular and played by professional *Melayu Asli* singers and musicians today
  2) Record and transcribe selected popular songs using the Western notation system, complete with symbols for the ornamentation and overall style
  3) Create a re-analysis and comparison of different styles of playing between different players of the same song.

***Lagu Melayu Asli* (Malay *Asli* ["original"] Tunes or Songs)**

Lagu Melayu Asli is one of the Malay art forms that has been around for a long time. According to Abdul Fatah Karim (1980), the traditional Malay song has a specific rhythm and in Malaysia it evolved along with the development of the *bangsawan* in the early part of the 20th century.

In addition, Dr. Arif Ahmad (2005) describes the singing of *lagu Melayu Asli* as having melodic motifs using a gentle, well-mannered style of delivery. It also features a medium tempo with clear and distinctive rhythm. Dr. Arif Ahmad also added that the *lagu Melayu Asli* uses lyrics that comprise *Malay pantun*s (4-line poems) that contain elements of advice and affection. Mohamed Ghouse Nasuruddin (1989) noted that it belongs in the category of syncretic music that is a combination of elements found in Western and Malay music. He also added, the word *Asli* in the context of music that referred to "original music," a traditional music with singing style and specific drum beat of a certain rhythm. The *lagu Melayu Asli*, also called *senandung*, has its own uniqueness when viewed from the angle of style, melody and unique rhythmic patterns played by a *rebana* frame drum and gong beats that can be said to be not directly influenced by outside elements.

It can be noted that the original rhythm in this traditional Malay song is an absolute artistic creation of Malays born of the Malay race (Ahmad Razli Ayub, 2014). This fact is also supported by Takari and Fadlin through interviews conducted in Medan in September 2014, who stated that the traditional Malay song, which is also called *senandung*, belongs to the Malays and has a rhythm of its own.

Texture or pattern in traditional Malay song is polyphonic, which means it is multi-layered (or stratified). In general, texture is a summary of the melody, harmony, rhythm and dynamics, which are interconnected within a song. The singing voice, violin and accordion are played heterophonically, meaning the vocal line, accordion and violin play the same basic melody but each with its own variations on the given melody.

Ber'bunga', melodic embellishment, is made with the addition of decorative tones (or ornamentation), noted with terms borrowed from Western music, such as *accaciatura*, mordent, glissando,

turn and trill. Both of these musical aspects (the rhythmic pattern and the melody line) will collide at the end of the phrase to mark the start of the next round or the final beat of a phrase or section (Matusky & Tan, 2012). From the tone or sound quality, also called timbre, tone quality of instruments produced by the violin and accordion accompaniment is said to be very suitable for use in the traditional Malay song and it sounds almost like the sound of the singing voice.

Rentak Melayu Asli Rhythm (*Melayu Asli* Rhythmic Pattern)

Generally, in the tradition of Malay *Asli* music, there are five specific types of rhythm namely *joget*, *zapin*, *masri*, *inang* and *asli* (Syafa'atussara Silahudin, 2009).

The *rentak Asli* rhythm is played by the *rebana* (frame drum) in *Melayu Asli* songs using a slow tempo of 58-65 beats per minute. The *rentak Asli* (*Asli* rhythmic pattern) is played in the count of 8 beats over a 2 bar phrase with 4/4 meter. On the first 4 beats, the *rebana* plays regularly on beats 2, 3, and 4, following with drum strokes on beats 1 and 2 in the second bar with a syncopation on beat 4. (Matusky & Tan, 2004). On the other hand, the gong will play on beat 1 and twice on beat 7 (refer to Figure 1). According to Ahmad Razli Ayub (2014), the emphasis on the two gong strokes on beat 7 gives a unique characteristic to the *rentak Asli*. Arguably, this is unique only to *lagu Melayu Asli* and not found in other music.
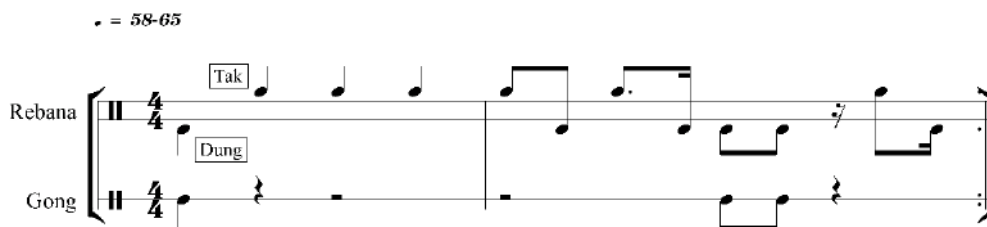

Figure 1. Rentak Melayu Asli.

