

**Asian Music Series**

# **ASIAN MUSICAL CULTURES**



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## Preface

This book is written to fulfill the need of reference book on ethnomusicology, which contain resourceful information on how the ethnomusicological studies should be carried out based on the Asian sholastic perspective and its indigenous traditions. Asian perspective has been acknowledged as a new post war humanities field of study along with its studies on cultural renaissance and women empowerment.

The content of this book are of important references for ethnomusicology students, which particularly discussed the research experiences conducted by the authors based on the oriental point of view in cultivating the Indonesian traditional musical heritages. For the past decade, while western field methods and technical skill are remain adopted deliberately, many Asian students were increasingly interested in the study of ethnomusicology, along with the enormous outcomes of their field researches.

Ganap as the Indonesian author will share his investigation on the east-west cultural interaction that had come up with a new musical genre today with a rich and incredible historical background. While the Javanese music has attained the world's attention and acknowledgement in its classical standard, Ganap in the other hand will try to open a discourse on some unknown islander ethnic musics from remote areas in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. Despite its important historical background, the eastern part of Indonesia has suffered from the unfortunated and unadequated developments. Ganap also considered that the existence of western-based Indonesian national music has been a unique phenomena in such a rich traditional cultures, which could have lived together harmoniously in the society, in the principle of co-existency against any claim of identity from elsewhere, that definitely worth to be studied.

Simeda as the Japanese author who had been to Indonesia many times, and conducted his researches on some ethnics of Kalimantan and Lombok will share his investigations from the Asian scholar's point of view.

Hopefully this book will be of useful to help guiding the ethnomusicology students to create the awareness of their rich traditional cultural heritages, that when time has come they will treat their own traditional musics by an appropriate musical behaviour, in a more emical methodology as the indigenous researchers.

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Osaka, 4 December 2009

## Introduction

### **Appropriation of Traditional Music (Cases in Indonesia and Japan)**

The study of ethnomusicology has been increased within the non-western world, conducted by Asian indigenous researchers. It has a positive impact to the performance of ethnomusicological studies within the academic institutions in several Asian countries, including Indonesia. Apart from the existing program of traditional Javanese, Balinese, and Sundanese *karawitan* musics, the ethnomusicology program has been offered in six institutions, such as: (1) University of North Sumatera in Medan; (2) Indonesia Institute of the Arts in Yogyakarta; (3) Indonesia Institute of the Arts in Surakarta; (4) Jakarta Arts Institute; (5) Indonesia College of the Arts in Bandung; and (6) Indonesia College of the Arts in Padang Panjang, West Sumatera.

Despite limited references on ethnomusicology, such institutions have managed to develop their specific identities in the teaching material and learning process, based on their own vision about how the ethnomusicology program should be carried out. Some institution considered ethnomusicology as equaled to those of social sciences, which implied the concept of university pattern, while other institution put it on a premise of the nature of music as a creative vocational program. Whether the program aims to produce ethnic music scholars, or composers of creative ethnic music has been the actual situation prevailed in Indonesia.

Consequently, as part of higher education disciplines, ethnomusicology program has been also pressured for university degree, as public demands, let alone the arbitrary on designing ethnomusicology for undergraduate and graduate programs. There is no ideal concept as yet that may be able to transpose the university pattern of instruction into a professional school without the expenses or reducing the standard on each side. Every institution seems to have their own discretion as to define the program based on their respective historical background.

Such condition has been so far compromised as the Indonesian richness materials in ethnomusicology, however, the confusion between liberal arts and professional orientation may have its negative impact to the output quality that neither general scientific education, nor professional competence can be achieved. Moreover, lack of reference books on ethnomusicology is another constrain to empowering the program.

Ethnomusicology has been relatively a new sub-discipline of musicology that for the first time entered Indonesian higher education in 1984, when The Ford Foundation help support the establishment of Ethnomusicology department at University of North Sumatera (USU). The instructional methods and courses contents were designed to the western-based idealism, while some faculties were sent to several overseas universities to get Master's and Doctor's degrees. While the program is still running under the university local budget since 1992, after eight years support by The Ford Foundation, Ethnomusicology department has managed to organize a national symposium on ethnomusicology in 2005 under sponsorship of The Ford Foundation. If the program at USU had been maintained in fully Western conception, the existing arts institutions, such as ISI Yogyakarta and ISI Surakarta have established its Ethnomusicology departments

based on the concept of Javanese *Karawitan* music. While the ethnomusicology in ISI Surakarta emphasized its teaching instruction more on the field work technical know-how, the similar department in ISI Yogyakarta relied on producing the so-called ethnic music new compositions, in combination with dance and drama. Jakarta Arts Institute as the private university belongs to Jakarta Provincial Government has developed its ethnomusicology department from the dance anthropology.

In Indonesia, traditional musics are considered as different than the so-called *Karawitan* music, which has its traditions in Javanese, Balinese, Sundanese court musics. The study of *Karawitan* music was also offered at the arts institution STSI in Padang Panjang, West Sumatera. It is therefore, USU in Medan, North Sumatera which has no tradition in *Karawitan* preferred to establish the traditional music program under the name ethnomusicology to distinguish it from Javanese, Balinese, and Sundanese musics.

While looking the cases in Japan, it seems to be taken for granted that economic globalization has impoverished traditional music by flooding local cultures with music "products" distributed by multinational corporations that are based in developed countries. Indeed, we can find many examples of traditional music throughout the world which have lost their vitality as the young generation became increasingly reluctant to participate, because they were more attracted to industrially made music. It also seems, especially to many of us musicologists, to be taken for granted that traditional music in every locale in the world should be preserved and maintained as part of the rich heritage of humanity. Globalization can be, for musicologists, a big enemy to fight against.

Musical traditions, however, cannot resist change forever -- it will come in one form or another. For example, as I mentioned elsewhere (Simeda 1994, 2003, 2004), traditional music activity among the minorities of Borneo (Kalimantan Island) shows evidence of change, especially in terms of its sociopolitical function (or manipulation), caused by the tradition bearers themselves. Although it is invaluable to document and preserve traditional music in archives and museums, these places cannot contain "living" traditions because the life of the music is outside such facilities, among the people. Moreover, whether or not we affirm Appadurai's claim that we are entering a "new condition of neighborliness" brought about by new technologies for travel and documentation (1996:29), we must admit that music making people throughout the world are contacting -- and therefore influencing -- each other more than ever before.

In this short essay, I would like to argue in favor of new possibilities for traditional music that are emerging with internet technology. Naturally, this means I am emphasizing the importance of taking a flexible stance toward "tradition."

Generally, the creators of popular music in Japan are not eager to draw upon our country's traditional music. (Perhaps this is also true in Vietnam, or perhaps not.) Traditional music tends to be strictly separated from pop music. To the younger generation, traditional music is "uncool," "boring," "something to be endured," and "drilled into us at school."

For example, the tradition of Iwami Kagura has difficulty finding successors, even though it is still an exceptionally vital performing art in the Iwami region (western part of Shimane prefecture, Honshû island) and has many "*nobose-mono*" (those who are crazy about playing *kagura*). Yutaka Fukuoka, an Iwami-born composer and musician famous for techno and ambient music, has appropriated some major parts of the traditional repertory into his composition (for example, Fukuoka 2002). Despite the fact that his

work has already had an impact upon the local *kagura* tradition bearers (due primarily to his fame as a local boy who became a "nationwide" musician), the majority of the younger generation in Iwami still show little interest in their *kagura*. A similar situation prevails for Okinawan music: although it is in a sense the most exceptional traditional music in Japan because it is occasionally appropriated in pop music, the majority of young Okinawans are reluctant to play and listen to it.

This kind of somewhat "underground dissemination" of music has become increasingly common during the past decade or so. Also emerging is an international or borderless cooperation among artists to create music tracks. Because RU's CDs were cut by a local independent label and therefore have been rather difficult to get outside Japan, the duo personally sent their tracks to friends (and some artists who made their acquaintance via the internet) in various countries. Their newly released double album (2004) contains some re-mixing of their tracks by these far-flung recipients, most of whom did not know anything about traditional Okinawan music before encountering RU. Okinawan *minyo* (folk songs) have therefore been heard, appropriated, and remixed by these new fans and colleagues.

The algorithm of the MP3 format, or more correctly that of its sound data compression, is patented by a German company, but users have analyzed it and developed many useful freeware and shareware programs based on the algorithm. It is one of the biggest reasons why all multinational music record companies claim to be endangered by MP3. By expanding copyright law and trumpeting intellectual property rights, these companies are eagerly working to eliminate all MP3 file exchange that is free of charge, though it is uncertain if there really is a correlation between the decline in music CD sales and the increased use of file exchange.

Jon's comment goes beyond what I expected because he predicts "the death of the entertainment multinationals." Those corporations have provided almost no benefits for traditional forms of music, other than making appropriation easier by producing "invaluable" but ridiculously overpriced recordings. I admit that this is a benefit gained from their large capitalization, but they have to make a big profit from the mainstream of the entertainment sector in order to do such "pro bono" recordings, which are surely less profitable.

Concerning traditional music, appropriation can stimulate not only the tradition and its bearers but also outsiders who can be considered bearers in a broader sense, as shown by RU. Of course, there are many ethnomusicologists who are against the sampling, remixing, or any other form of appropriating traditional music (for example, Zemp 1996). But after traditional music has been recorded and/or videotaped and stored in archives, who cares about the future of the living tradition? By its nature, music should be played and listened to. Even if the sampled traditional music sounds unauthentic or unacceptable, it increases the possibility that the music will be listened to. The commercial success of such appropriation is another issue.

Therefore, traditional music and its appropriation would benefit more from "copyleft," a term that represents a stance against copyrighting by multinationals, meaning that the music is basically free of charge and open to be appropriated for nonprofit music making, though not necessarily without being copyrighted. For commercial purposes, one can justifiably ask for money. However, traditional music should not be impounded and then sold exclusively by big corporations.

Professional organizations such as the Vietnamese Institute for Musicology have collected, stored, and published many audio/visual recordings. Most ethnomusicologists have their own libraries of personal recordings, too. If the majority of these recordings are rarely listened to, it would be a great loss.

Seeger suggests many practical points based on his experience as a Director of Folkways Records (Seeger 1996). Based on his suggestion, I would like to propose that we put MP3 files of traditional music on our own web sites, of course with the consent of the performers and/or tradition bearers. By doing so, our dead storage can be brought to life by anyone who is interested in hearing it. Web sites of professional organizations such as the Vietnamese Institute for Musicology can offer a substantial number of online samples in order to prompt the growth of CD sales. The advantage would outweigh the risk of unnoticed and unpaid commercial use. What do you think of this idea?

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## Chapter One

### The Power of Cultural Interaction

Victor Ganap

#### Introduction

The historical background of most nations in Southeast Asia have been periodically accredited to colonialism. Indonesia's history, for example, acclaimed the three and half century of Dutch civil administration with its trading company under the Dutch Indies Governor General in Batavia. During the second World War in Southeast Asia, the Indonesian people have also experienced a modern military authority administration under the Japanese force for about three and half years, before gaining the independence in 1945.

However, the Indonesia's history has been actually flowered with the presence of other forces, such as Portuguese, Spanish, and the British. It is not uncommon, during that times, the cultural interaction may have occurred between the visitors and the local indigenous people, that eventually led to the establishment of unique phenomenon. This paper will, therefore, refer to the existence of a particular small community in Tugu village within North Jakarta municipality, which declared themselves as the so-called descendant of the Portuguese, with their hybrid culture and typical folklore.

#### Historical Background

Portuguese sojourn in Southeast Asia, though only shortlived, however, has determined the existence of *mestizos* and *mardijkers* people, where in Tugu village in North Jakarta, they have been significantly able to maintain a survival through their own cultural heritages. Meanwhile, Indo-Euro first encounter is believed to have begun when the Portuguese in 1513 came to Sunda Kelapa from Malaka, after being seized by India Goa-based Portuguese sailor, Afonso d'Albuquerque. The visit was highlighted a decade later when they engaged in spice trading with Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran. Minor settlement then has been emerged around the port, consisted of handful Portuguese sailors and traders, who by marriages with the local indigenous women, subsequently descended a *mestizo* community.

After the fall of Hinduism Pajajaran kingdom by the new emerging Islamic force from Demak, the Dutch sailors then in 1596 anchored their boats in west coast of Java, before establishing a trading company namely VOC in Batavia in 1602. When the Dutch fleet took over control of the Portuguese strongholds in Malaka, India, and Sri Lanka, and brought to Batavia some war-prisoners, they were of Indian Bengali and Coromandel origins. They hold the Portuguese names, given by their white god-parents, when baptized as the Catholics. In Batavia, the Dutch treated them as the slaves, and did not allow them to worship in Catholicism. The Dutch then promised to free them from slavery and instead will offer them a tax-exempt, on condition with their agreement to convert into Protestantism, the official Christianity of the Dutch authority in Batavia. It was for that reason, after they were being freed in conformity to the conversion, the Dutch then identified and called them as *mardijkers*, which means free people.



In 1661 with a political back-up from the *mestizo* community in Batavia, the Dutch has granted a land in the present Tugu area in north of Jakarta to some twenty three *mardijkers* families, who have been engaged in marital status with the women from Banda island, another former Portuguese port in eastern archipelago. It is therefore very interesting to find-out the typical identification of *mardijkers*, as the ancestor of the present Tugu village people in North Jakarta, somewhat a mixture of multi ethnic groups under the framework of Portuguese sojourn in Southeast Asia.

A decade later in 1678, a Dutch minister, Melchior Leijdekker has voluntarily settled down himself among the *mardijkers* people in Tugu, where he had managed to build a church overthere and translated the bible into Malay, the first ever non-Western language. Despite converted into Protestantism, *mardijkers* people in Tugu retained their Portuguese language, mixed with some Malay words, that has made the Dutch ministers instead was forced to learn Portuguese, when giving sermon to them. However, Portuguese language was reportedly a *lingua-franca* within Southeast Asian traders at that time, and considered as a refined form of oral transmission among the Dutch authority circle in Batavia.

Unfortunately, Leijdekker's church was later destroyed by fire during the Batavia's "Chinese massacre" in 1740. Justinus Vinck, a Dutch landlord, under patronage of the Dutch Governor General, then constructed another Tugu church in 1747, where the building largely followed the principles of eighteenth century Dutch architecture. The service was initially given in Portuguese, before they began using Malay language in 1816. Tugu church lasts until today, and has become a protected monument, declared by the Jakarta Provincial Government. The church may also be proud of its bell, stands in the yard, suspended between two pillars dating from 1880. It is a replica of the original bell, as the latter is still kept carefully inside the church ever since cracks appeared in the metal. Nevertheless, Tugu church has been one of the three important components for Tugu people.

### Portuguese Connection

The most important monument as the evidence of the Portuguese presence in Jakarta was a church building in the old Jakarta city. It was built in 1693 by the *mestizo* community, and called *Portugeesche Buitenkerk*, where today it is known as *Gereja Sion*, under one congregation with *Gereja Tugu*. Other historical Portuguese components can be evidenced through the following items: (Heuken 1997:124)

1. A particular musical genre namely *keroncong* that belonged to Tugu people, where the ontological term of *keroncong* was denoted to a tambourine percussion instrument with its jingling metal discs, played by swinging it together with the guitar to accompany Iberian folkdances of probable Portuguese origin.
2. Some Portuguese vocabulary in modern *Bahasa Indonesia*, such as, *bantal* (cushion) from *avental*; *bendera* (flag) from *bandeira*; *jendela* (window) from *janela*; *gereja* (church) from *igreja*; *keju* (cheese) from *queijo*; *lemari* (wardrobe) from *armario*; *meski* (though) from *mas que*; *nona* (virgin) from *dona*; *roda* (wheel) from *roda*, *terigu* (wheat flour) from *trigo*; and *tukar* (exchange) from *trocar*.
3. In Jakarta Kota, former downtown of Batavia city, the area of *Jalan Roa Malaka* has temporarily become the compound of Portuguese settlement, where former

- Malaka Portuguese Governor de Sousa Chichorro had ever lived, after taken to Batavia by the Dutch, along with other Portuguese prisoners from India and Malaka. *Roa* in Portuguese means *jalan*, or road.
4. In Taman Prasasti, Tanah Abang, Jakarta, lies the tomb #13 belonged to Jonathan Michielsz, a *mardijkers* landlord who died in 1833, where the remains have been transferred from the compound of Portuguese church. Jonathan was the grandson of Titus Michielsz from Bengali, India, who died in 1788, and was the father of Augustijn Michiels, one of the richest landlord ever lived in Batavia, which also considered as the last *mardijkers* at the turn of century.
  5. A wooden board in which written the entire names of Portuguese ministers, who ever lived in Batavia, can be found in today *Gereja Immanuel*, across Jakarta's Gambir railway station, formerly named *Willemskerk*, built in 1839 to honour Dutch King Willem I, by a Dutch Indies architect, who reportedly never been to Europe. Pejambon area at the back of *Willemskerk* was another *mardijkers* compound in Batavia, where they earned living from the business activity of Pasar Gambir, a famous night bazaar in Batavia at that time.
  6. A particular community in Tugu village, who have been descendant of the first Tugu *mardijkers* dwellers in 1661. However, based on the explanation of Samuel Quiko, a senior Tugu musician today, they identified themselves as follows:

For about three and half century, we as the Portuguese inheritant are more and more associated with other races and aborigines, like Dutch, Chinese, Ambonese, Manadonese, Javanese, and Sundanese, etc. Our generation are called "*mestizo*", and we lived in a social cultural environment that almost like our ancient in Portugal. The "*mestizo*" yet lived not only in Tugu district, but we also moved to other area, as Penjarangan, Roa Malaka, Kampung Bandan, Pejambon, etc. But every Sunday we came together as member of the Tugu church community until now. In the past time, Kampung Tugu lies isolated from the center of activity and this situation promote the idea to create a music instrument, made of wood from the environment. This instrument have the form of a small guitar and gives a sound like 'crong', when we play on it. Because of this specific sound we call this instrument '*keroncong*' and from this the *keroncong* music was born. *Keroncong* as one of the traditional music, growth and expand in Tugu district in the year 1661, known as '*real keroncong*'. Because this music was introduced by the Portuguese generation, fortunately this kind of rhythmic music has much to be influenced by art of the Portuguese themselves. At the time, the Dutch have tried to renewed *keroncong* Tugu and thought that they could make influenced to follow the Dutch culture. But Tugu's people stand in the breach for the art of *keroncong* music, which we believed it is inherited as an ancient art that need to be protected and continued as our identity. In the future development, *keroncong* music is believed as one of the binding element of the Tugu's Portuguese community.

### **Tugu Folklore and Legacy**

Tugu village community divided into two groups, the indigenous people who originally descended from the first batch of *mardijkers* people, and the visitor from other ethnic groups, particularly from the eastern archipelago, who later on settled down in Tugu village. The area where Tugu people live today was a 16.000 square land around the main road of Jalan Gereja Tugu and the creek of Kali Tugu, with population of only about 42 families. There are eight major families among Tugu village people, namely the families of Abrahams, Andreas, Cornelis, Michiels, Salomons, Seymons, Quiko, and Braune. Traditionally, Tugu village people were peasants, fishermen, and very much

alike to do the hunting activity. Time has changed that hardly possible for them to any longer maintain their profession, and therefore, many among the Tugu indigenous people then delivered their lands and migrated to other regions and other countries as well.

The etymology of Tugu itself developed into three versions, firstly that Tugu in Javanese means column or a sign post of border, where another version derived from the word *por tugu ese*, or simply *Portugis*. Thirdly, it was reported that the name of Tugu has some connection in the past with a stone inscription, conical in shape and written in Sanskrit, probably from the fourth century. The stone that was found in Tugu is believed to have been one of the seven inscriptions that belong to Hinduism King Purnawarman, who ruled most of Western Java area in the past.

Tugu indigenous people build their houses in Betawi style architecture, where they called “kabaya” style, as it resembles the shape of Betawi woman traditional dress. Betawi area is a close neighbourhood of Tugu village, where both people have been living in mutual harmony, despite being differed in faith.

Tugu village people deliberately used to bury the body of their families in their own house compound, as they consider to keep maintaining close relationship with their loved ones, even after the death. Later on, they unanimously agreed to have a particular graveyard for a better environmental purpose, and found-out a land next to the church building as the best place for it. A limited size of the graveyard has made the tomb will necessarily be renewed with another body of their families, and prevented the graveyard from having an old tomb. Tugu village people has also a custom to provide the fresh burial of their families with a light at the tomb for the next few weeks, in order not to let the soul “get lost” in finding their appropriate place.

In 1976, Michiels families, a respectable member of Tugu community established an association called IGBT (*Ikatan Keluarga Besar Tugu*), in order to preserve unification of Tugu indigenous group from any impact on increasingly people’s diversity in Tugu village. Arnd Michiels was the founding father of IGBT, where after he died in 1992, the community leadership regenerated to his eldest son, Andre Michiels since 1996. As a young leader, Andre Michiels, only at his thirties, shows his most concern in developing Tugu village people to a better welfare, and maintaining the survival of their inherited cultures. Tugu village people are predominantly Christian, and therefore, they celebrate Christmas with carol singing and recite greetings in Portuguese sentence:

*Bintisinko dia di December nos Sior dja bi mundu. Libra nos pekador Unga noti di kinya fera assi klar koma di dia andju di nos Sior dialegria*

They also celebrate New Year with a traditional *Rabu-Rabu* festival, right after the New Year’s church service. During the festival, groups of Tugu musicians, regardless of their ages, are happily joining in the festive atmospheres to visit houses of elder people to play music. It is the most appropriate time for Tugu village people to maintain fellowship among themselves. The songs are varied to Indonesian folksongs, apart from their own traditional songs, however, a Dutch song “*Overald*” has to be initially sung, required as a “door-knocking”, before the host open the door, and welcome them with few bottles of beer. Another occasion that follows *Rabu-Rabu*, is what they called *Mandi-Mandi* festival, held a week after, in conjunction with the end-session of New Year celebration. All level of Tugu village people are involved in the festival, where they will

put powder on each other face, as an expression and symbol of purifying themselves. *Mandi* in Bahasa Indonesia means take a bath, and the festival has some values for Tugu village people to remind them the sense of human secular and heavenly life.

The most important element of Tugu village people lies on the *keroncong* music that bequeathed to them by their ancestor. Portuguese patent on *kroncong* music has been acknowledged by the scholar. *Keroncong* music in general has some texture resemblance with Javanese gamelan, and also quite familiar to the ethnic group in eastern archipelago, due to similarity of its genre to the Hawaiian music. However, Tugu *keroncong* music has a unique stylistic trait compared to others, where the standard of Tugu's *keroncong* musical genre has been patented and recorded in the thirteenth collection of UNESCO World Music Serial in 1971. The authorised standard of Tugu's genre includes:

1. The instrumentation, added with two ukuleles, one mandolin typed of *macinas*, and one tambourine, on top of the *keroncong* ensemble's standard.
2. Ten core *keroncong* musicians at that time, mainly of Quiko and Michiels families, with a septuagenarian lady crooner.
3. Their unique style of performance with its modesty and spontaneity, mainly to demonstrate their incredible musicality, though unluckily lack of appropriate technical instruction.
4. The ensemble's selected repertoire, where some Dutch Indies old love songs, such as, "*Schoon ver van jou*", and "*Oud Batavia*" were added to the legendary Portuguese old songs "*Nina Bobo*", "*Moresco*", and "*Cafrinho*".
5. Particular traditional *sadariah* shirt with *batik* motive long trousers uniform are not the exception, mainly to demonstrate their closeness with local indigenous Islamic Betawi people.

A leading Tugu musician, Jacobus Quiko had managed to organise a *keroncong* ensemble for UNESCO recording in 1971, while UNESCO's initiative to archive Tugu *keroncong* music has consequently given positive impact, as a starting point to renaissance the dying Moresco Toegoe *keroncong* ensemble, though in fact, they remain lack of essential supporting environment at that time. Jacobus Quiko, instead of born and raised in Tugu village, he and the family have been living for the past few years in Jakarta city, returning to the village only on weekends. After he died in 1978, his younger brother, Samuel Quiko proceeded to assemble the remaining musicians, and established his own group, namely *Cafrinho* Tugu. The ensemble has gained popularity that occupied them with a full monthly concert program, and even once being invited to perform in the famous international *Tong Tong* Festival in Holland in 1989. Samuel Quiko opens his ensemble to any musician to join in, while he also expanded the repertoire with some popular songs, in order to accommodate market demands. In terms of commercialism, *keroncong* music today are facing a serious challenge from other msical genres, such as, rock-rhythm based modern popular songs.

Another *keroncong* ensemble established by IKBT aims to preserve their traditional culture, and to serve the need of Tugu village people in celebrating their feasts, annual festivals, and the church weekly services. IKBT *keroncong* ensemble led by Andre Michiels points out their main duty as guardian of value, rather than a vehicle of show business. However, another invitation from overseas to IKBT *keroncong* ensemble to also perform in Holland's *Tong Tong* Festival in 1998, apart from the similar invitation

in 1989 to *Cafrinho* Tugu *keroncong* ensemble led by Samuel Ouiko, indicates the Dutch extraordinary attitude, and particular attention to Tugu village people.

Indeed Tugu village people are proud of their Tugu church, a preserved monument under Monument Ordinance Decree 1931 No.238, as provided in Jakarta Provincial Paper No.60/1972 (Riyanto 1996:176-178). Four signboards are standing out within the Tugu church compound, where the first two signboards reveal the function of the building as an active church with weekly ordinary service, where the other two signboards warn the building as a preserved monument.

It is not uncommon for any Tugu *keroncong* ensemble to participate in the church liturgical order during Sunday service. If the organ instruments were generally used to accompany the church service elsewhere, Tugu church then has been blessed with the orchestral *keroncong* beat accompaniment. Apparently, cultural interaction that occurred between Tugu indigenous people with several ethnic groups within Tugu church's congregation, particularly those people who came from Maluku islands in eastern archipelago, has obviously made a great impact to Tugu village people daily life.

## Conclusion

Tugu village people, more or less, are a certain community with a hybrid culture, a combination folklore genre between Western and non-Western civilization. They have witnessed true ancient community of Indian, African, and Malay origins, under the framework of a shortlived Portuguese historical sojourn in Southeast Asia. Later on, Tugu village people have been long encountered with the Dutch culture for more than three centuries, which in the other hand, Tugu village people were also unlikely freed from any influences by the local Betawi Islamic folklore. Lastly, under the existing congregation of Tugu church, unified combination of sources with several ethnic groups from the eastern archipelago, who came and settled down in Tugu village, were necessarily unavoidable.

Some scholars believed that all cultures are naturally hybrid to a certain degree, and there is no such things as the pure culture of an unmixed people, that definitely uninfluenced by outside cultures. In this respect, Tugu village people may have been a distinctive product of the encounter among various cultures, that has begun in 1661 or at the turn of the second half of this millennium. Some scholars also believed that whatever Portuguese labels have been strictly indulged to Tugu village people's folklore, and they retained their myths in Portuguese ancestry, however, in terms of religious and secular aspects, Tugu village people have long time adopted the Dutch way of life, where a large number of them may have even been Indo-Dutch by birth.

Regardless of possible assumptions that hybridity lacks of high cultural value, Tugu village people are merely Portuguese only by its historical value, but definitely are Indo-Dutch by their socio-culture. Tugu village people could also be identified as the descendant of Maluku islanders, considering to their other ancestry in Banda ethnic group, which clearly reflected in their incredible musicality. But above all, Tugu village people have been much obviously influenced by the local Betawi Islamic folklore, in terms of their traditional housing in Betawi architecture, their traditional dress in Betawi *sadariah* costume, their spoken language in Betawi dialectical plain and daily form. All of them are blended and mixed together to structure an incredible cultural synthesis, that enable Tugu village people maintained their entrenched culture and the entity of their

community as a bastion of conservatism. Tugu village people's phenomenon had managed to resist any threat for more than three centuries, and show their strength today to seize the opportunity in a global culture to enter the new millennium. Nevertheless, their entrenched culture in preserving the art of *keroncong* is believed as somewhat paying tribute to their ancestor, where they had unanimously adopted a philosophy that every born Tugu man, must be a *keroncong* musician. It is, therefore, a final conclusion of this paper that with those quality of spirit in their mind, Tugu village people's commitment in treasuring their cultural legacy will undoubtedly last forever.

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## Chapter Two

### What Makes People Affected?

Simeda Takasi

This is a preliminary report on the survey carried out in Lombok island in August, 1985, as a part of the project named Research & Exchange Project of Osaka University with the South Pacific Region.\*1 The purpose of the survey was to get the first-hand data concerning the relationship between sonic expression and people concerned with it.

As the objectives of the whole project say, it is true "for academic world that we can learn something significant from those regions, in which cultures and traditional ways of living have been systematized and valued as such in their own terms and, at present, face the 'moves of modernization' in superficially similar but, in reality, fundamentally different manners compared to the case of Japan."

As a matter of course, there is no community in Lombok that is not involved in the moves of modernization. It is expected, however, that there are inevitable differences of the state of modernization between a rather big town and a rather remote village. So, I chose two locations for the study: one is Sembalun Bumbung, a village located at the middle of the island, the other Mataram, the capital of Nusa Tenggara Barat province, near the west coast of the island. I would discuss hereafter, however, primarily on the case of Sembalun, for the exploration at Mataram is only tentative one, and also for the strong Balinese influences prevail in Mataram and they should be handled with much care and scrutiny.\*2

#### Sembalun Bumbung

All people at Sembalun Bumbung, except a few government officials who are from Java and Bali, are Sasak, as most people in Lombok are. This village is situated on the northeastern slope of Mt. Rinjani, the highest mountain (3726 meters above sea) in the island. Situated at such high altitude, the climate at Sembalun is not really torrid but rather cool especially early in the morning and late at night, though the midday sun glows. On this high plateau, there are two villages, relatively near from each other: one is Sembalun Bumbung and the other is Sembalun Lawang. The distance between them is about 3 kilometers or 30 minutes' walk. The population of Bumbung is about 3000 while that of Lawang is about 4000. They grow rice most of which they consume, and several cash crops, the most dominant of which is garlic. They keep some sorts of domestic animals such as fowl and goat, too. All, at least nominally, of the population are Muslims, and most of ceremonies and rituals such as wedding ceremonies and funerals, are conducted with Islamic manner.

Historically speaking, however, until at least 1920's or 1930's, they had practiced the so-called *waktu telu* or "three times" Islam\*3 instead of the orthodox one (*waktu lima* or "five times"). This set of Sasak concept refers to how often people pray a day. The former indicates the syncretism of Islam and indigenous Sasak religion. As Kraan (1980:3) says, there were three different religious groupings among the Sasak: "the so-called Bodhas\*4, the *Waktu-telu* and the *Waktu-lima*." As has been the case with Java

and Bali, Lombok has experienced a long history of Hindu-Buddhist influence. It was not until the fifteenth century that Islam was first introduced to the island. In the beginning, the shift to a new religion probably changed little in practice, with a few new institutions such as male circumcision and the celebrations at the end of the fasting month added.

According to Cederroth, until approximately the end of last century, syncretism was widespread and dominant on more or less the entire island (Cederroth 1988:40). The situation changed, however, when the Balinese colonization since 1734 had ended in 1894 as the Dutch ousted the Balinese rajahs. Under the Dutch domination, many Sasak accepted "orthodox Islam as a marker of identity, something which they could gather around and which was truly Sasak, something which made them differ from their heretical suppressors, were they Hindu Balinese or Christian Dutch" (Cederroth 1988:40). Most villages on Lombok are said to adhere to *waktu lima* (orthodox) Islam today, while syncretism continues mainly in the northern parts of the island where can be said to be comparatively isolated. Therefore, we cannot say simply that people at Sembalun Bumbung believe in orthodox Islam, for the Sembalun area is also remote and isolated, as well as for the concept of "orthodoxy" seems to be ambiguous among them.

### **Music activities in Sembalun Bumbung**

In Sembalun Bumbung, most music activities are concerned with religious ceremonies or official celebrations. During my stay in Sembalun, they had several events with music, including a celebration and stage shows preceding and on the Independence Day (August 17), a funeral, and a wedding.

### ***Gendang beléq***

We can find descriptions of music activities in Sembalun in Dutch literatures in the early twentieth century, among which the one by Goris (1936) is thorough. In his article (220-226), Goris describes five sets of music instruments, *gendang* (*kendang*) *beléq*\*5, all of which are said to still exist in Sembalun Bumbung and Sembalun Lawang today. This ensemble, literally meaning "big drum," seems to play a central role in music activities in Sembalun Bumbung.

The *gendang beléq* ensemble consists of two *gendang beléq*, a *gendang kodéq* ("small drum"), a gong, an *oncér*, two *kelénang*, two *jamperang*, and a *copéq*.\*6 The *gendang beléq* is a big double-headed drum of almost cylindrical shape, just like the *kendang* in Bali. The body is painted with flower-ornaments. The *gendang kodéq* is a smaller version of *gendang beléq*. These two kinds of drums are generally played by bare hands, though the *gendang beléq* are sometimes struck with a wooden stick especially when used in processions. The *gong* is just the same type as that of Bali. The *oncér* is, in a sense, the most characteristic instrument of the ensemble.\*7 This is a smaller knobbed gong of very shallow shape, like the *bendai* of the Iban people in Sarawak, Borneo. These two kinds of gongs are played with a soft mallet and held perpendicularly. The *kelénang* is a set of two small gongkettles placed horizontally on a wooden frame somewhat like the *bonang* in Java. This is struck with two wooden sticks the head of which is wound around with cord, just the same as those of the *bonang*. The *jamperang* is a set of two cymbals with calf skin handles. The *copéq* is made up of four



small cymbals fixed on a wooden frame, struck with other two small cymbals with handles made of thread. This is almost the same as the *cengceng* in Bali.

Although the ensemble "has lost partially its [= *wetu telu*] ritual function" (Seebass et al. 1976:29), it is still used on many occasions. I witnessed the ensemble performed at a wedding ceremony, a funeral, and an official ceremony of the Independence Day held at the village plaza (*padang*). On these occasions, except the Independence ceremony, there accompanied recitations of *lontar*, a palm\*8 leaf manuscript. The manuscript contains an old legend, and suitable parts of it is selected for the particular occasion.\*9 The recitation of *lontar* itself is called *tembang*. Most texts are in Sasak, but there are some in Kawi (an old Javanese language).\*10 The recitation, especially during the funerals and burials, is considered as in order "to scare away the evil spirits, who might otherwise create problems for the bewildered soul of the newly buried [or dead] person. As long as the proper ceremonies have not been carried out, the soul is frightened, homeless and vulnerable to attacks from ill-willing spirits which are thought to have their abodes in graveyards" (Cederroth 1988:60, n.16).

When the ensemble is played, the players refer to the names of *gending* or tunes, which are sometimes identical with the titles of *tembang* to which the ensemble accompanies, as among my recordings on tapes, there are the titles of *tembang*, i.e., *gending Durma*, *gending Pangkur*, and *gending Sinom*. When it is played with the *tembang*, there exist, though not very strictly, correlation between them; the volume or intensity of the sound by the ensemble reduces as *tembang* is sung. The directions to increase or decrease the intensity as well as to accelerate or decelerate are announced by a *gendang beléq* drum player, who usually belongs to a relatively upper caste than the other players.\*11

As the *gendang beléq* drum dominates most aspects of music in this way, whether it accompanies the *tembang* or not, there is parallelism of the playing form and the assignment of instruments with social status of the members concerned. The *gendang beléq* plays often syncopated rhythm patterns with various intensity and tempo, usually the basic beats being the same as that of the *copéq* and the *kelénang*. The *gendang kodéq* supports the rhythm of the *gendang beléq*. The *copéq* continuously marks this rather fast beat in accordance with the *gendang beléq*. Two sets of *kelénang*, played by two players in collaboration with each other, produce rather simple melodic line with four notes. The *jamperang* marks the regular beat once in every four beats of the *copéq*. The *gong* and *oncér* mark the longer punctuation of time, once in every four or eight beats of the *jamperang*. These colotomic instruments are seldom played by men of the upper rank.

### **Kamput**

Another important and often performed music ensemble is *kamput*. The ensemble is comprised of two or more *prérét* and *suling*, a *copéq*, a *petuk*, a *gendang*, and a *gong kaling*.\*12 The *prérét* is a double-reed aerophone, shawm, its slightly conical tube made of *ipil* wood and bell of *mantong* wood.\*13 It has seven finger holes in front and one behind. The reed (*pelayah* in Sasak) is made of *lontar* palmleaf. The little pipe of a chicken's feather is stuck to the reed and the joint is wound round with thread. There is a metal disk supporting the lips which has a hole into which the pipe with reed inserted. The *suling* is a vertical flute with an external duct, the same as that found in Java and Bali. The *petuk* is a small gongkettle, like the *ketuk* in Java but without any stand or frame. It is struck with a same wooden stick as used with the *kelénang*. When it is

played in stationary position, the player put the instrument on the ground and put his left hand on the flat surface of it in order not to reverberate too long. The *gendang* used in this ensemble is different from the *gendang beléq* and the *gendang kodéq*, its size is in-between these two kinds of drums. The *gong kaling* is, to our sense, not a "gong." It consists of two flat, thin metal keys hung over a wooden box with strings, struck with a mallet whose head is covered with cloth, the same as that of the *gong*.

The role of the idiophones and the membranophones in the ensemble are similar to the above-mentioned *gendang beléq*, the rhythmic aspect having little difference. The melodic aspect and timbre, however, is quite different, because of the existence of two kinds of aerophones. The *prérét* and the *suling* play melody in unison with partly heterophonic manner, producing characteristic atmosphere of this ensemble. The players refer to their repertoire with *gending*, some of which are identical with those played on the *gendang beléq* ensemble.

### Other music activities

There are several other music activities in Sembalun Bumbung. Though they have less importance in the community than the above-mentioned two ensembles, they are worth noting because they show strong influence of the Arabic, Balinese, or Javanese style.

One of such music activities is called *rudat*, a modern dance-drama with Indonesian words. The dancers-actors/actresses sing or recite words while they dance and/or act. The accompanied ensemble is made up of two *biol* (a kind of necked box lute played with a bow, two sizes in Sembalun), a *penting* (or *mandulin*, a kind of box zither), a *gendang* played by bare hands, a *jedur* (a shallow, single-headed drum, played with a soft mallet), a *petuk*, and a *copéq*.<sup>\*14</sup>

This ensemble produces somewhat different sonority from other ensembles in Sembalun, because it includes the *biol*, *penting* and *jedur*. The existence of the *biol* and *penting* offers foreigners' ears impression of a strongly Arabic-influenced music.

Another ensemble, called *gong gedé*, is the remnant of old Balinese gamelan. On the occasion I attended, the ensemble consisted of a *gendang*, a *gong*, a *jamperang*, a *dodot*, and a *trompong*. The *dodot* is an idiophone with five metal keys, called *gangsajongkok* in Bali. It is played with a hammer the head of which is made of horn of buffalo. The *trompong* is made up of ten small gongkettles put on a long wooden frame in a row, played by two or three players, all of them holding mallets in their both hands.

According to Seebass and others, this kind of ensemble is played in West Lombok during the festivities customary to Balinese, belonging to the Indo-Malayan (Hindu-Buddhistic) religion. The reported ensemble contains much more instruments than the one I met at Sembalun (Seebass et al. 1976:13). At Sembalun, however, there is no implication of Hindu-Buddhism because people believe in the Islam as mentioned above, and the ensemble is played to accompany the masked dance-drama called *topéng*, which is also transmitted from Java and Bali.

### What makes people affected?

As we have seen roughly above, music activities at Sembalun contain many elements with different origins. This is not a characteristic feature of Sembalun, but can be found also in most of other regions in Indonesia. As the survey in Lombok is a short-term one and many things to be clarified rest there, I cannot say anything definitely as a

conclusion. I may have to mention, however, the way people react or respond to musical events which may show some important aspects of esthetic perception.

Some musical events co-occur with religious rituals such as funerals. And on such occasions, people usually shed tears and cry. We may assume that nearly all peoples in the world react like that when they confront the death of their kinsmen, friends, neighbors, or, in some cases, even their king or emperor. When we see the same reaction to the same music performed on other occasions, however, we cannot help supposing the existence of some elements in or around music which affect people and make them do some patterned reaction or behavior (cf. Armstrong 1971).

The Sasak people in Sembalun expressed deep sorrow with shedding tears and crying when they listened to the sound of *gendang beléq* during the funeral. Its sound, or music, is taken and treated quite seriously both by the players and the audience. While it was performed during the celebration of the Independence Day, though the atmosphere was cheerful rather than sad, they took the music as seriously as during the funeral, and some old people even shed tears during the performance.

We may assume that there are some kind of basic way to feel and sense the organized (systematized) sound, which is inseparably intertwined with Sasak way of life and thinking. In *gendang beléq*, as well as in *kamput*, each instrument repeats some sound patterns continuously, resulting the whole music continues to repeat endlessly. Some old people said that the repetition in music makes them feel the continuity and lineality of their ancestors and descendants. Listening to their music, or the patterned sound, they may perceive the temporal continuity and reappearance of the patterned sound as an "icon" (cf. Becker 1981) of their descent continuity from the past to the future, or even of the reincarnation of their souls.

This is just my working hypothesis, and the more thorough investigation is needed to verify it. I cannot help suggesting, however, one fact which may be a circumstantial evidence of the hypothesis. It is the system of Sasak kinship terms. They refer their great-grandparents (i.e., three generations ago) as *baloq* (*mamaq* or *ninaq* is added to distinguish the sex, the former for male and the latter for female). The same term, *baloq* is used to refer their descendants in the third generation, great-grandchildren (in this case, no sexual distinction is made). The "symmetry" of lineal kinship terms is also found for the fourth and fifth generations far from the *ego*, *titiq*, and *tokér* respectively. As these generations seldom exist in the *ego*'s lifetime, the individual referred by one of these terms does not have actuality for the *ego*. People may conceive their consanguineous lineality not as lineal but as circular or repeated. If so, it is the repetition in their music that makes them affected.

### Notes

(1) During my stay in Lombok, so many friends and colleagues have contributed to the survey in various ways that I will be unable to express the debt of gratitude I feel to them, or to name them here. I would like to express my gratitude to Dra. Sriyaningsih (Bidang Kesenian, Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Mataram), who helped me get the general information on music of Lombok. She was kind enough to endure tiresome interviewing in my poor Indonesian with Sarawakan accent. My first step to get acquainted with Sasak language was oriented by Drs. L. Jalaluddin Arzaki in Mataram, whose Sasak Indonesian dictionary will be published soon. I owed much to Mr. Rumedi, kepala desa of Sembalun Bumbung, who understood my purpose and kindly assisted my survey there.