Pantun (4-Line Poem) Verses in *Lagu Melayu Asli*

The *Melayu Asli* song is typically associated with a particular poem that is sung, in Malay we say *berpantun 4 kerat* ("vocalising [or singing] the 4-line poem"). Traditional Malay song is synonymous with *pantun*. According to Zaaba (1965), the *pantun* was first used to express messages or meanings indirectly. This includes stories about love, poetry oriented advice, natural beauty and the story of past Malay rulers. The main function of the *pantun* is to express feelings, give advice, and quiz and sweeten the conversations between two people.

The *pantun* in *lagu Melayu Asli* is originally handcrafted in two parts named as AB (or binary form), notably in the form where part A rhymes with part B, and where part B gives the true meaning of the poem. The *lagu Melayu Asli* can also be said to be in strophic form, in which the melody and the same rhythmic pattern are repeated, but the text of the 4-line *pantun* changes from verse to verse, in which the musicians and singers are given the freedom to improvise according to taste, skills and inspirations for each verse of the song. This means the process *pernadaan* demands that a singer or musician must comply with the tradition of the song, so that the norms and the discipline of the tradition is adhered to.

The Main Musical Phrases in the *Lagu Melayu Asli*

1) *Buka Lagu* (opening of the song) is the melodic introduction of a song. Each traditional Malay song has its own opening. The entry of the *Melayu Asli* song itself follows closely after the *buka lagu* (intro) is played.

2) *Pengantar Lagu* refers to a passage of notes, the selection of which is from certain notes of the scale or mode in the tune. It is sometimes played within the first line of the sung *pantun* melodic line but always played after the third line of the *pantun*. The *pengantar lagu* serves the function of introducing (or leading) to the last line of the *pantun*, which tells the real meaning of the whole poem. The last note of the *pengantar lagu* always leads into the melody of the last line.

3) *Sendi Lagu* is a melodic bridge. *Sendi* in Malay means "joint" usually played after singing the second line of the *pantun*, and after the fourth line before entering the *buka lagu* (intro) for the second *pantun* verse of

the piece. Its melodic contour is usually not uniform in length, it is, however, longer than the *pengantar lagu*, and it serves the purpose of bridging the first two lines and the last two lines in the *pantun*.

4) ***Pemati Lagu/Penutup Lagu*** (closing/ending) are melodic phrases played when two *pantun* (*dua kerat pantun*) are completed by the singer. The piece titled *Seri Mersing* uses the *sendi lagu* as the *pemati lagu* played gradually slower (*ritard*) to indicate that the song will end. On the other hand, songs like *Makan Sireh* and *Bunga Tanjung* use the sung melody as the *penutup lagu*.

The Structure of *Lagu Melayu Asli* (Using the Lyrics of the song *Seri Mersing*)

(Verse 1)
(Buka Lagu) *Tidaklah boleh…***(Pengantar Lagu)** *ku kenanglah kenang…*
*Air lah mata jatuh berlinang…***(Sendi Lagu)**
*Karam di laut dapat ku renang…***(Pengantar Lagu)**
*Karam di hati aduhailah sayang bila kah nak senang…***(Sendi Lagu)**

(Verse 2)
(Buka Lagu) *Seri Meresing…***(Pengantar Lagu)** *lagu lah Melayu…*
*Digubahlah oleh biduan dahulu…***(Sendi Lagu)**
*Hati ku runsing bertambahlah pilu…***(Pengantar Lagu)**
*Mengenangkan nasib aduhai lah sayang yatim lah piatu…***(Pemati Lagu)**

Figure 2. *Buka Lagu* and *Pengantar Lagu* in music notations.

The Performing Style of *Lagu Melayu Asli*

There are terms that are used by players in the traditional Malay song that serve to embellish the melody of a song. The terms *lenggok*, *bunga*, *gerenek*, *air lagu*, *patah lagu* indicate the style of delivery that are sung or played instrumentally. With these embellishments, the *lagu Melayu Asli* turns expressive and full of feelings, and it is not empty, hard or stiff. In Malaysia, the practice of *lagu Melayu Asli* is without clear mention of the terms *gerenek*, *lenggok* etc. Musicians and singers simply perform the ornamentation without referring to the technique. However, in Medan Indonesia, the practice of *Melayu Deli* clearly commands the terms of *gerenek* and *cengkok*. The practitioners use the terms commonly.

Returning to Malaysia, where the *lagu Melayu Asli* is practised, the practical term of *bunga lagu* is used to mean all the embellishments. That is, Malaysian musicians do not differentiate the various ornamentations. What is most important to *lagu Melayu Asli* practitioners, in the words of Ahmad Razli Ayub (2014), "we play the music as if we are singing the melody."