- (2) I would like to discuss the case in Mataram elsewhere, comparing it with Sembalun as well as utilizing urban ethnomusicological viewpoint.
- (3) As Kitamura maintains (1981), *wetu telu* (or *wettu telu*) is more adequate than *waktu telu*. Many literatures and some of the Sasak themselves, however, refer to it as *waktu telu*. *Wetu telu* means "three appearances" (of things). In this article, I use the term "*waktu telu*" and "*wetu telu*" alternately, however random the use may seem to be. See also Leemann (1974).
- (4) The Bodhas were said to have been the descendants of the people who fled into the mountains in order to escape Islamization. Their small communities could still be found at the beginning of the twentieth century, lived in the northern mountain complex as well as in a few villages in the southern mountain range (cf. Kraan 1980).
- (5) The orthography of the Sasak language employed here is almost the same as that of Indonesian. It is necessary, however, to distinguish a glottal stop sound and a soft palate stop sound in Sasak, though these are not distinguished (at least in its writing) in Indonesian. Therefore, in this article, I use `q' for the former sound, and `é' is also used to distinguish two vowels which the same `e' symbolize in Indonesian.
- (6) There are some variations of instrumentation among the five sets found in Sembalun as well as between the actually used one and the complete set. This and following description is based on the one actually played around the Independence Day, though some instruments not played at that time are included. All sets are comprised of nearly the same kinds of instruments though there are differences in number.
- (7) Seebass and others reports that the similar ensemble with almost the same instrumentation at Rembitan in southern Lombok is called *oncér* (Seebass et al. 1976:29-34). They also states that the ensemble "is most typical for the *Wetu Telu*" (29).
- (8) Palmyra palm, *Borassus flabellifera*. "*Lontar*" refers not only to the plant itself and the papyrus made of its leaves, but also to sweet syrup extracted from it.
- (9) Cederroth reports that in Suren in northern Lombok, "an old man will read selected parts from a palm leaf manuscript" the night before the burial of the corpse is done, as well as at the very night of the burial. She also notes that "these manuscripts are regarded as family treasures and are kept in a special place in the centre of the house" (Cederroth 1988:43). I cannot affirm that it is performed when they mourn at Sembalun, but considering from the case on the burial I saw (which took place three months after the death), it is presumably performed.
- (10) There are some Indonesian versions performed nowadays. The performance, however, is done with the Sasak text, directly translated into the Indonesian on the spot.
- (11) Generally speaking, there are four ranks or classes among the Sasak people, though most people belong to the lower two ranks. "The rank system of the Sasak is, like that of Balinese, just a title system in substance. But the Sasak system has very simple structure in comparison with the Balinese one which has rather complicated title system" (Kitamura 1988:112-113). In Sembalun, we can find a rather firmly held rank system than in some other villages. The system is supported to a certain extent by the existence of tight patrilineal kin groups (cf. Kitamura 1988:126).
- (12) Seebass and others recorded the *kamput* with slightly different format, i.e., with *prérét*, *suling*, *kendang*, *jedur* (shallow, single-headed drum), and *rincik* (*copéq*) at Barajulat, middle Lombok (1976:43-45).
- (13) *Ipil*, or *ipil ipil* is *Leucaena leucocephala*. *Mantong* is not identified.

(14) Seebass and others reports from West Lombok a very different ensemble which seemed to accompany rudat in former times. The ensemble is called *rebana*, and "contrary to the Javanese *terbang* consisting of 4 tambourines beaten by hand, 1 drum played with stick, *rincik* and a big crowd of singers for performing *swalan* or *rudat*, our orchestra is purely instrumental and consists only of drums beaten with a stick (but these not with cymbals as the tambourine) and one *rincik*" (1976:24). "There is another *rebana* performing *rudat* at Tanjung [North Lombok] belonging to *Waktu Lima*" (26). The existence of a quite different type of ensemble accompanying the *rudat* in Sembalun is remarkable, not only as it may shows an Islamic influence but also as it may be a clue to estimate the cultural bias posed on music activities by religious peculiarity (i.e., whether they believed in *waktu telu* or *waktu lima* Islam).

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## Chapter Three

### Folk Urban Musical Heritage

Victor Ganap

Indonesian *keroncong* music has been acknowledged as urban popular music since its first introduction as the *ars nova* in the eighteenth century Batavia. *Keroncong Asli* is the standard *keroncong* form today in Indonesia. Typical melody of *Moresco* as the original form of *Keroncong Asli* was characterized by its motive in half-tone neighbouring note, as written by Manusama and Kusbini. The similarity in motive between the two variants of *Moresco* is shown below.

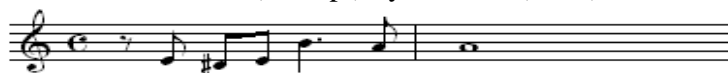
A *keroncong* music group of Indies community in Batavia  
(Manusama, 1919)



*Moresco* (excerpt) by Manusama (1919)



*Moresco* (excerpt) by Kusbini (1935)



It is not known what source used by Manusama in writing the notation of *Moresco*, while Kusbini himself admitted that his notation was written based on the song that he heard frequently sung at *Jaar Markt Festival* in Surabaya. Since Manusama's notation was the only written source on *Moresco*, it could have been transcribed by Manusama himself from the *Moresco* that he used to hear in Batavia. However, the original version of *Moresco* should have come from Tugu village, before another version appeared and performed by the Indies groups in Batavia.

1. *Prounga* of *Krontjong Bandan*, music by community of Bandaneira origins in Batavia's Kampung Bandan village, that named by its Bandaneiran inhabitants. *Krontjong Bandan* was considered as the first group of *keroncong* ensemble emerged outside Tugu village. However, closed relationship among the two villages' people had been long encountered, in regards to their similarity in Bandaneiran ancestry. In general, Bandan village community were fishermen, however one Bandaneiran named Meester Cornelis-Senen known as one of the richest landlords in Batavia, where the Jakarta southern area of Jatinegara was named after him. Cornelis was also one of the nine indigenous families of Tugu village community. *Prounga* is the *Krontjong Bandan*'s standard repertory, similar to *Moresco* and *Cafrinho* in *Krontjong Toegoe*, in which *Prounga* opening melody has also a Moorish half-tone motive neighbouring note shown below.

opening passage of *Cafrinju* (Da França, 1985)



2. *Krontjong Kemajoran*, *keroncong* music played by the Indies community in Kemajoran area that considered as the first *keroncong* centre in Batavia, established by the Indies musicians. The songform of *Krontjong Kemajoran* was a slight change from *Krontjong Toegoe* style, and considered as the prototype of the Indonesian *Keroncong Asli* today. While *Krontjong Kemajoran* is considered to have inspired from *Krontjong Toegoe*, Kemajoran *keroncong* musicians have played an important role in popularizing *keroncong* music in Batavia. They were believed to have successfully disseminated *keroncong* music from Batavia to the big cities in Java. In the following notation, the opening melody of *Krontjong Kemajoran* has also some Moorish half-tone motive.

opening passage of *Krontjong Kemajoran*

While *keroncong* music had been increasingly accepted by the Batavia urban community, its popularity, however, had a negative impact in the society where they labelled them as *keroncong* crocodile. The term is believed to have come from an Indies musical group namely *De Krokodilen* also in Kemajoran, performed as wandering musicians with their exotic appearances that caused social unrest. When the crocodiles troupes pass-by the people had to avoid them by shutting the windows to prevent their daughters from crazily come out to cheer and follow them. The crocodile musicians' typical costum was batik designed payamas pants, with a beret on top and scarf around the neck. It is not surprising when *keroncong* music then has become part of urban night life in Batavia, and might have related as well with the social unlawful and criminal cases. Brandts-Buys reported that the Dutch authority had ever banned the *keroncong* music in a city of Java. Most probably Brandts-Buys refers to Bandung city, as a repressive action in maintaining the beauty and safety of the *Parijs van Java*, once a nickname of Bandung.

3. *Krontjong Lief Java* by local *muziek vereeniging* (orchestra) musicians, as part of the *Mooi Indie* (Beautiful Indie), an artistic movement promoted by the European painters in Batavia. *Lief Java* was established in 1918 by Suwardi and Abdullah, but attained popularity only after 1930s with several noted singers, such as Annie Landouw, Louis Koch, and Leo Spel. Annie was born in 1913 of Solo origin before she become the adopted daughter of Ferdinand Roland Landouw. Her disabled eyes as *keroncong* singer did not prevent her from achieving the first prize in 1927 *Fandel Concours Keroncong* in Surakarta, where afterwards Annie has some contracts for recording with Decca, Columbia, and regularly broadcasted by *NIROM* (*Nederlandsch Indische Radio Omroep Maatschappij*) in Bandung. Annie died in 1978 after her long service in bringing up the popularity of *keroncong* music.

In 1936, Indonesian noted composer Ismail Marzuki was also joining the ensemble led by Hugo Dumas together with other 150 musicians. Marzuki composed an Indies popular song *De Orchiedeeien Bloeien* (orchid flower blossoms), in the Romantic-based idealism. The opening melodic line of the song also includes the following half-tone motive.

opening passage of *De Orchiedeeien Bloeien* by Marzuki

After the independence, Marzuki translated the texts into Indonesian and known as *Bila Anggrek Mulai Berbunga*. In 1988 the song was declared as the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) Orchid Song, where Marzuki was posthumously awarded the prize from the Indonesian government, apart from the earlier



*Wijayakusuma* Prize in honour to his contribution in composing hundreds of national patriotic songs. Ismail Marzuki has also been dedicated to the name of The Jakarta Arts Centre established in 1968.

4. *Komedi Stambul*, was a kind of Indies drama comedy based on Turkish themes. The term *Stambul* is believed to have taken from the Turkish capital city Istanbul, while its repertoires consisted of love stories within the Turkish courts, such as *Djafaat Toerki*, or *Dardanella*, produced with parodial text and other improvising elements. The need of accompanying musical pieces for the drama was one reason to the spread of *keroncong* music from Batavia to Surabaya in East Java, where the drama was first established. The *Stambul* artists mainly were the all-round musicians, who should be able to sing, dance, and act as comedian as well, accompanied by an ensemble of guitar, violin, flute and percussion, sometimes included the piano. In a *Stambul* performance, five to six modified Portuguese melodies were played, either as the overture, parodial text accompaniment, or the *entr'acte*. All the melodies were without title, except its number of scenes, such as *Stambul I* for scene I, *Stambul II* for scene II, and so on. However, all those melodies were quite familiar because the drama used to play them repeatedly. When *Dardanella* group was established in Batavia in 1917, the founder was an Indo-Chinese legendary musician Tan Tjeng Bok, a *keroncong* crocodile and long live *Stambul* actor. He started his career in Bandung joined the *Goldfischen* ensemble, where its musicians were mostly of Indo-Chinese origins. Tan Tjeng Bok with his nickname as Pak Item has been awarded a first prize in *Fandel Concurs Keroncong* in Bandung. Though the drama had disappeared long before the independence, the *Stambul* songs remain alived, and considered as one of the *keroncong* genres today, either as a Manado serenade *O Inani Keke*, from the melody of Portuguese *Haja Luz* folk tune, or a Maluku folksong *Kole-Kole*, or as a Betawi *Jali-Jali*, with its typical two bars passage is sung first before the accompaniment enters in the fourth harmony. *Stambul* is also played as an instrumental pieces, derived from the past *entr'acte* of the drama comedy.

5. *Western Langgam*, the 1920s Western-based *krontjong beat* music as a popular ballrooms entertainment, where the music was a mixture of *keroncong* hawaiian in Tin Pan Alley theatrical style performed by the Batavia musicians of East Indonesia origins that attained *gelijkgesteld* (maestro) status amongst the Indies community. The orchestration of the ensemble included strings, woodwinds, brass and percussion sections, with additional hawaiian steel guitar, and piano played by Nick Mamahit, with other Maluku and Manado musicians Tjok (George) de Fretes, Boetje Pesolima, Hein Turangan, Jacob Sigarlaki, Etto Latumeten, and Tjok Sinsu. The entry of hawaiian steel guitar into *keroncong* is believed to have influenced from the song *Hawaiian Butterfly* by Billy Baskette and Joseph P Santly that was also popular in the East Indies at that time. Meanwhile, Wage Rudolf Supratman, composer of *Indonesia Raya*, the Indonesian national anthem with his jazz band *Black and White* also used to perform Western langgam at *Kazerne* ballroom in Makassar, together with his counterpart Belloni and his *Concordia Respavae Crescunt* Orchestra at the *Societeit Harmonie* ballroom in Bandung. However, the national spirit in him kept his relationship with the patriotic group for the independence.

### **Indonesian Keroncong Music**

It was not until the twentieth century, before *keroncong* music was spread out from Batavia to other cities in Java that led to the establishment of *keroncong* music

centers in Bandung, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Surabaya. After radio broadcast was on air for the first time in 1925, *keroncong* music was more frequently heard, and the *keroncong* competition has been held time to time under *Keroncong Fandel Concours* program since 1920s. The appearance of *keroncong* music on the radio has helped recover *keroncong* music from its negative impact in the society, from the music of wandering musicians on the street to an elite music of Batavia urban community.

In 1930s there were not less than seven *keroncong* ensembles in Batavia, namely (1) *De Golden Sinar* ensemble directed by Koei Tjien Kie or Bah Matjan; (2) *Sinar Bulan* ensemble directed by Abdulmuthalib, who later also established (3) *Aroma* ensemble; (4) *Puspa Kemala* ensemble directed by Husin Kasimun; (5) *Lief Souvenir* ensemble directed by Abdul Karim; (6) *M. Sagi* ensemble directed by M. Sagi himself; and (7) *Satria* ensemble directed by Sukirman. Another *keroncong* crocodile from Aceh but of Maluku origin named Bram Titaley began his career in Batavia 1922, where he joined *Jong Java* ensemble, and won the *Fandel Concours Keroncong*, together with the *Gezang Concours* before he is recorded by His Master's Voice. Before he died in 1978, Bram was joining *Hawaiian Seniors* ensemble directed by then the national police chief general Hoengeng, which regularly appeared on the national television TVRI from 1967 to 1978.

The initial broadcasting of *keroncong* music in the radio owned by the orientalist group during the East Indies time had also created a controversial in the society, as written in journal *Kritiek en Opbouw* published in Bandung in 1941. A debate arose from Ali Boediardjo's article, who considered that *keroncong* music is not appropriate on the radio, because the music is a mixture of unknown elements, a wild music, which loved only by the low class people, and too romantic in its expression. Armijn Pane gave his comment by arguing that *keroncong* music instead has a potential to become future Indonesian music, due to its materials that represented the diversity of Indonesia itself. The debate was concluded by Resink, a Dutch scholar who wrote that radio has an incredible impact on popularising all kind of musics, where the listeners will gradually not feel alien to them. He was referring to the music of Bach, or Beethoven that had been accepted by all the Europeans, and surely in the future will be familiar amongst the Indonesians too.

Nonetheless, the debate on *keroncong* at that time had been part of a larger scale political controversy amongst the Indonesian scholars in 1930s, discussed on what form of nationality will be suitable for the future Indonesian state. The traditionalist group led by Ki Hadjar Dewantara, founder of Taman Siswa school of education believed that the nationality of Indonesia should be built on the values of local multi-ethnics traditions, while the nationalist group led by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana adopted the ultra-nationalism, in which the nationality of Indonesia should be a totally new reconstruction from the ruins of local cultures, and should be based on the historical discontinuities. The majority of traditionalist group played a significant role in bringing Ki Hadjar's idea to win the battle, where his famous jargon *tut wuri handayani*, a Javanese philosophy for the educators "to lead from behind", was later adopted as the foundation of Indonesian national education.

Back to the *keroncong* history, needless to say that the Javanese acceptance to *keroncong* was the key factor in developing *keroncong* music as the Indonesian music. Process of Indonesianization of *keroncong* music was pioneered by the noted *keroncong*

composer Kusbini from Jogja, who admitted for the first time in 1924 heard the *Moresco* from the *Kroncong Concours* at *Jaar Markt Festival* in Surabaya. Most probably the *Moresco* was from the variant of Manusama's transcription in 1919, but no information so far about it. Later in 1933, together with Abdullah and Kusbandi, Kusbini began to transcribe the *Moresco* into a new *da capo* form of *Keroncong Asli* lasts for 28 bars in tempo *andante*.

In 1935 Kusbini for the first time sang his variant of *Moresco* broadcasted by *NIROM* in Surabaya. Kusbini's *Moresco* in the form of *Keroncong Asli* was an important step towards the recognition of *keroncong* music as the national song, where it is considered today as the standardized form of *keroncong*. It's a classical *keroncong* due to its *durchkomponiert* form and skillful demand for violin and flute section in improvising the introduction, interlude, and counter melody, in which the singers balanced it with *coração* (from the heart) expression in improvising the melody with *glissando* and *gruppetto* styles up to its *rubato* tempo in *ad libitum*. The accompaniment is characterized with a particular rhythmic pattern played by cello *pizzicato* in the *keroncong* ensemble, together with the violin, flute, guitar, ukulele, banjo, and bass *pizzicato*.

The Javanese gamelan style can be heard as cello plays *kendangan* or rhythmic driver equal to *kendang* as leader instrument in the gamelan, while the bass *pizzicato* more or less equal to *gong*. A *keroncong* ensemble needs no percussion section, as cello plays the rhythmic *kendangan*. Since Kusbini wrote *Moresco* as a prototype of *Keroncong Asli*, many repertoires of *keroncong* songs up to now such as, *Kr. Sapu Lidi*, *Kr. Tanah Airku*, *Kr. Pemuda-Pemudi*, *Kr. Irama Malam* were composed in the same way. There is a strong commonground among the *keroncong* musicians today to consider *Keroncong Asli* as a purely Indonesian music, without taking any reference from the past

Another important form of *keroncong* is called *Langgam Keroncong*, but its birth had a different background from the *Keroncong Asli*. During the Japanese occupation, *keroncong* music has ever been banned by *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* (people's cultural agency), due to its servility or puppy love atmosphere, and tearful text expressed by the crank musicians. The *keroncongs* were accused of driving a low-spirited mentality toward the people, that not in conformity with the Japanese militancy. However, when a strophic song form was introduced by Gesang, another Indonesian noted *keroncong* composer from Solo through his famous song *Bengawan Solo*, the text has somewhat a more pastoral quality depicted a legendary river in Java. Its strophic form may have derived from the Javanese traditional poetry of *macapat*. but Gesang admitted that he composed *Bengawan Solo* for the first time in 1940, in search of a new form of *keroncong*. He named it *langgam* as suggested by the chief of Solo radio broadcast. However, soon after that, Gesang also composed other *Langgam Keroncong* such as, *Jembatan Merah*, *Rangkaian Melati*, and *Saputangan*, love-songs packed in the patriotic frame. The Japanese authority was pleased with the new atmosphere of *keroncong*, with its pastorate and patriotic breathes, instead of the past servility content. *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* then reopened the *Keroncong Concours* in 1944 held by *Solo Hôshô Kyoku* radio broadcast. The popularity of *Bengawan Solo* among the Japanese troops in Java, has made the song later was also popular in Japan after the war. Gesang's name is known by the Japanese old generation, where he has also been invited to Japan as they wanted to see the aging composer by person. Gesang also appeared on Japan's

television programme to sing *Bengawan Solo* in its genuine style, which has been long expected by the Japanese audiences. Nonetheless, a group of Gesang fans in Japan had successfully managed to make it possible for Gesang to get some royalties concerning his song property rights.

Many repertoires of *Langgam Keroncong* have been composed, and gave way to the birth of the Javanese *langgam* pioneered by Anjar Any with his famous song *Yen ing Tawang ana Lintang*. In Indonesia today *Langgam Keroncong* lives side by side with *Keroncong Asli* and supported by the old and young generations with their legendary singers, such as Waldjinah for the old generation, and Sundari Sukoco for the youngsters. *Keroncong* music is still alive due to the fact that after the independence, *Radio Republic Indonesia* has been organizing the annual *Keroncong Radio Star Competition* since 1951. The *keroncong* festival was also organized by The Jakarta Arts Center, not to mention many other *keroncong* events held in major cities in Indonesia. Recently in May 2007, a tribute to Gesang was broadcasted by Jakarta Metro Television showing the latest condition of the aging maestro in his Solo residence, where he expressed an appeal to the Indonesian young generation not to let *keroncong* died. A group of *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble that also participated in the television programme led by Andre Juan Michiels with his Tugu *keroncong* musicians respond the maestro spontaneously.

### **Postlude**

The birth of *keroncong* music in Indonesia had a multi-cultural background in a wider spectrum of the world history, that has begun when the Portuguese sailors embarked on their voyages to the East, through South Africa, Arab peninsula, Goa, Malacca, and Maluku in search of spice. They could also managed to introduce their culture in terms of *Moresco* and *Cafrinho* musics and dances. The musics are played with *cavaquinho* guitar that has been taken along in the journey due to its handy size. First to Morocco, in 1582 through Madeira which was named *braguinha*, as the guitar originally came from Braga district in Portugal. In Brazil it was named *machette*, as used to accompanying the local immigrant Portuguese dances, while in Carribean Islands it was called *cuatro*, due to its four course of strings. Portuguese guitar *cavaquinho* is believed to have reached as far as Hawaii and Polynesia, where the local people named it as *ukelele*, literally 'jumping fingers', named from the way *cavaquinho* is being played.

The popularity of its Hawaiian term as *ukulele* gives a clue that *cavaquinho* has taken along through Oceania and Polynesia before reaching the other parts of the world, including Maluku Islands and Tugu village around the seventeenth century. It was not until the twentieth century, when *cavaquinho* revived in Portugal after long time disappeared, while it went through another direction to gain a worldwide recognition as *ukulele*.

The Indonesian term itself may have come either from the onomatopoeic '*crong*', the typical sound of *kroncong* to which it was named, or from an etymological name drawn from *krincing rebana*, a jingling tambourine, as an accompanying ensemble to *Moresco* dances. Craftmanship of *kroncong* was owned by Tugu guitar makers, and produced in three typed of five string guitars with different sizes, namely *prounga*, *macina*, and *jitera*. The entire instruments had a larger middle string called *bordang*, and played together in the ensemble. In later development, Tugu village guitar makers had modified the *kroncong* into *cuk* (first *ukulele*, or four string *jitera*), *cak* (second *ukulele*,

or three string *prounga*), and the five string *macina* as an adaptation from mandolin with its ethnic quality.

The notation of *Moresco* in Indonesia was for the first time written by Manusama in his book published in Batavia in 1919. Its notation might have been transcribed from the melody that was frequently sung by *keroncong* musicians. Manusama's transcription lasts for 16 bars in *moderato con amore*, divided into two variants with two introductions. Manusama's melody was endorsed by Antonio Pinto Da França in 1970, where he retitled it as *Krontjong "Tugu"*, meant the song belongs to Tugu musicians. By all accounts, *Moresco* had been the key element in investigating the Portuguese musical legacy in the Indonesian *keroncong* music. Undoubtedly that Tugu village musicians with their stylistic traits of *Krontjong Toegoe* had played an important role in carrying out the history of *keroncong* in Indonesia.

UNESCO repertory reflects *Krontjong Toegoe*'s musical genre as the style of accompaniment, typical of the sixteenth century *Moresco* in accompanying the dance. That is why, *Krontjong Toegoe* has a vast repertoires as it used to accompany many different multi-lingual songs. Though *Keroncong Asli* form that introduced by Kusbini through his *Moresco* is believed to have developed from *Krontjong Toegoe*, however, *Keroncong Asli* is quite different from *Krontjong Toegoe* in terms of: (1) solo singing against group singing in *Krontjong Toegoe*; (2) through-composed form in 28 bars against quatrain form; (3) instrumental introduction-interlude against full accompaniment; (4) *coração* (from the heart) expression against strict rhythm beat expression; (5) notated score in singing against improvised singing; and (6) polyphonic texture against monodic texture. Ironically, as *Moresco* has been the standard repertory of *Keroncong Asli* today, the existing *Krontjong Toegoe* ensembles never play the *Moresco* anymore in their performance.

*Keroncong Asli* was a more classical *keroncong* form, derived from the style of Javanese gamelan in terms of: (1) its song form in *da capo* aria; (2) replacement of Javanese *rebab* and *suling* as melodic carrier by violin and flute; (3) adaptation of *banyu mili* (running water) style of *gambang* instrument playing in a *continuo* guitar playing; (4) introduction and interlude are improvised, without any *coda* in masculine ending; (5) rhythmic *riff* motive played by *ukulele*; (6) rhythmic pattern by cello *pizzicato* in imitating the Javanese *kendangan* playing; and (7) bass *pizzicato* in imitating the repeated *gongan* playing.

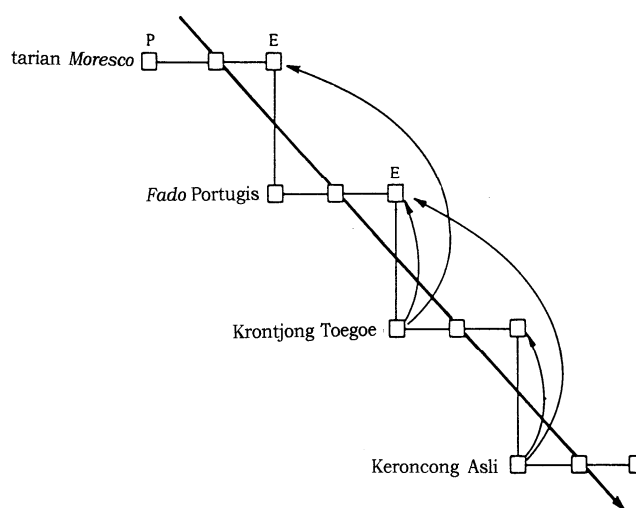
While the Javanese *gamelan* has influenced *Keroncong Asli*, Javanese *macapat* poetry has led to a strophic *Langgam Keroncong* introduced by Gesang. The singing style of *keroncong* with Javanese elements usually perform beyond the written notation in terms of: (1) *cengkok*, the ornamented melodic lines from *glissando* and *gruppetto* to the unintonated tones; (2) *nggandul*, a tempo in style of singing to delay the last verse from the accompanying music, in conformity with the singer's heart feeling; (3) nasal voice in the Islamic Moorish way of singing to prevent their female singers from widely opening the mouth; (4) stereotyped in improvised singing *keroncong* where its repetition will never be the same.

The following semiological tripartition schema by Nattiez shows the dialectic between E (perception) and P (creation) in the case of *Krontjong Toegoe* and *Moresco*, not only to make a distinction between P (*poietic*) and the E (*esthetic*), but also to link them diachronically. The schema also shows how *Krontjong Toegoe* poietics integrates a

perceptive stance toward *Moresco* dance and Portuguese *fado* music, how *Keroncong Asli* in turn is the heir of *Krontjong Toegoe*, nonetheless, a certain *Keroncong Asli* musicians understanding of *Moresco*, and Javanese traditional *gamelan* music as well.

The cultural interaction between the Islamic Moor and the European in the past, was amalgamated, among others, in *Moresco* Portuguese music. During the fifteenth century voyages of Portuguese sailors to the East, *Moresco* Portuguese was also introduced in Africa, India, Oceania, Malacca, Maluku, and particularly in Tugu village as *Krontjong Toegoe*, where the interaction with the Dutch, Chinese, and Betawi cultures were unavoidable. *Krontjong Toegoe* developed into *kroncong* music of the eighteenth century Batavia. From Batavia, *keroncong* music was spread throughout the archipelago that has become the Indonesian *keroncong* music.

#### The Semiological Tripartition of Keroncong Music (Ganap, 2006 quoted Nattiez, 1990)



The existing Indonesian *keroncong* music is believed to have come from Portugal based on the historical facts that: (1) Portuguese has ever come to the Indonesian archipelago; (2) Indonesian *keroncong* guitar had been an adaptation from the Portuguese *cavaquinho*; (3) *Moresco* Portuguese is known in Indonesia today as a standard of *Keroncong Asli* song; (4) the *rubato* singing performed by the Indonesian *keroncong* singer today is obviously adopted from *coração* expression in old traditional way of Moorish singing in the Portuguese courts..

Eventually, in global context, *keroncong* as the Indonesian national music might have a future prospect due to: (1) its durability that has been tested for centuries; (2) its uniqueness as multicultural and multilingual music; (3) its flexibility to adopt the local colors; (4) its revitalized forms to accomodate the market demand; (5) its quality as the most suitable entertainment for the old generations that will always give support to the music; and (6) its transcriptions into orchestral form as part of the world music repertoires. Undoubtedly the jingling strains of *keroncong* music with its uniqueness, adaptability, assimilative character and historical relevance, can be heard well into the future.

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## Chapter Four

### Singing as an Oral Tradition

Simeda Takasi

In this short essay, I would like to discuss the matter of oral tradition and its future in central Borneo (Kalimantan), especially the case of the Penan\*2 people. As among the other ethnic groups in central Borneo, the Penan have a rich oral tradition including songs and chants. However, the tradition is changing very quickly now and some of it may die out in the near future.

In the present situation, which is not confined to Borneo but may be found all through the world, it is often said that ethnomusicologists should "rescue" or "help people preserve" their traditions, but the reason for doing so is never clearly stated. Before accepting this notion, we should examine the concept of tradition as well as the task of ethnomusicology. In order to do so, believing that the methodology of ethnography is still effective, I will give brief data on the Penan in Sarawak and East Kalimantan, and then discuss the above-mentioned problems referring to those data.

#### **Penan in Central Borneo** (see Map 1 and 2)

My fieldwork among the Penan people in Sarawak, Malaysia was done in 1983, 1984, 1988-9 and 1990. During my stay in Yogyakarta as a dosen tamu at Institut Seni Indonesia this past academic year (1993-4), I finished fieldwork mainly on the so-called nomadic peoples in East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia.\*3

In Sarawak, I stayed mostly with the Penan Belaga and Penan Gang people living at Long Urun and Long Ketuet on the upper reach of the Belaga river, a tributary of the Rejang (Baluy). They were nominally sedentarized in the 1970s but, in fact, there were always a few families absent from their "permanent" villages at any given time. Each family would stay in the jungle to hunt animals and to collect and process wild sago (their staple food)\*4 for a couple of weeks at a time, even as recently as 1988. They are also said to have begun cultivating hill rice in the 1970s, but I observed that they had consumed all their annual rice crop by June 1984 and by May 1988. This means that 3 or 4 months after the harvest, there was no rice in their villages.

In 1988, the relatives who lived closest to them were on the Liang, a tributary of the Seping which is a tributary of the Baluy. The place is about 2 to 3 days' walk from Long Urun. This group emigrated to the Belaga area from Long Jiqik on the Seping about 35 years ago, and then came back to the Seping area in the mid-1970s. During my stay, there were only 15 persons (3 families) at the village, the rest (about 80 souls) being in the jungle. This group seemed to be better hill rice cultivators than the group on the Belaga, but they said they were lacking rice as early as June 1988.

This situation seems to be similar to that of the Penan (Punan) Benaluy in Long Pujungan Sub-district, whose language is the same as the above-mentioned Penan people in Sarawak.\*5 They were said to have been sedentarized at Long Belaka and Long Benaq on the Lurah river, a tributary of the Bahau When I visited them at Long Belaka in July 1994. Local government officials and policemen said that they were asked to settle



at Long Peliran on the Bahau in the 1970s. Indeed, they tried to do so, but after a couple of years, they began to scatter into the jungle.

At Long Belaka, about 2 to 3 hours' trip from Long Peliran by boat with 5hp engine, a primary school was founded in 1981. There are two Penan houses made of planks near the school. One of them belongs to the village chief (kepala desa), but only his wife and family were present when I visited. The chief was said to be at his hut near the swidden field about one hour's walk from the school, but actually he was not there, having gone hunting with his companions a few days earlier. At several temporary huts near the field, some forty persons including children were present. More than a half of the field had been cleared (ready to burn) but they had nothing to eat except some vegetables and fruits at that time.

These two groups, the Penan in Sarawak and the Penan (Punan) Benaluy in East Kalimantan, share the same cultural traits such as language, usage of the so-called "death-name",\*6 daily activities, classificatory knowledge of plants and animals, and so on. Present members of both groups, however, do not know about each other's existence across the mountain range that is the international border lying between their territories. Integrating the stories I was told by the Penan in Sarawak and Long Belaka with articles concerning the history of the Kenyah people (who are the closest swiddeners to the Penan Belaga and Benaluy), we may reconstruct their migration process as follows:

Their original place is obscure, but they were said to have lived in the Usun Apau plateau (the upper Belaga, Seping and Peliran basin in Kapit Division and the upper Tinjar and Silat basin in Miri Division, Sarawak) in the 18th century. In this area, there were Kenyah groups including the Kenyah Badeng (Badang). When a part of the Kenyah Badeng moved eastward to the headwaters of the Iwan\*7 and the Pujungan (Walchren 1907: 784, 819-20), some of the Penan followed. From there the Kenyah moved to the Apau Kayan area (the headwaters of the Kayan, Kayan Hulu Sub-district, East Kalimantan), an event which seems to have taken place between 1820 and 1850 (Whittier 1973: 24). Some of the other Penan migrated to the Baluy and the Baram (cf. Needham 1972: 177).\*8

If this reconstruction is not far from what actually happened, the Penan Belaga and Benaluy people seem to have been separated from each other for 150 years or so. If so, their cultural similarity and coherence (including their songs and vocal expression) is surprising, for those who are in Sarawak have had constant contact with the Kenyah Uma Pawaq and Sambop whereas those in East Kalimantan have been under the protection and/or exploitation of the Kenyah Badeng; differences of language and vocal expression between these two Kenyah sub-groups are not trivial. In this sense, the musical tradition of the Penan Belaga and Benaluy seems to be maintained well. Examining their musical activity as well as that of other peoples in central Borneo, we may get a clue to reconsider the concept of tradition.

### **Vocal Genres and their Transformation in Central Borneo: Discussion Centered on the Penan Case**

There are three vocal genres (*sinuy*, *ketaruy*, and *tivay*) and three kinds of instrumental music (solo sapéh [two- to three-stringed plucked lute], kerégot [nose flute with three or four finger holes], or ilut [jaw's harp]) among the Penan. The most often performed genre among the Penan Belaga is *sinuy*,\*9 improvised song. Most *sinuy* texts

relate to the expression of thanks to the gods, usually sung at night after eating wild boars or other wild animals obtained from the jungle. At Long Belaka, I asked them to sing because our time of stay was limited, and they performed without any food in the afternoon and at night for the purpose of audio and video recording. Informants of the Penan Benaluy confirmed, however, that *sinuy* are performed normally at occasions equivalent to those in the upper Belaga area.

Musical theory about improvisatory construction of the *sinuy* is also common. I verify the same usage of technical terms among the Penan at Long Belaka as among the Penan in Sarawak, such as *li* ('melody'), *mengin* ('high-pitched'), *leben* ('low-pitched'), *ngelebé* ('sing with narrowed throat but forcefully'). The principal concepts pertaining to the form and structure of the performance, namely *pesebung* ('repetition') and *kedaqang* (verb form: *ngedaqang*, 'to sing imitatively'), that make every performance identifiable as *sinuy*, were mentioned and practiced by singers at Long Belaka, too.\*10 A rule on assigning a different note value to each syllable determines the rhythmic aspect of *sinuy* in general: the last syllable of a word receives longer note value and accent than preceding syllables. As a result, we can perceive *sinuy* performances following the minimal unit of triplet or dotted rhythm (for further analysis of the rule and musical examples, see Shimeda 1986b: 184-5).

Concerning the text building, too, we can find the existence of strong coherence, which consists of the usage of poetic words, borrowings from other languages (such as Malay, Kenyah and Iban), standardized metaphors implicating the gods (or spirits) and rebirth or reincarnation of human beings, and so on. These aspects are distinctive features of improvised texts of *sinuy* (see Shimeda 1991a: Chapter 4).

If we turn our eyes to other so-called nomadic peoples in central Borneo, we meet various kinds of vocal expressions, too. Detailed analyses of them cannot be given here because space is limited. However, it is probable that such vocal genres as *onam* of the Aoheng (at the headwaters of the Mahakam) and *kelidug* of the Punan Tubu (on the middle Sesayap) are heavily affected by the vocal genres of the neighboring swiddeners, i.e. the Kayan, Kenyah, and Lun Dayeh.\*11

On the other hand, it seems that the Penan culture in general has been influenced (or cannot be differentiated) from those of neighboring groups. Most of the cultural traits I mentioned above are, in fact, not so different from those of the neighboring swiddeners, especially the Kenyah: their language can be classified under the Kayan-Kenyah group (see Rousseau 1990: 341); use of death-names is common among almost all languages of central Borneo; the tools and methods of hunting animals and processing wild sago are also found among the other peoples in central Borneo; and their religion seems to be similar to that of the neighboring swiddeners before their conversion to Christianity.

Therefore, we can say that the *sinuy* of the Penan is influenced by the neighboring swiddeners to a lesser extent than the influence undergone by the vocal genres of the other so-called nomadic peoples, even though the relationship of any nomadic people with adjacent agriculturalists is nearly the same. It may also be said that, among the Penan culture, only the *sinuy* "tradition" is maintained well and still alive.

Thus, we may ask two questions: (1) why does the *sinuy* in Sarawak and East Kalimantan keep its common features despite the different influences from the outside? and (2) among the many vocal expression forms of nomadic peoples, why is the *sinuy* of the Penan the only one that remains unchanged? If we see culture as plural amalgams,

every component (or cultural trait) of which is independent of each other, then we need not discuss these questions because we have only to say that a vocal genre stands alone among the Penan culture and it does not stand alone among other cultures of the nomads. But if we see culture as a framework of thought and use of symbols, we should examine the interrelationships between distinct cultural systems (music, language, religion, ideology, and so on) wherever such interrelationship exists.\*12

As I analyzed elsewhere (e.g. Shimeda 1986b, 1989, 1991b), the *sinuy* performance is interwoven with the religion and speech acts of the Penan. Some of the Penan in Sarawak are said to have been converted to Christianity, but most of them still rely on the belief that certain animals (especially some kinds of birds) are heralds of the gods in order to decide whether they should perform a daily activity (such as hunting, collecting, or making blowpipes) or not. And the way they interpret bird voices as phrases in the Penan language is one basis of *sinuy* construction: this patterned listening to birds follows the same rule as mentioned above on assigning a different note value to each syllable to be sung in a *sinuy* performance (see Shimeda 1986b). And seeing the matter from the opposite side, we can interpret *sinuy* performances as a medium to make their religion and language use become more immanent.

Thus, *sinuy* as well as the language and religion of the Penan have no (or little, if any) influence from the outside. This statement cannot be, however, an answer to the first question, because it does not take into account the large amount of influence we can find in other cultural domains. With this statement, the first question is only extended as "why does *sinuy* as well as the language and religion keep its common features despite the different exterior influences in Sarawak and East Kalimantan?"

Before considering the first question further, examine the second one. It seems to me that one of the important points to distinguish *sinuy* of the Penan from other vocal expressions of nomadic peoples is whether it is improvised or not. All the *sinuy* performances are improvisation: a singer may use his/her melody stock as well as poetic formulas, but they cannot construct a *sinuy* entirely by using these "pre-existing" materials. In contrast, *onam* and *kelidug*, for example, have loosely fixed text as well as melodic contour: to be a singer means to remember the text and melody.

Of course, this dichotomization of vocal genres among central Borneo nomads may be too simplified. Many peoples in central Borneo (including nomadic peoples) practice improvisatory songs (for example, the Punan Busang, Baluy Kayan, Kejaman, Kenyah Uma Pawaq, Ke. Ma (or Uma) Long, Ke. Badeng, etc.). But the fact that the Penan do not have any kind of memorized song, whereas most others in central Borneo do, cannot be ignored.

In general, improvisation demands a certain kind of knowledge or theory of music construction. Concerning improvisation, Du"ring says:

Between speech and improvisation, there exists a close relation: to improvise is, subjectively, to speak a musical language. To play a tune or to recite verses does not mean to know the system (Du"ring 1987: 20, translation by myself).

The final sentence of the citation does not preclude the fact that the system [of music] is necessary to perform a [pre-existing] tune, nor the fact that a certain kind of theory exists among pre-existing music. The point is that improvisation is like speaking, in the sense that both are based on overt and/or covert rules or deep structure.

With this characteristic of improvisation in mind, I dare say that the actual performance or surface structure of *sinuy* is not a prerequisite for maintaining the so-called "tradition" of it. It is theoretically possible that, even without referring to actual performances, a Penan could construct and perform *sinuy* if he/she knows the musical and poetic theory of it. In contrast, memorized vocal genres practiced by other central Borneo peoples are not able to exist without a repertoire (which serves as a model or example) to be transmitted. If transmission of the repertoire is terminated, or if the repertoire itself is transformed for some reason, then the "tradition" will die out or change its form. This seems to be one of the answers to the second question.

Return to the first question now. Although *sinuy* is an entirely improvisatory performance, it is possible that the underlying rule or deep structure could be transformed and consequently the actualization of it would change its shape, too. But it does not seem to have happened yet. A clue to the solution may be the Penan's preference for improvised song rather than other genres.

The only vocal genre of the Penan that has a rather fixed melody and text is *tivay*. Originally, *tivay* is said to have been sung to call the spirits of ancestors, but it is now sung outside this context. However, all the Penan communities in Sarawak, except the Data Dian community on the Kepang (a tributary of the Belaga), are in the process of abandoning it. It is performed rarely now, and most people affirmed that it is "uninteresting" (*bareng mi*) and "bad to hear" (*saqat kenini*). And people at Long Belaka (Penan Benaluy) said they forgot how to sing *tivay* a long time ago (maybe 20 to 30 years ago).

Talking with them about the reason why *tivay* is uninteresting and bad to hear, I discovered their ideology or way of thinking. Explanations such as "voices should always be new" (*Piaq meseti pegéng maréng*), "if a song is not created on the spot, it does not have the power" (*daun yeng manew sitew, piaq itew yeng puqun pepusit*) reflect their pragmatic, opportunistic and secular ideology. Just as the success of their hunting activity depends on luck and a successful hunting trip cannot be repeated again, each song is sung but once. (I have no space to discuss the ideology of the Penan here. For a more detailed discussion, see Shimeda (1993).)

According to their opportunistic ideology, the Penan people prefer the improvised *sinuy* to the rather fixed *tivay*. They will probably abandon *tivay* completely in near future, but *sinuy* may live long, because it is more flexible and thus suitable to reconstruct and express their daily experience. In order to perform *sinuy*, however, they need certain kinds of rules. The rules can be changed, but the change is difficult because the rules are tightly interwoven with their language. So, if these opportunists get a set of suitable rules that are free from their language, they may shift to those rules, but this has not happened yet. In this sense, their "traditional" religion is not a prerequisite to *sinuy* performance (or, at most, it is a subsidiary prerequisite).

### **Conclusion: Tradition reconsidered**

In many societies or linguistic groups, "tradition" is an alien concept. We should be careful to use the word, especially when we engage in ethnographic work as a necessary process of ethnomusicological study. We should avoid assuming the content of "tradition" beforehand, unless the culture-bearers themselves agree it. The Penan case shows that their tradition of *sinuy* does not rely on any particular performance, repertoire,

nor even rule to create it, but rather on their thought or ideology. Therefore, even if *sinuy* performances in the future undergo drastic transformation, there may still exist *sinuy* tradition: it is also a tradition.