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LECTURE-DEMONSTRATION: MUSIC PATTERNS IN *MELAYU ASLI* AND *MAK YONG*

THE ROLE OF *GENDANG IBU* IN THE *MAK YONG* ENSEMBLE

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Introduction

Mak yong is a famous traditional Malay theatrical performance from the state of Kelantan which incorporates the elements of the art of music, singing, dance, *pengucatan sastera* (art of language of *Mak yong*) and acting. This essay explains the traditional music ensembles within the *Mak yong* theatrical performance and focuses on the major role of the *gendang ibu* (large-size *gendang* double-headed drum) in accompanying a *Mak yong* play and in the whole music ensemble. This essay then discusses the details on the role of the musical instruments, tuning systems, player positions, and beating (or drumming) techniques present within the *Mak yong* music. This essay also presents the experience of an author who is an enthusiast to the art of the *Mak yong* music for almost 15 years. In addition, this essay explains the variations of drumming or basic rhythms in the songs (*lagu*) usually played by the *Mak yong* players in Kelantan and also similarities among the different *Pergendangan Melayu* (Malay Percussion) such as the *Wayang kulit Kelantan* and *Main peteri* (healing ceremony).

The Role of the *Gendang Ibu* within Kelantan *Mak Yong* Music

The *gendang ibu* is one of the most important musical instruments in the Kelantan *Mak yong* music ensemble alongside three other main musical instruments which are the *gendang anak* (the small-size double-headed drum), the knobbed gong or *tetawak* and the *rebab* (3-stringed bowed lute). There are also other additional musical instruments involved, from time to time, such as the *canang* (pair of small knobbed gongs), *kesi* (cymbals), *serunai* (quadruple-reed wind instrument) and *geduk* (short, double-headed barrel drum hit with a pair of sticks).

There are different beginnings to songs which can be identified in *Mak yong* music. Firstly, songs that start with the bowing of the *rebab* (as an introduction to a song) such as the piece (*lagu*) entitled *Bertabuh*. Secondly, songs that start with the cue or singing by an actor such as the song known as *Barat Anjur*. Thirdly, songs that start with drumming on the *gendang ibu* such as in the song *San Gedang* which accompanies the characters entering the stage such as in the *Pakyung Turun* and *Peran Turun*.

The *gendang ibu* serves as the main percussion instrument in a *Mak yong* performance, it leads the rhythm of the music and also signals other musical instruments as a starting and ending point to a song. Hence, the *gendang ibu* player must know the basic melody which will be played by the *rebab* instrument or the singing of a song, and understands the cues of actors to know the timing and when it is suitable to start playing the drum which provides the rhythmic pattern to a song. Almost all of the songs in the *Mak yong* ensemble will start with the beating of the *gendang ibu* which signals the other instrument players such as the *gendang anak* and gong to follow.

In a *Mak yong* performance, the *gendang ibu* player should be very focused during a performance to understand the course of the story. This is done in order to make the dramatic aspects of the play better with the addition of background sounds such as the *Gerpak Gendang*[1] and the sound effect of the *Rotan Berai*[2] beats. The *gendang ibu* player should also be receptive to cues that are given in the form of *ucatan* (language of *Mak yong*), or singing by the actors to simultaneously know the songs that will be played according to the story, and to melody that results from singing by an actor and bowing of the *rebab*.

Tuning Systems, Basic Rhythms, Stroking Techniques and Lap Positions of Musical Instruments in *Mak Yong*

According to Pak Hussin Yusof (Hussin Yussof, personal communication, 2013), the tuning systems of the musical instruments depend on the additional skills that exist among groups of musicians of the *Mak yong* ensemble. Usually, *gendang ibu* players who specialise in tuning the instrument are also skilful in making the musical instruments, especially the *gendang ibu* and the *gendang anak*. Based on a study done on the tuning of the percussion instruments made by Pak Hussin, it was found that the approximate tone (or pitch

level) of the *gendang ibu* is much lower than that of the *gendang anak*. The measurements are as follows: the bigger drumhead surface of the *gendang ibu* produces "DOH" (a mnemonic syllable to represent the sound) measured with the tone *D* of the scale, while the smaller drumhead surface produces "PAK" measured with the tone *A*. In contrast, for the *gendang anak* the smaller drumhead surface produces "CAK" measured with the tone *F-sharp* (*F#*), while the bigger drumhead surface produces the tone *E-flat* (*Eb*). The measurements were done using the chromatic tuner of the Korg model CA40.