Most ethnomusicologists still tend to think that oral tradition or transmission presupposes a certain kind of repertoire or concretely organized sound (or text, if the object is orally transmitted literature). However, even genres of music to which this notion can be applied have assumed changes internally and externally. Some melodies of the Kenyah songs, for example, show strong influences from Javanese or Malay songs but the texts are sometimes improvised following their "traditional" way.

In some recent ethnomusicological writings, we can find a phrase like "tradition can be created anew" or "we cannot presuppose that an oyster's ancestor is an oyster" (for example, Waterman 1990: 368), but we should not stay on this level. Returning to the starting point of ethnography, we should find and interpret the local concept of "tradition" or its quasi-equivalent.

There is an unavoidable influence that has arisen recently, i.e. the existence of university graduates or other highly educated people in villages where fieldwork is done. These people often say that ethnomusicologists or similar scholars should help them preserve their musical tradition. However, such an idea itself is not "traditional", to use their terminology. Ethnomusicological study may help them do so, but it is a secondary effect and is principally out of reach of the ethnomusicologists themselves because they are not culture-bearers. We may co-operate with them, but we need not feel obligated to do so. Rather, we should find and "rescue" local knowledge which is often buried under modern Westernized terminology and modern way of thinking. In uncovering this knowledge, we can "defamiliarize" our own music and take a fresh look at our concepts. This should be one of the biggest tasks for ethnomusicology.

## Notes

1. This article is a revised version of a paper delivered at a seminar on ethnomusicology held at Institut Seni Indonesia, Yogyakarta, on 22 August 1994. I acknowledge the coordinators and participants of the seminar.

2. On the name of the group(s), there has been some confusion. In Indonesia, almost all nomadic or previously nomadic peoples are called "Punan" regardless of the differences in their origin or language. However, in Sarawak, there is a distinction between the Punan and Penan. The only ethnic group that is (previously) nomadic who call themselves "Punan" in Sarawak is the Punan Busang. All other groups refer to themselves as "Penan". At least some sub-groups of the Kenyah people distinguish between "Penan" and "Punan" (cf., for example, Rousseau 1990: 20, n.17). Most peoples called "Punan" by the Kenyah have other ethnic names of their own (for example, Busang, Kereho, etc). To my knowledge, there are at least four categories of nomadic peoples: Punan Busang; Penans excluding Penan Tubuq; Penan Tubuq; and other former nomadic peoples such as Bukat. The Penan Tubuq in Sarawak speak almost the same language as that of the Punan Tubu in East Kalimantan Province. The language of other Penans in Sarawak (such as the Penan Belaga, P. Gang, P. Seping, etc.), and the Punan Benaluy in East Kalimantan is the same, and therefore the term 'Penan' will be used throughout this paper to designate this entire ethnic group including the Punan Benaluy.

3. For the first research in 1983, I received a research grant from the Kansai Chapter of the Musicological Society of Japan. The research in 1988-89 was supported by a Grant-in-Aid of the Ministry of Education, Japan (No. 63790016). For data-processing and other follow up work, I also got grants from the Ministry of Education (1990: No. 02710019; 1991: No. 03710014; 1992: No. 04710016). And the latest research, which was done from January to February and from June to July 1994, was supported by The Japan Foundation and Institut Seni Indonesia, Yogyakarta. I appreciate their assistance very much.

4. I could identify and get local names of only two species: "nangah" (*Eugeissona utilis*), and "jakah" (*Arenga undulatifolia*); maybe some species of *Caryota* and *Corypha* are also utilized. For further information on the use of sago in Borneo, see Kedit (1982: 257), Brosius (1986: 177), etc.

5. Curiously, Hoffman (1983, 1985 and others), who researched the so-called nomadic peoples in Borneo extensively, does not mention the existence of this group. Usually, this name is spelled "Benalui" using "i" instead of "y" (it is said that this is a river name in Sarawak, but I cannot identify it yet). Following the results of my research on the phonetics and phonemics of the Penan Belaga language, however, I devised my own orthography system for the language (Shimeda 1991a). In this paper, I use my system because the conventional spellings of the Penan words have not been well-examined for accuracy.

6. This is called *ngaran lumu* in Penan (literally "mourning name") but the usage is not confined to the mourning period. On the use and function of *ngaran lumu*, see Needham (1953, 1954, 1959, 1965, 1966) and Nicolaisen (1978). On rather complicated and unreported uses of it, and its analysis from the viewpoints of the speech act as well as phonic expression, see Shimeda (1986a: 3-4; 1991a: Chapter 1 Section 2).

7. The Badeng is a tributary of the upper Iwan. On the migration of the Kenyah Badeng (Badang), see Rousseau (1990: 337).

8. Needham uses "the western Penan" to designate the people he studied. If linguistic and other data shown by him are correct, they are the same people as I worked with in Sarawak.

9. *Sinuy* has multi-layered meanings, but I must avoid explaining it here. On the lexical analysis of the term, see Shimeda (1986b: 183-4).

10. The concept of musical theory in general and the description and interpretation of that of the Penan in particular are discussed in Shimeda (1988). "To sing imitatively" is a kind of accompaniment in unison: the follower(s) who catch the words by the main singer will sing part of the newly improvised text. Except for *sinuy petikun* (solo performance usually by a woman), there is at least one person *ngedaqang*, especially in a long performance (more than half an hour). For example, the main singer repeats one line or phrase twice; the follower joins singing on the second repetition, during which time the main singer may stop singing to construct the next line.

11. A survey on musical activities of the Aoheng, Seputan, Kenyah at Long Apari Sub-district was carried out in January 1994. In July 1994, I visited the Sesayap-Malinau area (Malinau Sub-district), where the Lun Dayeh and Punan Tubu constitute the majority of population. The Aoheng and neighboring Seputan are called the Penihing collectively by the administrative authority; the Penihing includes part of another small group formerly called the Bukat (or Ukit, Punan Bungan, Hovongan), nomadic hunter-

gatherers. They have had a strong relationship with the Kereho Busang (or Penyabung, Punan Penyabung) in Central Kalimantan Province. On the history and culture of these peoples, see Sellato (1989, a brief mention of music and dance of the Kereho is on p. 125).

12. On the concept of culture, discussions abound. In ethnomusicology, a kind of holistic view of culture is predominant, e.g. Feld (1988), among others. But because cultural systems or cultural traits are not necessarily related to each other, we should suspend our judgment. However, we should take into account all cultural systems if the culture-bearers themselves consider such systems related.

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## Chapter Five

### Folk Islanders Musical Culture

Victor Ganap

#### Introduction

Eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago particularly Maluku province consisted of many islands, while its people are blessed with their incredible musicality, seen from the skillful ability in singing, vast folksongs repertory, and the enrichment of daily activities with musical touch. However, such a talented gift has been so far considered as the art by destination, where Maluku people are happily conducting their esthetical life only for their own purposes. Formal arts education has been scarcely established in Maluku, in which the political will of local government to attain the art by acculturation seems not in conformity as yet. Now the time has come that Maluku ethnic people must empower their rich culture especially their outstanding ability in the art world by producing the integrated local artists, who are not only professional in their fields, but may also be able to earn living through their own works. Therefore, the establishment of the formal arts school in Maluku is of important, not only for the purpose of preserving and disseminating Maluku local wisdoms, but also to enhance the development of Maluku province in the economically promising sector of creative industry.

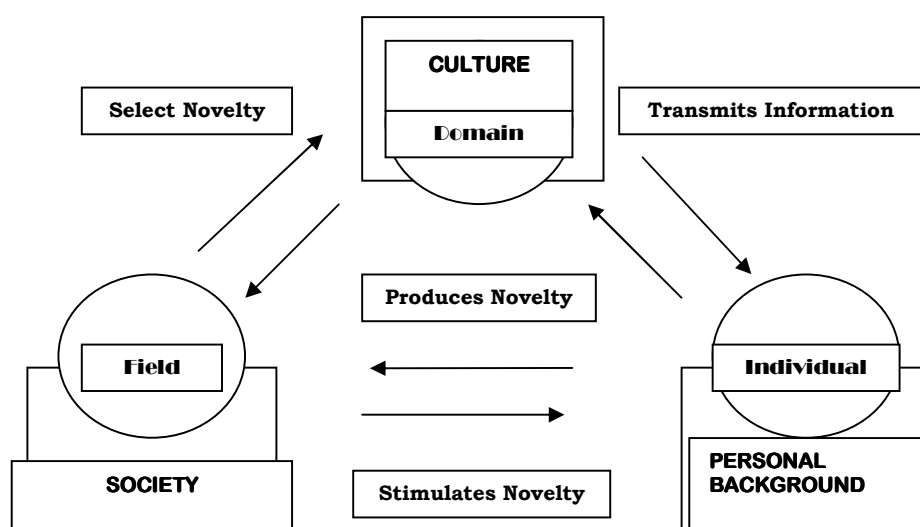
All levels of Maluku people have been long time known for their incredible singing ability that flowering the religious and cultural events. The Indonesian top singers such as, Brury Pesolima, Bob Tutupoli, Harvey Malaiholo, and Ruth Sahanaya are obviously of Maluku origins. Maluku also has a vast repertories of folk-songs, such as: *Ole Sioh*, *Gunung Salahutu*, *Ayo Mama*, *Buka Pintu*, *Burung Kakatua*, *Sayang Kene*, *Burung Tantina*, *Ombak Putih-putih*, *Goro-gorone*, *Huhate*, *Kole-kole*, *Lembe-lembe*, *O Ulate*, *Saule*, *Sudah Berlayar*, *Kupu-kupu Sepanjang Pantai*, *Waktu Hujan Sore-sore*, *Mande mande*, dan *Tanase*. There are many more songs that Maluku people used to sing in daily activities, which shows that the local people considered their folk-songs as a means of expression to their social life, natural environment, love story, patriotic spirits, that had witnesses their rich cultural heritages. Also the craftsmanship of musical instruments that taken from the natural resources, such as, bamboo, logwood, sea-shell that have a pastoral contents incorporated with the atmosphere of maritime life, to denote that artistical life has been unseparated from daily life of Maluku people.

Since the independence for more than the past six decades, no arts institution as formal education has been established to back up the traditional culture of Maluku. Though the provincial autonomy has been implemented since the reformation era, it does not touch the interest in arts education development appropriately. High musicality of Maluku people has satisfied their demand and they are proud for it, that has made them to consider arts formal education is not necessary at all. In fact, such the arts education is carried out for temporary purpose of the religious ceremony, traditional performance, and social gatherings. This phenomena has made local wisdom of Maluku are stagnated due to unutilised cultural potent of Maluku people. Musical performance is organized without any calendar of events, where the art works are made on folklore basis. The art life has been going on with no patronages from the local Government and the local arts institutions.

### Cultural Empowerment

Maluku cultural empowerment is the main program to develop the creative industry, through the public participation in the arts education. The process will follow the method by Czikszentmihalyi to help emerge Maluku people's creativity, in order to produce integrated professional, where the Maluku local artists will not professional in their own field, but will also be able to earn living through their own works. According to the diagram below, creativity is a process that can be observed only at the intersection where individuals, domains, and fields interact.

**Maluku people's creativity to occur**  
(Sternberg 1999:315)



For creativity to occur, a set of Maluku community rules and practices must be transmitted from the domain to the individuals artist. The Maluku individual artist must then produce a novel variation in the content of the domain. The variation by Maluku artist then must be selected by the field for inclusion in the domain.

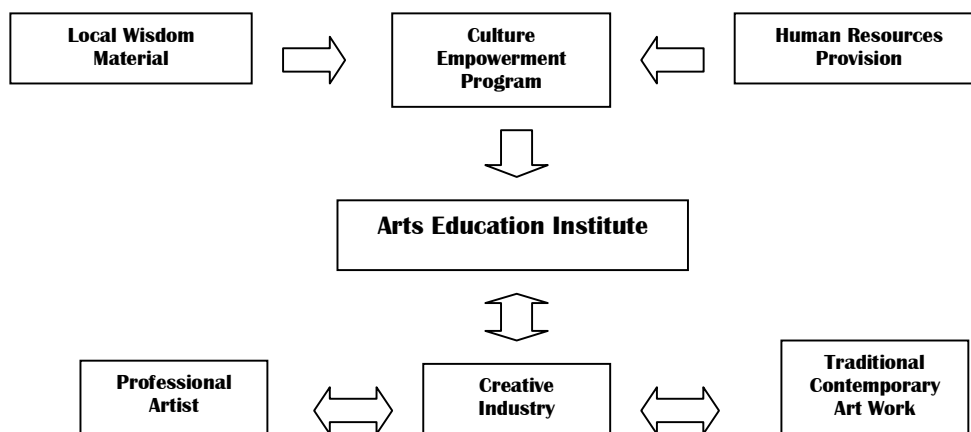
The domain of Maluku culture is a necessary component of creativity because it is impossible to introduce a variation without reference to an existing pattern. Something new is meaningful only in reference to the old. Original thought does not exist in a vacuum. It must operate on a set of already existing objects, rules, representations, or notations. As far as artistic life is concerned, Maluku people can be creative singers, musicians, composers, because the domains of musicianship exist and one can evaluate performance by reference to their traditions. Without rules there cannot be exceptions, and without tradition there cannot be novelty.

Creativity occurs when a Maluku artist makes a change in a domain, a change that will be transmitted through time. Some individuals artist are more likely to make such changes, either because of personal qualities or because they have the good fortune to be well positioned with respect to the domain. They have better access to it, or their social circumstances allow them free time to experiment.

In the meantime, the program of Maluku local government to develop a creative industry should be able at first to set the program of cultural empowerment. The program

is set based on the policy to produce competent human resources and to enhance the local wisdom materials. The arts institution as a means of producing the competent human resources is the central issue of the project. The institution should be varied to middle and high education level, formal and informal institution, in order to be able to accomodate all the potential of Maluku people in the field of the arts. .

#### How to develop Maluku Creative Industry



Hopefully the arts institutions will be established in reality within the near future, in middle or high level of education, according to availability of equipments and man power facilities in Maluku. The establishment of the arts institutions in Maluku will have a tremendous output in producing professional artists and musicians, and the contemporary local traditional art works. The artistical works that will be created and composed from the local material sources and based on the local wisdom, which reflect the real identity of Maluku in developing their own creative industry, as another potential income generating sources apart from the existing maritime industry. The development of creative industry through the establishment of the arts institutions will be able to open the jobs opportunities for the local artists, and to improve their skill and creativity, where the time will come that the possibility will be opened for them to enhance their earn living through their own works in the capital city of the Province or the Regions and Sub-districts in Maluku.

#### Maluku Traditional Performance

The Cultural Center of Maluku held an Art Festival of Traditional Maluku, where the participated groups were cominh from all over the Province of Maluku Islands. The first day of the festival performed by eight groups consisted of: (1) Dance group from Southeast Maluku performed by 12 children dancers in their expression of playing around amongst the friends. Southeast Maluku local government policy in enhacing the children dance is one of the best in preserving their traditional arts; (2) *Barimbang* music from Aru Islands performed by 2 musicians of jaws harp in playing the melody and ostinato.



This kind of music were also found in Papua Nugini, Mindanao, Southern Philippines, and amongst the Aborigin in Australia. Dobo city government must be proud to have such rare musicians where is in need to be appreciated by the young generation; (3) Group of Percussion music *Alaka* from Ronggomoni village in Central Maluku regency performed Islamic percussion with 4 tambourines, 1 arabic lute, 3 bamboo xilophone, 1 bamboo flute, 1 harmonium, and 1 maracas. Rhythm pattern reflects the *interlocking* playing with a rich polyrhythm beats; (4) Group of Percussion tifa and totobuang from Kusu-kusu village in Amboina performed the traditional music percussion of Maluku, played by men and boys at totobuang, a Maluku traditional gong chimes instrument with high skill accompanied by several types of tifa, Maluku traditional drums; (5) Group of ritual dance *Esi* from Tiang Darat village in East Seram regency performed 13 male dancers holding the swords for a war dance, accompanied by unison recitative rhythm as a heroic symbolism; (6) Group dance *Markele* from Tual city of Kei Islands performed *maleo* bird dance and local agriculture product of *embal* that may grow in sand and even stone. The dance performed by 5 female dancers and 2 male dancers accompanied by a newly invented fiddle namely *etal* taken from the combination of the inventors name Eki Talaut, a kind of zither where its strings are made of bamboo with resonator in boat shape bowed by a special bow that produced a typical sound. Indeed the fiddle *etal* need to be patented as a new invention from Kei Islands; (7) Group Islamic percussion *Masha* directed by Iwan Jamal from Waihaong beach in Amboina bay performed the *shalawat*, *hadrat*, and *marwas*, accompanied by the ensemble of tambourine, tabla, bamboo flute, guitar and violin. They play in *medley* from Arabic music until Latin songs, with a specific oriental intonation of the violin; (8) Group dance *Orielalela* from Tanimbar Islands, in West Southeast Maluku regency performed by a dance-master and 2 male dancers and 6 female dancers. The dance master also played tifa, where all the dancers are singing and dancing intervened by a display to throw-catch the instrumen tifa; (9) Group percussion Islamic music from East Seram directed by Amin Rumbai performed by 3 tambourine, 2 tifa, 1 bamboo gong, and 1 bamboo flute; (10) Group dance *Sosoke* from Buru Island as a special dance for the King Ambalao, performed by 6 male dancers and 6 female dancers in partners. The accompaniment consisted on vocal singing and keyboard with percussion tifa. *Sosoke* dance has some influence from the sixteenth century *Charamba* Portuguese dance of Azores; (11) Group percussion to perform *Totobuang Berpantun* or *Totobuang in Poetry* through the performance of percussion

group Waimahu from Nusaniwe area in Amboina city. The performers consisted of 6 tifa, 1 totobuang, in accompanying 1 male singer and 1 female singer while holding a red color handkerchief. The reciprocal between the rhythm percussion and the duet singing reflects the meaning of toto buang in poetry, entitled “So Talalu Manise”, to express the sweetness of Maluku tradition; (12) Group dance *Gamang* or *Kuskus*, a kind of nocturnal animal which live in the hole of the tree and frighten of the rain to fall on their fur skin that difficult to dry up. The dance is from Aru Islands performed by a kuskus dancer, and 12 female dancers accompanied by a male singer who sing the melody in responsorial with the dancers. Harmonic combination appeared from singing melody and polyrhythmic tifa percussion. The *display* penari of kuskus dancer who climb and swing on the lining up dancers’ hands; (13) Group dance *Terini Mamal*, or known as *Bambu Gila* dance (crazy bamboo) from city of Ambon directed by Boetje Sapturi. The dance symbolizes the co-operative live among Maluku community. The dance movement may balance the vigorous rhythmical tifa percussion with jumping movement of the dancers resembles the *Zapin* dance of Malay Riau in East Sumatera; (14) Group percussion Islamic music *Shalawat Hatukang* from Negeri Batu Merah, a corner in Ambonina city that known as the area for Muslim people of Ambon. The players consisted of 1 pemin bamboo flute, 1 gong, 3 beated not swung tambourine and tifa in dialog with changing tone color and interlocking, while the flute player sometimes play the conductor.



(15) Group percussion *Lawomina Maju Terus* directed by Max Sopacua to perform totobuang in poetry *Hiti-hiti- Hola-hola*. Tifa and totobuang accompanying *Mako-mako* dance with 1 totobuang, 1 bongo, 3 tifa and 1 bas tifa, 1 tambourine beat by the stick and the chimes, 1 gong bamboo. Tambourine player also singing in recitative and responsorial with the group; (16) Group dance *Mapia Malate* from Rohomoni village, Central Maluku regency. The dance reflects the activity of Rohomoni village community to catch the loor, a kind of sea shell. Performed by a male dancer carryinh the torch, 3 male dancers carrying the basket to catch the loor, and 3 female dancers carrying the bowl to fill in the catch.; (17) Group dance *Limakalikui* from West Seram. The name is dance *Timba Katon* to reflect the activity of West Seram community all together go down to the river carrying *baribui* or the jar. The dance performed by 5 female dancers while catching the fish in the river; (18) Group percussion *Boy Rattan* with a child musician

Nano who skilfully play the totobuang accompanied by 10 tifa of different sizes. Tifa is played in various interlocking and synchopation.



Assesment has been made by a Team led by Victor Ganap with the following statement: (1) Participant has to observe the floor pattern on stage made by the committee in order to achieve a symetrical dance movement; (2) Totobuang is known and recognized as the traditional instrument of Maluku, that advisable to be made by the Maluku craftmanship and the material from Maluku soil, shape and size in general reflect the identity and symbol of Maluku itself, in criticism to the existing totobuang material that taken from Central Java; (3) Percussion music of tifa and totobuang are the icon of Maluku that should be preserved and developed. The melody played by the bamboo flute is the typical local color of Maluku ethnic music; (4) The vigorous rhythm percussion as the style of Maluku musical genre should be balanced with its dance movements in order to achieve the harmonious performance; (5) the tuning of totobuang instrument in diatonic scale system need the maintenance from time to time, so it need the standardized tuning and the local specialist; (6) Rhythm pattern of group percussion Islamic is more rich in various interlocking in accompanying the sacred *shalawat* or Arabic melody. However the induction of western instrument such as violin and guitar must be tuned appropriately; (7) Though most of dances reflecting the ritual ceremony, the appearance on stage need the choreographical touch; (8) Traditional theater of Maluku is an arena, not prosenium, and for that reason the performance between the dancers and the musicians should be unseparable on stage; (9) Ethnic music in general does not need amplification, that the use of microphone should not be dominaned, in terms of the similar treatment of stage management during the rehearsal and performance.

The time has come that Maluku people should not remain treat their art works just as an art by destination, which will be consumed by their own local community themselves, but to improve them as the art by acculturation, in terms that their art works



will be also consumed by a wider spectrum of national and international audiences, the art works that has competitive values as the product of local Maluku creative industry in supporting the tourism industry of Maluku that enriched with the maritime and exotic cultural events.

### Postlude

Maluku Islands as the stronghold of the eastern Indonesian archipelago is urgently in need of developing its creative industry through the Maluku cultural empowerment program consisted of: (1) Empowering the only institutional agency in arts and music education namely Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri VII that established since 2004 by the improvement of building and equipment facility needed for the adequate arts learning process; (2) Provision of competent teaching staffs who possess the certification and skill in their field of arts, together with their high commitment in arts education; (3) The increasing demand among community of Maluku to learn music from the school rather than autodidact musician, though they had high musicality as the natural gift; (4) Setting a new curricula and the teaching instruction that aim to produce a qualified musician, has relevant fulfillment to society demand and job opportunity, designed in contextual approach, novelty on local Maluku wisdom; (5) In search of possibility to establish the first arts institution in higher education as Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (STSI) Ambon in order to be able to produce the young generation of academic artist musician; (6) The existing seminary as Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen Protestan Negeri (STAKPN) Ambon could be able to mediate the initial project for human resources development in anticipation to the establishment of STSI Ambon; (7) Facility and financial supports from central government namely ministry of national education, local Maluku provincial government, and participation from the entire Maluku community to build the favourable musical life in Maluku.

In fact, the creative industry need some expertise in the art field that has the following qualifications: (1) Maluku artistic community that able to effectively take advantage from the local richness culture through their creative and inovatif quality; (2) Maluku artistic community that has the ability to apply, to develop, and to disseminate their musical arts in the framework of enhancement of the local culture, and to improve the community standard of living.

Implementation of the creative industry project in Maluku must be executed through the participation of the whole component of the society. To build the creative industry will be able to open new job vacancies in Maluku in the field of the arts, however the conception of its establishment must be based on the local wisdom. Conception that aims to preserve the tradition and to develop modernity amongst Maluku community, that will not make the young generation of Maluku community taken off from their own cultural root.

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## Chapter Six

### Identity Manipulation and Improvisatory Singing

Simeda Takasi

#### Ethnic Categories and Identification

Most of the indigenous peoples in Borneo have been collectively referred to as 'Dayak' by the Indonesian government, which perpetuates the Dutch colonial custom of naming specific ethnic group with Dayak, such as Ngadju (Ngaju) Dayak, Selako Dayak, and Ma'anyan Dayak. Although originally an exonym that did not designate any single ethnic group, the term Dayak has had such a long history that the people themselves came to use it and it became a means to nurture inter-ethnic identity.\*1

In Sarawak, officials of the white Rajah Brooke, following the usage established by earlier English explorers, used the term exclusively to refer to the Iban (sea Dayak) and the Bidayuh (land Dayak), but nowadays it means all of the indigenous peoples there. And it may even be extended to include rather recent immigrants like the Chinese, as evidenced by the fact that one of the leading members of the Sarawak Dayak Party (Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak, or PBDS) is an ethnic Chinese. The Malay expression '*orang ulu*' (literally meaning 'upriver people') has also been used by the minorities themselves in Sarawak for at least 40 years.\*2

After Sarawakians chose to join Malaysia in 1963, they had to cope with Malays whose domination became stronger during the course of the ensuing 40 years. By using the term 'Dayak' and/or '*orang ulu*', Bornean minorities (or at least their leaders in Sarawak who had higher education) intended to ally and identify themselves with specific labels in order to enhance their political influence. This in turn led to exaggerating their cultural similarities and ignoring their differences.

#### Identity and Traditional Performing Arts in General

The *Orang Ulu National Association* (OUNA) was organized in Sarawak primarily to request official recognition and protection of their (customary) rights from the government. They define '*orang ulu*' as all of the indigenous people in Sarawak except the Iban and Melanau, who live in lowland and/or coastal areas (though in fact these two groups are major components of the Dayak, and the Melanau emigrated from the upper Rajang (Balui) River basin and still show linguistic and cultural similarities to the Kajang group).

OUNA later expanded its functions to include enhancing cultural unity. For example, in 1991 they began to offer a *sape* (a traditional string instrument) class in Kuching. Although it is true that *sape* music is widespread and many tunes are common among the Kayan, Kenyah, and Kajang groups, they did not emphasize the differences found among themselves, nor among the Lun Bawang, Kelabit, and smaller groups: in fact, many subgroups are included under the label 'Kenyah' and 'Kajang'.

The association of the *sape* with *orang ulu* as a whole dates much further back, as indicated by the following explanation which is displayed in the famous Sarawak

Museum. This explanation was presumably written in the mid 1970s or earlier by a government ethnologist affiliated with the museum.

Sape. One of the most popular traditional musical instruments found in Borneo is the sape, a lute-type four-stringed instrument. This instrument is indigenous to and commonly played by the Orang Ulu group. The instrument provides music for dancing, for entertainment, and for the 'witch-doctor' in healing ceremonies. The sape produces very sensitive and delicate tones. During dances, one musician plays the melody while another plays the rhythm this is sufficient for the dancers, the only other sound being made by the dancers themselves either by stamping their feet or clapping their hands.

The Sarawak Cultural Village (SCV) on the outskirts of Kuching offers another example of the tendency toward belittling diversities among the minorities and creating Sarawakian culture. Noted as a tourist spot, this 'living museum' shows, as its brochure says, "the state's rich cultural diversity in one single place." There are "7 authentic ethnic houses" of the Bidayuh, Iban, Penan, *orang ulu*, Melanau, Malay, and Chinese. Here, Bidayuh and Penan are not included among the *orang ulu*, though the brochure defines the term *orang ulu* as inclusive of the Penan: "a useful if vague term to describe the Central Borneo people living is [sic] Sarawak. Accounting for 5.5 % of the total population, the Orang Ulu comprise the Penan, the Kayan, and the Kenyah, living in the middle and upper reaches of Sarawak's longest rivers, as well as the Kelabit and Lun Bawang groups in the highlands proper."

In fact, the Penan should be labeled *orang ulu* because of their habitat. However, because their ordinary house plan is not a longhouse but a small hut, and also because the Penan became a well-known 'thorn in the side' of the government due to Western journalism focusing on environmental action against 'rampant' logging in Sarawak, SCV constructed their hut separately from the *orang ulu* longhouse. Smaller ethnic groups are gathered into the *orang ulu* category, but not the internationally famous Penan nor the rather populous Bidayuh which itself comprises at least four subgroups classified according to their dialects.

A cultural show is held twice a day at the theater near the SCV entrance gate. It is performed by "young and exuberant [sic] Village artistes" who provide "magnificent multi-cultural dance performances." The multi-cultural show is performed by a single troupe of dancers and musicians drawn from various ethnic groups, under the guidance of Malay and Chinese staff. Gerald (Geraldine) Law, a famous composer of Chinese descent in Sarawak, provides many of the tunes. Although some *orang ulu* people complain that not all of the performers and staff are *orang ulu* (or even Dayak), most regard such performances as a kind of modern creation which shows new possibilities for their traditional performing arts. Traditional dances and instrumental music are utilized as the basis for creating these new *orang ulu*, Dayak, or even Sarawakian performing arts.

The same tendency can also be found in East Kalimantan (Propinsi Kalimantan Timur), Indonesia. There are annual performing arts festivals at the provincial and district levels, where dancers and musicians gather on a village basis and perform their characteristic 'local' performing arts. Because most of the contemporary villages in East Kalimantan, even in the interior area, are composed of at least two ethnic groups, performances by 'village' troupes are necessarily the result of amalgamation and assimilation as are some of the ethnic groups themselves.\*3 Spurred by the inclusive

label 'Dayak', dances and music of the '*suku bangsa Dayak*' are well on the way toward homogenization.

### **Identity and Oral Tradition**

Concerning oral literature including songs and chants, differences are emphasized more than similarities due to the diverse languages used. Many scholars and researchers including the Dayak themselves have attempted to record, transcribe, and translate core stories of their oral literature for particular groups.

In Sarawak, the Iban began their own research earlier than other minorities did. Following important and historic works on his own Iban oral literature by Benedict Sandin, James Masing published his work based on his doctoral thesis on the Baleh River (his homeland) in 1997.

Pioneering work for other Sarawak groups has been done by Father A. D. Galvin on the Baram Kenyah oral tradition, followed in 1973 by the Australian Carol Rubenstein's huge amount of recordings from the Iban, Bidayuh, Melanau, Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah, and Penan. More recently, Jayl Langub published a book in corporation with the Penan in 2001, a magnificent and painstaking work by an *\_orang ulu\_*. Though sporadic and scattered in diverse journals, government reports, and other publications, we can also find some Indonesian translations of the Dayak oral literature.

As seen typically in Jayl's book titled *Sukēt: Penan Folk Stories*, there is a tendency to emphasize differences among linguistic groups. Based on the classification of the Penan by the British anthropologist Rodney Needham, Jayl transcribed and translated into English nine stories from the Western Penan and one from the Eastern Penan. The single story from the Eastern Penan, titled 'Kangkaput' (a kind of bird) is juxtaposed with a story bearing the same title from the Western Penan, for the purpose of comparison. The East and West classification should be understood as a highly specialized academic distinction because most of the Penan themselves and the adjacent *\_orang ulu\_* did not know this difference in detail until recently. Although we can distinguish substantial linguistic and cultural differences between these two subgroups, most Sarawakians, from government officials to rural *orang ulu*, consider these two Penan groups as one, with only a small dialectal difference.

The improvisatory singing tradition among the *orang ulu* is, in a sense, at the core of their oral literature, and it can be a firm basis for dividing them into sub-subgroups. *Sinuy* (Penan) and *ketenak* (Kenyah Lepo' Time, or Timai), two such genres that I heard (and performed to some extent), lend themselves to such division. Because performing them is like talking spontaneously rather than narrating fixed stories, their performers and audience are virtually confined to each linguistic subgroup. In some cases, even among the Kenyah Lepo' Time, a *ketenak* by Uma Kelap in Sarawak cannot be understood by Uma Pawa', nor even by the same Uma Kelap in Kalimantan Timur, both being subgroups of Lepo' Time, which is in turn a subgroup of the Kenyah. *Sinuy* is performed and appreciated only by the (Western) Penan themselves with very few exceptions (namely, this Japanese researcher), but when the Penan on the other river system heard a playback of my sound recordings, they found some phrases were entirely unknown to them, because of the local usage of special words in poetry.

Although they are conscious of such differences, *\_orang ulu\_* leaders do not find it politically or economically advantageous to emphasize cultural differences among

them. They choose to neglect dialectal differences as much as possible, because they believe that identifying with a bigger ethnic group will bring better results for all subgroups and individuals.

Such an operational or manipulatory attitude toward ethnic identity is actually rather traditional for the *orang ulu*. As I mentioned already, the Aoheng in Kalimantan Timur now is an amalgamation of the Aoheng (itself the amalgamation of several smaller groups such as the Acue, Halunge, Amue, and Auva), Seputan, and Bukat. Also, the Kajang in Sarawak is an ethnic category devised by small groups (Kejaman, La'anan, Sekapan, Punan Bah, and others) when faced with the Kayan invasion of their homeland, the Balui/Rajang area.

As Rousseau rightly noted, “linguistic similarities are not necessarily a sign of common origin but may be the result of assimilation and amalgamation” (Rousseau 1990: 20). In like fashion, linguistic differences do not always mean different origins in central Borneo. In fact, many minorities there have a long history of disguising, pretending, or appropriating their ethnic identity with substantial changes in their cultural features including performing arts and language. This means that they have decided to transform, or even to abandon, parts of their tradition. Thus, it seems true that ‘it is no use crying over lost tradition’, especially when the tears are shed by outsiders.

### **Improvisatory Singing Traditions (Living and/or Dead)**

Traditionally, intermarriage between different linguistic groups has not been uncommon among the various peoples in central Borneo, which is one of the major reasons for their use of the generic term *orang ulu*. And of course, it is promoted by accelerating urbanization. Therefore, the basis for distinct improvisatory genres is about to vanish. Recognizing this situation, some of the Kenyah Lepo' Time people who migrated to urban areas in Sarawak have been considering the possibility of a reunion across the international border with their remote relatives in Kalimantan Timur, focusing the gathering's activities on the improvisatory singing session.

This goal is practically a fantasy, or a projection that only exists in contemporary discourse among minorities who believe that their “rich cultural heritage” should be preserved, maintained, and developed. Such discourse contradicts the strategy I mentioned before, namely the expansion/amalgamation identity strategy to identify with a bigger group, though the discourse does conform to the recent cultural policy instituted by the federal government of Malaysia.\*4 Therefore, senior members of OUNA, for example, are reluctant to reply when asked about the feasibility of the reunion project, because many of them are officials of the Sarawak state government.

The reunion's proponents know that I sometimes visit the upper Kayan/Bahau/Mentarang area in Kalimantan Timur, and they never fail to ask me to forward their plan to the Kenyah Lepo' Time living there. This is one small act I can and do perform on behalf of their sincere attempt to maintain and develop their *\_ketenak\_* singing practice. Unfortunately, if the majority of their people (including those who are government officials) are not eager to support the reunion project, their options for international contact are quite limited, and so they see this Japanese researcher as a potential messenger who might open up a way to make their plan come true. However, as far as I can determine, their plan is not supported by the majority of the *orang ulu* nor the majority of the Kenyah. If they do realize their plan, it could undermine the *orang ulu*

and Sarawakian "ethnic" or "Malaysian" identity by shifting the focus to trans-border tribal identity, which may have political repercussions.

In the early 1990s, the so-called Bruno Manser case aroused a tidal wave of indignation in Europe and North America against logging in Sarawak. The state government has been since then very suspicious and uncooperative toward NGO activities that respond to minority voices among the minorities themselves.\*5 Once again, NGOs, domestic, overseas or a combination of both, are considered detrimental to the Malaysian state and its policies. Therefore, some Kenyah people's discussion and action to develop and recreate their *ketenak* tradition faces major hurdles in Sarawak, though people there are now much richer than before and therefore in a better position to accomplish the goal by themselves.

Apparently, most of the Kenyah Lepo' Time in Indonesia have shown little interest in the proposal from Sarawak, supposedly because they have to be Indonesian rather than Kenyah under the national identity scheme devised by the central government. Some of them, however, told me that ideally they should have such a reunion to enhance their traditional improvisatory singing (*orang ulu*) skills because the younger generation is going to lose their linguistic competence for quick repartee in conversation and songs like *ketenak*: a substantial portion of young people there, especially in the urban areas, are now more fluent in Bahasa Indonesia than in Kenyah.

I continue to interact with persons involved in this plan, not to preserve their tradition but to look for possibilities to develop a new tradition, although that idea is rather controversial among the Kenyah or *orang ulu* themselves, let alone the government. My personal justification is that some Kenyah, but admittedly not many, asked me to do so. I hope I will not become another Bruno Manser.

### **The Drinking Feast: A New Strategy for Improvisatory Singing**

Another test case that I have been involved in is to make improvisatory singing genres de-localized or language-free. The Dayak peoples are well-known for their enjoyment of alcohol in Muslim-dominated nations, and their traditional home brew has been replaced by commercial beer and whiskey as they have become more urbanized. Traditional religious festive occasions have been replaced by the 'drinking feast' held at one house or another of the Dayak in town nearly on a daily basis, but it is rather hard to get alcoholic beverages in Kalimantan now.

At some feasts I attended, participants were eager to try to recite their own oral literature not in its original language but in Indonesian (or Malay), Iban, or Kayan, depending on the language repertoire of those who were present. Upon my request, some of them tried to perform improvisatory songs from their own tradition in one of these *lingua francas* but they managed to do so with much difficulty, though most of them can speak and recite in these languages. These experiences made me encourage them further to try such songs.

Beginning in 2001, a group consisting of active singers from the Penan and Kenyah in Sarawak and Kalimantan Timur, started a project to devise improvisatory singing techniques in Iban or Malay with my assistance. When two Bidayuh members joined in 2002 (one of them is in fact the wife of a Kenyah member and another is her relative from Indonesia), we also bridged the border between Sarawak and Kalimantan Barat.\*6

Although they tend to drink too much at these feasts to think systematically about singing techniques, there is some possibility of developing a new singing style in their respective national languages. Many minor differences are found among their singing traditions, but they did agree that repetition of a line of text and consistent rhyme should be kept, and that a three or four tone scale is enough for effective song construction.

The project is quite personal with spontaneous membership. In this sense, it is not connected with the existence of particular ethnic group nor its cultural survival in the way that the Kenyah Lepo' Time case that I described is. On the other hand, its purpose is not just to construct a bigger cultural unit or 'extended' ethnic group.

They intend to acquire a new form or style of linguistic expression for the *\_orang ulu\_* or sDayak. Even if the intention itself involves some aspects of cultural (and even political) integration among several ethnic groups that would transcend the international border and thus might be seen as confrontational by each national government, its starting point is an affirmation of the use of Malay or Indonesian as a national language. We do not need to adhere to the all-too-common framework that defines such a cultural activity simply as the focus of strained relations between the majority (national identity and government) and the minority, nor should we confirm and thereby affirm the existing sociocultural situation.

Language has been thought to be the primary nonnegotiable core element that can identify ethnic groups. Accordingly, oral literature including songs has been treated as one of the most important markers of ethnic identity. But the *orang ulu* show that ethnic identity is operational and selective, and their group's separation from outsiders (not only from Sarawakians or Borneans but also from the majority of the populace in the respective nations) and the *orang ulu* is not strictly fixed, at least in theory. If we admit this, then we can take a flexible position about this minority's activities, or at least not ignore their diverse wishes. In practice, the *orang ulu* consider that language is also selective and they use it as a tool for manipulating their ethnic identity. If some minor groups within the *orang ulu* want to manipulate their improvisatory songs, we can help and encourage them to do so even if such action may lead to considerable change in their singing tradition.

## Coda

Who has the right to change the improvisatory singing tradition of the *orang ulu*? Is it copyrighted or owned solely by this group? Now I would like to say "no" to the second question. Of course, copyright does not belong to anyone else including any official organizations either. The *orang ulu* themselves, and any other people concerned including myself cannot help but appreciate, sing, modify, and change it.

To understand the situation, I would like to suggest the usefulness of appropriating the concept of 'copyleft' from the realm of open source software, advocated by the GNU ("GNU is Not Unix") project. As they declare at their website, "copyleft is a general method for making a program free software and requiring all modified and extended versions of the program to be free software as well. [...] In the GNU project, our aim is to give all users the freedom to redistribute and change GNU software. If middlemen could strip off the freedom, we might have many users, but those users would not have freedom. So instead of putting GNU software in the public domain,

we ‘copyleft’ it. Copyleft says that anyone who redistributes the software, with or without changes, must pass along the freedom to further copy and change it.”

Though it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the problems concerning copyright (legal and moral issues) and ethnomusicology, the concept of copyleft seems to be appropriate to most traditional cultures because the features of each culture have not been copyrighted by (or assigned to) any individual or group. Nor are they copyrightable, because they are transmitted from generation to generation in time and they move from one place to another in space, evolving continually. Seen in terms of copyleft, the *orang ulu*'s improvisatory singing tradition and the activities surrounding it can be understood much better. It is not just in ‘public domain’ or ‘copyright-free’. It can be archived in basically non-proprietary museums but it cannot be owned or otherwise controlled exclusively by anyone. Although it is invaluable to document and preserve traditional music in archives and museums, these places cannot contain ‘living’ traditions because the life of the music is outside such facilities, among the people. In this sense, their tradition is, and should be, copyleft for further use, modification or appropriation.

### Notes

1. It is said that the word was originally borrowed from some central Borneo languages, for example, *daye* (Kenyah) and *dayah* (Penan), meaning ‘upriver’ or ‘inland’.
2. Of course, there are many exceptions such as the Penan on the upper Belaga River with whom I have worked: some of the younger people asked me repeatedly what a Dayak was and who *orang ulu* were in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Although they had heard these words previously, they did not know exactly what their meaning included.
3. For example, the Aoheng consists of Aoheng proper (also known by the exonym, Penihing), plus the former nomadic Seputan and Bukat.
4. As Tang Sooi Beng mentioned elsewhere in this volume, the federal government reoriented their cultural policy from setting up ‘Malaysian’ (‘national’) culture to respecting each ethnic group's own tradition during the past decade or so.
5. One of the latest examples is an article in The Borneo Post on August 16, 2003 titled “Masing tells Bakun families to move out: Construction work on RM9 billion project to begin soon.” The Iban anthropologist James Masing, who is Social Development and Urbanisation Minister of Sarawak state, referring to the resettlement of *\_orang ulu\_* precipitated by a hydro-electric dam project in the upper Rajang area, reportedly said that he “believed their refusal to move out could partly be due to the sentimental attachment they had to the area and partly because of negative influence from irresponsible non-governmental organisations (NGOs).”
6. Traditionally, intermarriage between different linguistic groups (in most cases geographically adjacent groups) made both husband and wife bilingual if the marriage continued long. In most cases nowadays, however, such couples use Malay or Indonesian as a lingua franca between them and with their children, especially in urban areas.

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## Chapter VII

### ***Krontjong Toegoe:* Its Community and Its Music**

Victor Ganap

#### **Introduction**

The most important sources to trace the Portuguese heritages in the Indonesian archipelago were written in the books by Tomé Pires in *Suma Oriental*; and by Antonio Pinto da França in *Portuguese Influence in Indonesia*. Presumably, the longest Portuguese sojourn in Indonesia had been in Maluku Islands, where their influences were not confined to only Moluccas and Lesser Sunda Islands, in which for a shorter or longer periods the Portuguese presence was reinforced by military and missionary actions. It extended throughout the length and breath of the Indonesian islands, although naturally it was much more everlasting in some respects and in some regions than others.