The basic usage of simple rhythms and minimal variations ensure clarity to the melody and lyrics of a song. Moreover, slow and medium tempos as well as free tempos are also used to ensure that every word and melody is played nicely, accompanying and catering to the need and feel of a *Mak yong* singer. A good example is the *Menghadap Rebab* song which gives the singer a chance to sing a melody and stress lyrics at the beginning and also to add their own variations or *bunga lagu* bit by bit. This method gives the impression that the tempo for the *Menghadap Rebab* fluctuates irregularly and can be written approximately from 40 to 200 crotchet beats per minute.

The position of the percussion musical instruments on the lap also affects the stroking (or drumming) techniques. This is to ensure that precise and strong sounds are produced as well as to ensure that the position of the drum is stable when it is being played. The best way to position the *gendang ibu* can be seen in Figure 1, which is by sitting cross legged while putting the drum on top of the left leg. The right knee is put on top and close to the body of the drum. The bigger drumhead surface is put on top of the left foot and it faces towards the theatre or audience (see Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1. Positioning the *Gendang ibu*. (Photo by Kamrul Hussin)

Figure 2. Sitting positions of the Musicians. (Photo by Geng Wak Long)

Different Variations and Styles as well as Similarities with other Kelantan Drumming

Every *Mak yong* musician has different styles and variations or *bunga lagu* (which also may be referred to as percussive "ornaments") which depends on the understanding and familiarity of playing with a group. Every stroke in a *Mak yong* song contains improvisation techniques when playing, which depends on the feel and skills in disputing and understanding while playing the drums within the Kelantan *Mak yong* ensemble.

Other than the drumming of *Mak yong*, there are also similarities with the songs that are played in other Kelantanese musical ensembles such as the music ensembles of *Main peteri* (the healing ceremony) and the *Wayang kulit Kelantan* (shadow puppet play). Both of these musical ensembles also use many of the same or similar songs or repertoire, which are songs used as a rhythmic carrier in the music, except that the tempos are played differently for certain uses and for the ability of the singer, who may wish to sing a certain song such as *Lagu Menyanyi Pakyung Muda* (the song for the prince) in the *Mak yong* theatre.

Lagu Menyanyi Pakyung Muda also uses the same musical instruments for percussive rhythm which are the *gendang ibu*, *gendang anak* and gong. However, the *Wayang kulit* Kelantan ensemble uses a different main instrument for melody which is the *serunai*. On the other hand, the *Main peteri* ensemble also uses the *rebab* as the main instrument other than vocals, and other additional instruments such as the *canang*, *kesi* and *bokol*.[3] Hence, the ensembles of *Mak yong*, *Main peteri* and *Wayang kulit* Kelantan share a number of musical instruments and similar songs as well as the emphasis on the *gendang ibu* player who is holistic in his skills to ensure that a performance would be astounding and perfect.

Conclusion

In conclusion, without the *gendang ibu* and its quality players, who are experienced and well trained, a *Mak yong* performance would not be successful in its long and continuous life. Hence, learning the art should be emphasised and research towards the music of *Mak yong* especially the *gendang ibu* should also be done thoroughly. With thorough research and training, every *Mak yong* group can produce a *gendang ibu* player who is not only a musician but also a musical leader that ensures the sustainability of the music and its ensemble from different angles, and which will also make his group great in many aspects of the art form.

Endnotes

[1] *Gerpak gendang* or a short roll is played freely using at least two sound tones.
[2] *Rotan berai* is made out of rattan that is sorted and wrapped on its end at an odd amount and when hit at its centre produces a loud sound as a sound effect; it is held and used by the Pak Yong as a weapon with multiple uses.
[3] *Bokol* is a musical instrument in the *Main peteri* ensemble that is made out of metal, that is, from metal tins or biscuit tins that are beaten with two thin bamboo sticks.

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LECTURE-DEMONSTRATION: **MUSIC PATTERNS IN *MELAYU ASLI* AND *MAK YONG***

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "*KAMPOH*" FOR *REBAB* PEDAGOGY

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Abstract

This paper and demonstration aims to present "*kampoh*", the unique traditional notation system for the three stringed *rebab,* a bowed lute that is played in *Mak Yong* theatre performance. Drawing from oral instruction and explanation by expert performers and teachers of the art form, the documentation of this notation system will be of pedagogic significance. It will help learners play *rebab* in a systematic manner and subsequently other valuable information of the instrument—including performance philosophy and methods of the art form—will emerge as learners read and play.

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The 4th Symposium of PASEA focused on two main themes and new research. These themes were represented in the form of regular papers by the PASEA members and also in 'lightning' report papers mainly by graduate students and also by some of the regular members reporting on their current research-in-progress.