#### **Portuguese Sojourn**

The first European historical encounter in Java is believed to have begun since 1513 when the Portuguese trade mission led by Tomé Pires anchored their boats at the port of Sunda Kelapa, on their voyage between Malacca and Maluku in search of spices. Since 1511, Malacca has been controlled under the Portuguese forces with their *A Famosa* stronghold built by Commander Afonso de Albuquerque. The Portuguese occupied Malacca due to its important role as the trade center in Southeast Asia, apart from its strategic geographical location as the transit port for further sailing to Maluku.

The expedition to Maluku consisted of three boats and one hundred twenty Portuguese navy officers mostly of Goan origin led by Antonio de Abreu, Francisco Serrão, and Fernão de Magalhães. They sailed along the east coast of Sumatera, north Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, and Flores, where they turned northwards and reached Banda island in the middle of 1512, before returned directly to Malacca. Meantime, Serrão himself was shipwrecked and rescued by the people of Amboina, before proceeding to Ternate and became intimate counsellor to the Sultan of Ternate, before he died overthere in 1521. (Da França, 1985:7)

Fr. Manuel Pintado in his foreword to the book by Reis Thomaz, wrote that Malacca was the center of the straits of Malacca, which gave its position to control all navigations between Indian ocean and the Far East, and made it as the key to the eastern seas of Maluku. Those voyages began the contacts between the Portuguese and the indigenous people of the Indonesian archipelago, which took in different forms of military, cultural, ethnic, commercial, and religious, depending on the areas and times. The Portuguese was reportedly greeting every indigenous people whom they met with the jargon “We seek souls and spices”.

The aforesaid encounter in Java had proceeded to a friendship treaty in 1522 between the Portuguese mission led by Henrique Leme, and the Sundanese Pajajaran kingdom under king Surawisesa. The treaty allows the Portuguese to establish

tradequarter in Sunda Kelapa, inaugurated with a *Padrão* monument. For the Hinduism Pajajaran, friendship ties with the Portuguese has a political impact in defending Sunda Kelapa, the most important entry point in Java, from potential invasion by Demak Islamic kingdom. Tomé Pires exclusively expressed his impression about Sunda Kelapa as a magnificent port, the most important and best of all, where the trade is greatest and whither they all sail from Sumatera, and Palembang, Laue, Tanjompura, Malacca, Macassar, Java and Madura and many other places. (Cortesão 1944:172)

Furthermore, Pires also ruled out about the greatness of the Sundanese king of Pajajaran as a heathen and so are all the lords of his kingdom. Sunda is a land of chivalrous, seafaring warriors, more so than the Javanese, taking them all in all. They are men of goodly figure, swarthy, robust men. After the king of Sunda, who is called *Samg Briamg* (*Sang Hyang*), and his viceroy (*Raja Muda*), who is called *Cocunam* (*Sunan*), and after his *Bendahara*, which is called *Mācobumj* (*Mangkubumi*), in the country, then come the lords captains of cities and places and ports. As in Java, the lords are called *Pates* (*Adipati*), in the language of Sunda they are called *Paybou* (*Prabu*). (Cortesão 1944:166-167)

Portuguese presence in Sunda Kelapa were also facilitated by Afonso's order, with his politics of *casados*, which encouraged the Portuguese to marry native women, wishing to create a fast and effective bond with the territory, then had developed a new enclaves around the port, inhabited by *mestizo* group, a creole mixture of Caucassian Portuguese men with indigenous women. However, no evidence ever found if the *mestizo* group inherited the Portuguese culture, except for their important religious role in establishing the oldest Portuguese church in the early sixteenth century within the area of Sunda Kelapa. The church was built inside the Old Batavia city, but later in 1808 was destroyed by fire, and never been rebuilt since then. The church was actually a Roman Catholicism, but after a century during the Dutch colonial period its congregation were mostly of *mardijkers* group, then it gradually became a Dutch Reform church. Later in 1695, another Portuguese Protestant church was built outside the city, which is known today as Gereja Sion, still standing and preserved as one of the Jakarta's old city monuments (Heuken 1997:111-120).

Despite the threat from Demak Islamic forces, eventually in 1527 a Gujarati named Fatahillah, who had a personal hatred with the Portuguese after his business circle in Aceh was destroyed, then as the commander of Islamic Banten forces, he managed to free Sunda Kelapa from all Portuguese boats. Under the new authority, Sunda Kelapa was changed to Jayakarta, after the name of Banten crown prince, which maintained until 1619 before the Dutch forces took it over, and developed it into greater Batavia city.

It is of important to disclose that the invasion by Banten Islamic forces to Hinduism Pajajaran was not a religious war to spread Islam, but rather a political interest to take control over the high economic potential of Sunda Kelapa, based on the historical fact that for the next ninety two years after the invasion, Islam was not disseminated in Sunda Kelapa, or Jayakarta, or Batavia, apart from the actual activities in trading.

### ***Mardijkers* Group as Indies Community**

In 1641 when the Dutch forces took over control of Malacca from the Portuguese many war prisoners were taken along to Batavia. Most of them are of Bengali and Coromandel origins that recruited as the Portuguese mercenaries in Malacca. They were

amongst the populations of the sixteenth century Malacca. Most Bengalis are fishermen and tailors, but majority of them were not particularly good in their work. Meanwhile, the Tamils' great influence in Malacca was due to a tradition, which began during the time of Mudzafar Shah, the Malacca crown prince from a Coromandel mother. (Reis Thomaz 2000:70)

In Batavia, the Dutch authority treated the prisoners as slaves, and not allowed them to worship in Catholicism. In return to their conversion into the Dutch Reformed Church, they were later freed from slavery and called as *merdequas*, or *mardijkers*, originated from a Sanskrit word *maharddhika*, literally means "tax exempt". The *mardijkers* group registered as one of Batavia's urban community until 1815 with a status as indigenous Christian. The group stayed exclusively in Batavia by retaining their Portuguese *cristão* language, family names, and dress-code.

A Chinese historian, Ong Tay Hay, who visited Malay peninsula and Java island in 1849 revealed that *mardijkers* group are called black demons *seranis*, where no account of their fore-fathers, but belong to Batavia, in which city they have a church. In that reckoning of time, as well as in their language, and mode of writing they follow the Portuguese; so also in their apparel, houses, and furniture. Their men are slenderly formed, but their women are beautiful, and contract marriages with the Dutch, who seem to prefer them. This class is principally employed as clerks, or soldiers; they are of an artful disposition, and the Dutch, out of jealousy, will not allow them to rise in office. (Schuchardt 1891:10)

Meanwhile, Arthur Coke Burnell, a British historian for the Madras-based British Company, and author of the voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies encountered the *mardijkers* group when visiting Batavia in 1876, that he heard a broken dialect at Batavia which was told was Portuguese dialect, but he could not have otherwise been able to recognize it even. (Schuchardt 1891:19)



A *mardijkers* family in F Dancx's painting from the mid-seventeenth century Batavia  
(Adolf Heuken, 1997)

After more than a century, majority of *mardijkers* group in Batavia gradually fall into the poverty. They could no longer afford to wear the Portuguese dress, that have

eventually prevented them from attending the church services. After their last captain (chief) Augustijn Michiels died in 1833, they did not name any new leader. Later on, they also renounced their Portuguese identities and dissolved themselves into larger Batavia's communities. However, dismissal of the *mardijkers* group in Batavia did not have any impact to the other "*mardijkers*" group who lived in Tugu village. Instead of following the fate of *mardijkers* group in Batavia, the community group in Tugu village maintained survival, not only retain the Portuguese *cristão* language, but also the Portuguese musical heritages, in terms of the song repertoires, musical expression, and organological craftsmanship.

The East Indies historians, such as Frederick de Haan, A. De Water, and Hugo Schuchardt considered the Tugu village people as part of *mardijkers* group, regardless of their origins. In contrary, another East Indies historian of Maluku origin, Manusama, and the Dutch born Surja Brata suggested that Tugu village people are descended from the seventeenth century Portuguese Goan navy officers, a notion which also endorsed by Da França, who wrote that it seems in the seventeenth century there were many Goans and Portuguese *mestizos* imprisoned during the war in Batavia that the Dutch later decided to set them free. In 1661, they were converted into Protestantism and through the intervention from the Portuguese church, they were later given some land in the vicinity of Batavia. (Da França 1985:21-22)

Manusama clearly made his remark that apart from those Portuguese *mestizo* who lived in Old Batavia city, such as in Penjaringan, Roa Malaka, Kampung Bandan, Kampung Muka, Kampung Belakang, etc, there was also another foreign group from the Portuguese colony in Goa, India who mostly were the retired navy officers. After they left, the *mestizo* and the Goan navy officers mentioned before were stayed around. Because of being drifted by the indigenous people or due to some other historical reasons, the Goans tried to find a new area to live. They travelled to the east and crossed the Lagoa river in Tanjung Priok, then settled-down in the east of the river, opened a new village called Tugu. (Manusama 1919:1-6)

Surja Brata also made an important remarks about Tugu community that connected with the Portuguese Goan people, where reportedly, at the time when the Portuguese in Indonesia has been defeated, a boat one day appeared in Jakarta bay, with the Portuguese India Goan people on board. They are in very bad condition and their boat heavily damaged, so they ask for help because they wanted to land. After met with some conditions concerning their religious faith, they are granted a settlement in Tugu village. (Brata 1968:42)

While all writers above were mentioned about the Bengalis, the Coromandel Tamils, and the Goans, then the judgement should be reinforced with other evidences. It is of important to refer to Reis Thomaz statement about the behaviour of Indian Bengalis and Tamils in Malacca, and the Goan in India. The Portuguese mercenaries of Bengali and Tamil origins in Malacca did not have any sense of belonging to Portuguese identity. They were willing to become mercenaries under Portuguese flag just for money. Though the Portuguese authority may have sized the entire city of Malacca, they could not imposed their faith and culture at their own discretion due to the influence of Sultan Malacca, apart from the situation of Malacca itself as the busiest port in Southeast Asia, with highest mobility of its multiethnics inhabitants.

On the other hand, the situation in Goa, India was quite different. Portuguese Goan people are considered as the worshippers of Catholicism wholeheartedly, and extremely proud of their Portuguese identities. Goa has ever been designated as “Rome of the East”, where the Portuguese missionaries used it as the headquarter in disseminating Catholicism to Malacca, Maluku, and Oriental Asia. Portuguese Goan people also known for their outstanding craftsmanship in musical instrument, skillful ability in adopting Portuguese religious and secular musics from the Portuguese missionaries and sailors. Therefore, Afonso also never hesitated to employ the Goan people as troops, much more than just mercenaries in military service to guard the Portuguese strongholds that spread over the Goa, Malacca, and Maluku spices islands.

### **Tugu Village People**

While notion to identify the *mardijkers* group taken to Batavia as the Bengali and Tamil origins war prisoners from Malacca have been endorsed, it was a different story to the *mardijkers* group in Tugu village. They were believed as Goan origin that possessed the toughness to maintain identity and artistic skill in Portuguese culture, more stronger than the *mardijkers* group in Batavia. If later the large group in Batavia had given up their Portuguese identity, the minority group in Tugu village managed to maintain their Portuguese intangible heritages that only Goan people may have taken for granted to have been able to struggle for it.

Based on Brata's notion, there is another evidence from the historical fact that in 1620s, the Dutch had ever imposed military action toward the people of Banda island in Maluku, in order to strengthen their spices monopoly in the entire Maluku islands (Ricklefs 1991:45). Almost the whole population of Banda were captured and taken to Batavia as prisoners, but many of them were killed too. Only very few could have fled to nearby Kei, Amboina, and Ceram islands, though some may have tried to sail to distant Malacca particularly navigated by the Portuguese navy officers, as reported by Brata. However, on their voyage to Malacca, their boat was wrecked off-shore of Batavia bay. After being captured and imprisoned by the Dutch, they are urged for clemency. Eventually in 1661, they were released by the Dutch after become the member of Reform church, and granted a land outside Batavia as their new settlement. They have become the first generation of Tugu village community, as Portuguese creole mixture of Goan and Bandaneiran, who spoke Portuguese *crístão* language, and inherited Portuguese craft and musical art.

Portuguese Goan people were accredited to introduce Portuguese music in Maluku, based on their repertoires of Portuguese traditional *fado*, a folk songs either was inherited from North African Moorish Islamic dance *Moresco*, or from the heathen West African Cape Verde cafre dance *Cafrinho*. Those Portuguese fados had been the original form of today Indonesian musical genre called *keroncong*. Undoubtedly, Eastern Indonesia particularly Maluku islands were the cradle of *keroncong* music, disseminated by the Portuguese sailors along with a guitar-like instrument, and seemed to have been rapidly accepted by the indigenous population (Becker 1976:14). Also in Maluku islands today, the Portuguese influence is still found in terms of *Catreji* dances, *Bastidor* ensemble, and Hawaiian *ukulele* instrument adapted from Portuguese *cavaquinho* guitar.

Tugu village that lies isolated from Batavia had made its Goan people overthere were in need of the art by their own destination. Tugu community then creatively

embarked in the traditional music in the form of Portuguese *Moresco* and *Cafrinho*. As Goan origin, they could manage to fulfill their singing activity by craft-making an accompanying guitar like *ukulele* instrument, which they called it *keroncong*.

### **Tugu Village Community**

Tugu village that lies isolated from Batavia has made its community gradually are in need of the 'art by destination'. The Goan Tugu people overthere creatively embarked in their traditional arts in the form of Portuguese *Moresco* and *Cafrinho*, the music from the past time that they ever learnt from the Portuguese sailors in Goa, India. As Goan people in India are known for their artistic quality, then their ability to revive the *keroncong* music in Tugu village was undoubtedly due to their natural talent in arts, their incredible skill in adopting the Portuguese art and music, and their handy craftsmanship in making the Portuguese musical instruments, all were incorporated into a new emerging musical genre of *Krontjong Toegoe*.

To reinforce Brata's notion on the origin of Tugu community, it is of important to refer to Reis Thomaz statement about the behaviour of Indian Bengalis and Tamils in Malacca, and the Goan in India. The Portuguese mercenaries of Bengali and Tamil origins in Malacca did not have any sense of belonging to Portuguese identity. The Bengalis in Malacca also have no good reputation in their work, while the Tamils have some privilege status connecting to the palace of Sultan Mudzafar Shah. They were willing to become mercenaries under Portuguese flag just for money. Even the Portuguese authority may have sized the entire city of Malacca, they could not imposed their faith and culture at their own discretion due to the influence of Sultan Malacca, apart from the situation of Malacca itself as the busiest port in Southeast Asia, with highest mobility of its multiethnics inhabitants.

On the other hand, the situation in Goa, India were quite different. Portuguese Goan people are considered as the worshippers of Catholicism wholeheartedly, and proud of their identities. Goa have ever been designated as 'Rome of the East', where the Portuguese missionaries used it as the headquarter in disseminating Catholicism to Malacca, Maluku, and Oriental Asia. However, the Portuguese secular musics either from the North African Islamic *Moresco*, or the Heathen African Cape Verde *Cafrinho* were also familiar amongst the Goan people. Because of their mentality, Bengali and Coromandel people in Malacca were equalled to the *mardijkers* group in Batavia, where in such a poor condition they could not afford to retain Portuguese attributions, and later dissolved themselves into larger urban Batavia community. That is a far different situation compared to the Tugu community, who managed to maintain survival up to now. They inherited the knowledges of Goan people in performing Portuguese *Moresco* and *Cafrinho* as the main repertories. They also inherited the craftsmanship of Goan people in making the Portuguese guitar instruments.

So in order to distinguish them from the *mardijkers* group in Batavia, Tugu village community can be defined as: (1) a path-finder group of the adventurers that have been living in Tugu village for more than three centuries since 1661; (2) an exclusive group of musicians with their *kroncong* musical legacy that took the leading part in cultural interaction of Portuguese *Moresco* and *Cafrinho*; (3) a christian minority group who historically owned the Church established by Justinus Vinck in 1748.

The adventurer quality of Tugu community was shown after they survived from a genocide policy imposed by VOC by sending them to Tugu village, a waste area with

high potential of epidemic malaria from its vampy soil. They maintained survival in Tugu village though the living condition was very poor as quoted by Schuchardt.

We live in a small village called Tugu, district of Beccasie sub-district of Meester Cornelis. Tugu village is located near the sea-side, where the climate is hot, and the drinking water is difficult to find since all the wells water there tasted salty. (Schuchardt 1891:42-43).

### **Tugu Community Church**

Another important heritage of Tugu community was the historical building of Tugu church, established in 1744 by Justinus Vinck under patronage from VOC Governor General Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff. Tugu church was completed in 1748, and inaugurated by Mauritz Mohr, a German priest and scientist who lived in Batavia. Justinus Vinck presented the entire Tugu church building as his goodwill and charity to Tugu community.

Tugu church building built in 1748 by Justinus Vinck  
where the style reflects the 18th century Dutch architecture  
(Heuken, 1997)



Tugu church's service was supervised under the Dutch *Willemsskerk* church in Batavia. Its liturgical service was uniquely accompanied by *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble. After the independence, Tugu church temporarily managed their own congregation. Today the church building has been declared as the preserved cultural monument by Jakarta provincial government, through a Governor's Decree on 20 October 1970, but the building is remain used for the church service managed under the organization of *Gereja Protestan di Indonesia bagian Barat (GPIB)*, or West Indonesia Protestant Church.

*GPIB* is the largest organization of Protestant church in Indonesia with their Synod office at *GPIB Immanuel*, former *Willemsskerk* church. *GPIB* welcomes any worshipper to join the congregation regardless of their ethnicities. When Tugu church is amalgamated into *GPIB* in 1962, the entire Tugu community were automatically joined the congregation. However after *GPIB* Tugu imposed their standardized regulation to use the organ as the only acceptable liturgical accompaniment to replace *Krontjong Toegoe*

ensemble, Tugu community were upset and gradually withdrawn from *GPIB* Tugu to join another churches.

Two signboards at the entrance gate of Tugu Church  
(Nadapdap, 2003)



At present, almost none of them are still member of congregation, as a result of *GPIB* negligence to respect their traditional custom, and the cultural heritage of Tugu community, in regards to the historical background of its establishment, when Justinus Vinck built Tugu church as his goodwill to the Tugu community indigenous Christians.

*GPIB* Tugu Protestant Church's Sunday Service  
(Ganap, 2005)



### Tugu Community in Exile

After more than two centuries living in Tugu village, Tugu community in 1920s consisted of nine main families, namely Abrahams; Andries; Cornelis; Michiels; Salomons; Seymons; Quiko; de Sousa; and Braune. They integrated into a kinship system of their living as the peasants, apart from their primordialistic spirit in Portuguese



identities. As the *inheemsche christenen*, Tugu community comfortably enjoyed protection and privilege during the Dutch colonial period. It is not surprising when the Dutch forces in 1942 left Batavia after the Japanese troops invasion, they were at a great loss. According to Yapi Tambayong, during the Japanese occupation, Tugu community ever been attacked by the unknown group from the nearby Tanjung Priok port. They charged Tugu community as an exclusive group, over protected by the Dutch colonial authority, and arrogantly stayed alien from the surrounding societies.

The uncomfortable situation for Tugu community continued for the next two decades after the independence from 1950 to 1970, where the anti-Dutch campaign in Indonesia at that time had a negative impact to them. It is for that reason in 1950 most of Tugu community left their village and migrated to Hollandia, the capital of Dutch Papua New Guinea, where they stayed in *APO Toegoe* (*Arquivo Português Oriental*) kamp.

Tugu refugees at their *APO* kamp in 1950-1962 Hollandia,  
Papua New Guinea registered as *Arquivo Português Oriental Toegoe* group  
(Fony Kantil, 1997)



According to Fony Kantil, in 1962 when Papua New Guinea integrated into the Republic of Indonesia, the *APO Toegoe* group also followed the Dutch troops back to Holland. The Dutch government considered them as refugees and temporarily stationed at Pieterberg kamp in Westerbork, and in Willem de Zwijgerkazerne. During their stay in Westerbork kamp, the Dutch Queen Juliana has ever visited them, where they also have their own congregation church. Though the Tugu community are in exile in Westerbork, they never lost the identity as the *keroncong* musicians, as shown below, played by the elder community, where the younger group also had their own music ensemble. A year later in 1963, the Dutch government sent them to Suriname, another Dutch colony in South America, as *Toegoe Kondre* group posted in Louis Zieselweg, Slootwijk, a remote area far from the capital city Paramaribo, where their condition are not better than in Papua New Guinea. The men worked as the farmer, while the women taught in the local primary school for Tugu children. In 1967 after they obtained the Dutch citizenship, they were repatriated to Holland, but no more stay in the kamp. They lived normally like any other Dutch citizens scattered around the cities in the Netherlands. In 1976, after for the first time they get contact with Tugu community in Indonesia, they established an

association called *Stichting SOS Tugu* (Save Our Tugu Souls Foundation), especially for the *Toegoenezen* (Tugu community) in Holland. In 1997, they reorganized and reinforced the association and renamed it as *De Toegoe Commissie* led by Samuel Kantil.

*Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble in Westerbork kamp The Netherlands  
performed by the Tugu community in exile  
(Fony Kantil, 1997)



The first contact between Tugu community in the Netherlands and Indonesia occurred in 1976 when Arend Julinse Michiels, senior member of Tugu community visited Holland after he established Tugu Community Association (*IKBT*). As the new chairman of *IKBT*, Arend considered it important to introduce their new association to the *Toegoenezen* in Holland. Arend had successfully convinced them, so the *Toegoenezen* in Holland was also determined to establish a similar association called *Stichting SOS Tugu*. Establishment of the associations, both in Indonesia and the Netherlands had the basic mission as a means of communication channel in strengthening the relationship and brotherhood amongst the Tugu people. *IKBT* in Tugu village today is led by Andre Juan Michiels, after his father Arend Michiels died in 1992. In the meantime, *De Toegoe Commissie* in Holland also delegated their activities to the young generation led by Fony Kantil.

### **Tugu Musical Heritage**

The most important property of Tugu community is their *keroncong* music, that had survived for more than three centuries since 1661. According to Jacobus Quiko, a member of Tugu community, Portuguese element can be seen from the existence of *keroncong* that was originally come from Tugu village to denote a local made *ukulele* guitar instrument, before it also became the name of its music. Particular attention that given by Indies community in Batavia to *keroncong* music was among the reasons to the survival of *Krontjong Toegoe*, a legendary music of Tugu community. It was reinforced by Portuguese, and Indies repertoires played by the Tugu *keroncong* ensembles. The regular appearance of *Krontjong Toegoe* in *Pasar Gambir Night Bazaar* during the Dutch times had attracted the Batavia Indies community towards the *keroncong*. They considered *keroncong* music as an *ars nova* that fulfilled the musical taste of urban community. *Krontjong Toegoe* as the generic form of *keroncong* music became the

prototype of a new musical genre in Batavia. The genre which is quite different from the Western classical music that supported by the Dutch elite society, and the gamelan music that belongs to the indigenous people in Java. The egalitarian style of *keroncong* as a new music was soon accepted and gained popularity within the urban community in Batavia and other cities in Java.

Five strings *keroncong* instrument made in Tugu village  
prototyped by the Hawaiian *ukulele* and the Portuguese *cavaquinho*  
(Manusama, 1919)



Apart from the information written by Indies historians, the long historical journey of *Krontjong Toegoe* remained a mystery. According to Frieda Manusama-Moniaga the activity of *Krontjong Toegoe* can be archived only from 1925, or the eight generation after their first Tugu village's ancestor in 1661. It was the time when Quiko families led by Jozef Quiko together with Bernard Quiko established *Moresco Toegoe I* ensemble which lasted until 1935. During that time, *keroncong* music has gained popularity in Batavia and other big cities in Java. Several *Keroncong Concours* were held by the Indies Radio. From 1935 another Quiko families led by Jacobus Quiko and Bartho Quiko continued to manage *Moresco Toegoe II*, and passed over the hard times during the Japanese occupation, and the struggles for independence from 1941 until 1950. For the next two decades until 1970 *Krontjong Toegoe* was suspended due to unfavourable political situation that has prevented Tugu community from performing their *keroncong* music.

In 1971 when UNESCO produced their collection of World Music Series, they made recording on *Krontjong Toegoe*. Jacobus Quiko responded positively this opportunity and together with his brother Samuel Quiko, they revived *Moresco Toegoe II* ensemble, with a specific title written in UNESCO archive as *Moresco Toegoe Poesaka Anno 1661* ensemble. The production of *Krontjong Toegoe* by UNESCO was a monumental event for Tugu community, as their music began to enter the global world.

*Krontjong Toegoe* has been recorded by UNESCO in 1971 through the *Moresco* Tugu ensemble, with a special name as *Poesaka Anno 1661* in identifying their musical heritage since 1661. The ensemble played some Indies repertoires that included love song such as *Schoon ver van jou* (see transcription 7), and the popular *Oud Batavia*, sung by septuagenarian singers Grandpa Waasch and Grandma Christine, accompanied by (see Figure 8 from left to right), Frans Abrahams on second guitar, Fernando Quiko on *rebana*, Grandpa Waasch, who also played the *macina*, Elpido Quiko on triangle, Arend Michiels on cello *pizzicato*, Jacobus Quiko, as the group leader on violin, Joseph Quiko on first guitar, Marthen Sopaheluwakan on second ukulele, and Samuel Quiko on first ukulele. The repertoire more or less reflects the standard of modern *Krontjong Toegoe* that included some Dutch love songs, without any Portuguese repertoire. Meanwhile, in

showing their patriotic spirit as the Indonesian citizen, they included a national song *Halo-halo Bandung* composed by Cornel Simanjuntak to memorize Bandung heroic fight against the colonial forces. The other repertoires are Betawi folk-songs *Surilang*, and *Stambul Jampang*, performed with other *keroncong* songs *Kopi Susu* (coffeemilk), *Nanas Bogor* (Bogor's pineapple), and *Bintang Surabaya* (Surabaya's Star). Lastly, *Kr. Pertemuan* is the only standardized *Keroncong Asli* (lit. original *keroncong*) form included in the repertory.

*Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble by *Moresco Tugu Poesaka*  
(UNESCO *Musique du Monde* Serial #13, Paris, 1971)

**JAVA**  
krontjong de tugu

13



*Krontjong Toegoe* maintained survival for than three centuries due to the following reason: (1) its style as an *ars nova*, new kind of music which is not Western classical nor traditional classical music, a popular musical genre that in general loved by urban community; (2) certain facilities given by the Dutch authority for the group to perform in the annual *Pasar Gambir Night Bazaar Festival* in Batavia in celebrating the Queen's birthday; (3) income generating by producing their musical instruments that marketable to Batavia's *Passer Baroe* music shops; (4) constant communal supports from Batavia's Indies community; (5) perform the Indies repertory in *keroncong* style to suit the musical taste of contemporary Batavian; (6) traditional kinship system amongst the Tugu community in cultivating and sharing their paddy rice crops; (7) entrenched culture to annually observe and celebrate their traditional festivals namely: *Sagu-Sagu* (bread powder), on Christmas day; *Rabu-Rabu* (for awhile), on New Year day; and *Mandi-Mandi* (bathing), in closing the New Year festive occasion as a means of clean up themselves in a new live for the whole year, held on every first Sunday in January, the event today that always attracts the national and international printing and broadcasting medias, beside the overseas tourists.

But after *Krontjong Toegoe* regenerated to the ninth generation, they are devided into several groups. In 1976, a new ensemble founded by Michiels families, namely *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble. When Jacobus Quiko died in 1978, Samuel together with Fernando Quiko (Jacobus' son) continued to manage *Moresco Toegoe III* ensemble. But



later in 1991 Samuel Quiko considered as necessary to establish a new *Cafrinho* Tugu ensemble, to mark the initial exposure of *Cafrinho* after the existing *Moresco*.

*Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble by *Moresco* Tugu  
(*KOMPAS* Third Millenium 1st of January 2000)



The wind of change blows after all the eight generation of Tugu musicians passed away. Samuel Quiko as the only member who still alive did not feel as appropriate to remain bringing up the *Krontjong Toegoe* legendary label on *Moresco*. Since then, *Krontjong Toegoe* is represented by more than a single group organized by Michiels family and Quiko family.

*Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble by *Cafrinho* Tugu  
(Samuel Quiko, 2002)



Michiels family with their *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble declared their commitment to preserve the *keroncong* tradition amongst the Tugu younger generation, and maintain the original Tugu style by using only the local instruments, local musicians,

and the traditional Tugu music repertoires. On the other side, the mission of *Cafrinho* Tugu ensemble by Quiko family means business, need the professional musicians and popular musical fashion.

Selfportrait of Andre Juan Michiels  
the incumbent leader of *Krontjong Toegoe* and Tugu Community Association  
(Ganap, 1998)



Since 1989, *Tong Tong* Foundation in The Netherlands has been inviting *Krontjong Toegoe* performances in their annual Great Night Bazaar Festival in Den Haag. In 2002, *Krontjong Toegoe* participated in the Nusantara Portugal Cultural Festival held in Larantuka, Flores, a Catholic center in East Nusa Tenggara province. In 2006, *Krontjong Toegoe* is invited to perform in *Tempo Portugis* Festival held by the Embassy of Portugal in Jakarta to mark the new Portuguese mission towards Tugu community. The mission also initiates a friendly visit to Tugu village in 2007 by the Jakarta-based Ambassadors of four Portuguese speaking countries, namely Portugal, Brazil, Mozambique, and Timor Leste. Apart from those activities, *Krontjong Toegoe* also frequently appears on national and foreign television programs, where the Jakarta provincial government supports their management, and their performances are constantly appreciated by the Jakarta Metro communities. After a recent death of Samuel Quiko, Frieda Manusama-Moniaga, and Fernando Quiko, *Krontjong Toegoe* is now totally in the hand of Tugu younger generation led by Andre Juan Michiels, who also the leader of Tugu community association. He bears heavy responsibility to carry out the survival of their musical heritages, while continue to direct the existing *Krontjong Toegoe* ensemble, managed together with his younger brothers Arthur James and Milton Agustino, his younger sister Saartje Margaretha as lady crooner, not to mention his teenage son Arend Stefanus, the rising star of *Krontjong Toegoe* with his fine violin performance. It ensures the continuity of *Krontjong Toegoe* from the existing ninth generation of Andre Michiels and his brothers to the next tenth generation children keroncong musicians,

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## Chapter VIII

### Opportunistic Ideology and Performance Style

Simeda Takasi

#### Introduction

A Penan woman in Sarawak said, "Singing that is as spontaneous as talking is good" (*Pesinuy masem pani, itew jian*). And a man there said, "I always want to listen to new singing" (*Akew pegéng kelukeniniq piaq pengaun*). Although the Penan people do not speak explicitly about any kind of ideology in the transmission or learning process of their improvisatory songs (*sinuy*), we might infer an underlying ideology that is something along the lines of "songs should always be created anew" or "don't imitate your teacher's song". This means that the *sinuy* performance style can be transformed to a degree in the course of time. Nonetheless, two Penan groups in Sarawak (Malaysia) and East Kalimantan (Indonesia), who were separated from each other about 150 years ago, share an almost identical performance style of *sinuy*. Does ideology really have a fundamental impact on the learning process and the consequent formation of performance style among the Penan? The purpose of this paper is to explore the issue and show that the Penan ideology, in a broader sense, does have such impact.

#### Two Penan Groups in Central Borneo:

##### Belaga in Sarawak and Benaluy in Indonesia\*2

In Sarawak, I stayed mostly with the Penan Belaga and Penan Gang people living along an upper reach of the Belaga river, a tributary of the Rejang (Baluy). They were nominally sedentarized in the 1970s but, in fact, I observed that there were always a few families absent from their "permanent" villages at any given time. Each family would stay in the jungle to hunt animals and to collect and process wild sago (their staple food) for a couple of weeks at a time, even as recently as 1998.

They are also said to have begun cultivating hill rice in the 1970s. However, I observed that they had consumed all their annual rice crop by June 1984, and during my 1988 visit I was told that it had all been consumed by May. This means that 3 or 4 months after the harvest, there was no longer any rice in their villages. During a subsequent visit, they informed me that they had stopped cultivating hill rice in 1993 in order to engage in wage labor at a logging company and an oil palm plantation.

In 1988, the relatives who lived closest to them were on an upper reach of the Seping, a tributary of the Baluy. The place is about 2 to 3 days' walk from the Belaga settlement. This group emigrated to the Belaga area from the Seping about 40 years ago, and then came back to the Seping area in the mid-1970s. During my stay, there were only 15 persons (3 families) at the village, the rest (about 80 souls) being in the jungle. This



group seemed to be better hill rice cultivators than the group on the Belaga, but they said they were lacking rice as early as June in 1988.

This situation seems to be similar to that of the Penan Benaluy (Benalui) in East Kalimantan, whose language is the same as the above-mentioned Penan people in Sarawak. Three of their villages are on the Lurah, a tributary of the Bahau. They were asked to settle on the Bahau in the 1970s. Indeed, they tried to do so, but after a couple of years, they began to scatter into the jungle.

On the Lurah, a primary school was founded in 1981. There are two Penan houses made of planks near the school. One of them belongs to the village chief (*kepala desa*), but only his wife and family were present when I visited in 1994. The chief was said to be at his hut near the swidden field about one hour's walk from the school, but actually he was not there, having gone hunting with his companions a few days earlier. At several temporary huts near the field, some 40 persons including children were present. More than half of the field had been cleared (ready to burn), but they had nothing to eat except some vegetables and fruits at that time.

These two groups, the Penan in Sarawak and the Penan Benaluy in East Kalimantan, share the same cultural traits such as language, usage of the so-called "death-name", daily activities, classificatory knowledge of plants and animals, and so on. Present members of each group, however, do not know about the existence of the other group across the mountain range that is an international border between their territories.

As I verified their history of migration before (Simeda 1994, 1997), the Penan Belaga and Benaluy people have been separated from each other for 150 years or more. If so, their cultural similarity and coherence (including their songs and vocal expression) is surprising, for those who are in Sarawak have had constant contact with the Kenyah Uma Pawaq and Sambop whereas those in East Kalimantan have been under the protection and/or exploitation of the Kenyah Badeng; differences of language and vocal expression between these two Kenyah sub-groups are not trivial when examined in detail. Furthermore, each group has been under a different national government: Sarawak is in Malaysia and East Kalimantan is a province in Indonesia. In this sense, the musical tradition of the Penan Belaga and Benaluy seems to have been maintained quite well.

### ***Sinuy* and its Transmission among the Penan**

There are three vocal genres (*sinuy*, *ketaruy*, and *tivay*) among the Penan. The most often performed genre among the Penan Belaga is *sinuy*\*3, improvised song. Most *sinuy* texts relate to the expression of thanks to the gods, usually sung at night after eating wild boars or other wild animals obtained from the jungle. This is also the case with the Penan Benaluy.

Music theory about the improvisatory construction of the *sinuy* is also shared in common. I verify the same usage of technical terms among the Penan Benaluy as among the Penan in Sarawak, such as *li* ('melody'), *mengin* ('high-pitched'), *leben* ('low-pitched'), *ngelebé* ('sing with narrowed throat but forcefully'). The principal concepts pertaining to the form and structure of the performance, namely *pesebung* ('repetition') and *kedaqang* (verb form: *ngedaqang*, 'to sing imitatively'), which make every performance identifiable as *sinuy*, were also mentioned by singers in both Penan groups\*4.

A rule on assigning a different note value to each syllable determines the rhythmic aspect of *sinuy* in general: the last syllable of a word receives longer note value

and accent than preceding syllables. As a result, we can perceive most of *sinuy* performances following the minimal unit of triplet or dotted rhythm (for further analysis of the rule and musical examples, see Simeda 1986b: 184-5).

We can also find the existence of strong coherence in text building, which consists of the usage of rhyme (*gaq pekuaq*), poetic words (*piaq pani sinuy*), borrowings from other languages (*piaq sepuan*, such as Malay, Kenyah and Iban), standardized metaphors referring to the gods (or spirits) and rebirth or reincarnation of human beings, and so on. These aspects are distinctive features of improvised texts of *sinuy* (see Simeda 1996: Chapter 4).

Among these features which determine the "sinuy-ness" or its performance style, only two things are overtly transmitted through verbal instruction: the rule concerning the rhythmic aspect and the usage of rhyme. Other things are never (or rarely) instructed directly. "Youngsters already know such things, they have listened to *sinuy* for a long enough time" (*Danaq pengah mejam kenaq itew, ireh keniniq sinuy lebiq ngan pine*). In fact, there are no verbs equivalent to "teach" or "instruct" in the Penan language.

As I analyzed elsewhere (e.g. Simeda 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 1991), the *sinuy* performance is interwoven with the religion and speech acts of the Penan. Some of the Penan in Sarawak are said to have been converted to Christianity, but most of them still rely on the belief that certain animals (especially some species of birds) are heralds of the gods who indicate whether or not they should perform a daily activity such as hunting, collecting, or making blowpipes, to mention just a few.

The way in which they interpret bird voices as phrases in the Penan language is one basis of *sinuy* construction. This patterned listening to birds follows the same rule as mentioned above, namely assigning a different note value to each syllable to be sung in a *sinuy* performance (see Simeda 1986b).

Therefore, Penan children old enough to understand daily Penan discourse already begin to learn the rhythmic aspect of *sinuy* indirectly by means of patterned listening. And novice singers, when instructed explicitly about the rule, begin to understand not only listening but also performing *sinuy*. The way to treat specific text, however, is not taught. Each person should find his or her own text and try to treat it properly by himself or herself.

As for rhyme, experienced singers often talk about its importance in relation to the deities: "Without rhyme, the gods cannot perceive the song as a single composition sung by a particular individual(s)" (*Daun yeng puqun gaq pekuaq, baley yeng mejam itew sinuy pekuaq jah kelunan*). Despite this deep appreciation of rhyme, they never teach how to develop a text with appropriate rhyme. No specific example is ever given.

Including all the features mentioned above, as well as many others, the theory about the improvisatory construction of the *sinuy* shapes its performance style (Simeda 1994). With the theory and sufficient Penan language competence, anyone can construct a *sinuy* and refine it to the ideal level, even while sitting at a desk. It seems that, for both the Penan Belaga and the Benaluy, an ideal performance of a *sinuy* can be achieved regardless of whether the song is constructed at the desk or on the spot. Therefore, it may be seen that the theory should be transmittable, for it seems to be a prerequisite for the formation of a satisfactory *sinuy* performance style.

However, the key point is "sufficient Penan language competence". To obtain such competence, one must grow up as a Penan. Improvisatory songs are treated just like

spoken language: poor performances are severely criticised just like bad speech is criticized, and excellent or ideal performances are sought by the performers themselves just like people are motivated to refine their own speech. Penan parents and elders often provide negative commandments such as, "don't say such a thing", but they rarely give positive commandments such as, "you'd better say it like this". This type of freedom to be creative is the crux of improvisation.

To a large extent, children acquire linguistic ability by themselves. They accomplish this by analysing, interpreting, and synthesising various series of vocal sounds that their elders utter. And to sing *sinuy* is, in fact, to speak the Penan language in a particular manner.

### **Deviation in Language and *Sinuy***

Both the Penan Belaga and Benaluy maintain almost the same language. (This was unintentionally proven when a Penan Benaluy man expressed surprised at hearing his own language spoken by a Japanese whom he met for the first time.) There are at least two kinds of differences, however, between these two dialects of Penan language: borrowings (loan words) from neighboring swideners; and substitution of nominative personal pronouns for possessive ones.

Examples of the first type of deviation are: the use of *bayaq* ("new" in Kenyah Umaq Pawaq language) in Belaga; and *manoq* ("bird" or "rooster" in several swidener's languages) in Benaluy. These borrowings are used not only when those swideners are present at a Penan village, but also among the Penan themselves.

An example of the second type of deviation occurs when Javanese government officials come to the village: most of the Penan Benaluy stop using their own possessive personal pronouns, as a kind of accommodation to the lack of declension of personal pronouns in Bahasa Indonesia. This happens even though most of the Penan are not good at speaking Indonesian, and even when the visiting officials do not speak the Penan language. The substitution also occurs occasionally among themselves. The Penan know that this is an obvious deviation from their own grammar.

They say, however, that these types of deviations are not wrong because it is common to use borrowings and unusual words in *sinuy* (*Itew bareng salaq kenaq ami miaq sepuan sakay ngan sinuy*). They do not care about the purity or correctness of their language in these cases. "That's our language" (*Masem itew piaq ami*).

A similar attitude can be recognized in *sinuy*. Among hundreds of *sinuy* performances that I recorded, there are some clear cases of musical deviation. All of these examples, performed by experienced singers from both the Belaga and the Benaluy, deviate from the rule concerning rhythm. The last syllable receives shorter duration than the penultimate syllable in some cases, and these two syllables receive equal duration in the other cases.

In one case, when asked, the performers said: "It's exceptional, you know. Most words are sung with longer note value on the last syllable" (*Itew daqay, éq la. Lan metah ngan nyerating ket piaq dalem*). Because I was with my Kenyah friend who was a local government official working in a town named "Bintulu", it is noteworthy that one of the repeated "exceptional" words that we heard was *Metulu* (the Penan equivalent to Bintulu).

In some other cases, the performers said that the deviation was intended in order to sound like a Kenyah song (*Kelu ami itew ngeniniq kenaq kelidug Kenyah*). Why would they intentionally give the impression of a Kenyah song? Their answer was: "Because you are a friend of the Kenyah as well as us, you must like such a kind of song" (*Kaqaw bakéh ami ngan Kenyah la, ngan itew lan ko kelu keniniq piaq masem itew*).

It is certain that these singers are adept at changing their performance according to the situation. This ability is one of the essential characteristics of singers who are esteemed as "knowing how to sing *sinuy*" (*mejam manew sinuy*). Here, no "deviation" exists.

When they sing like talking, any theory or set of rules such as I described above is outside their awareness. Their bodies know how to sing and are ready to perform accordingly. What they care about is to perform appropriately in the specific context of the moment. Traditionally, the audience is, in most cases, limited to the Penan themselves and their deities. However, every performance I recorded was automatically in another context due to my presence.

Let us, for a moment, consider another example. The only vocal genre of the Penan that has a (mostly) constant melody and text is *tivay*. Originally, *tivay* is said to have been sung to call the spirits of ancestors, but it is now sung outside this context among a couple of Penan communities in Sarawak. Other Penan communities in Sarawak are in the process of abandoning it. The *tivay* is performed rarely now, and most people affirmed that it is "uninteresting" (*bareng mi*) and "bad to hear" (*saqat kenini*). (As an aside, I should point out that some of the old men among the neighboring Kenyah claimed that this genre was adopted from the Kenyah.) In Indonesia, the Penan Benaluy told me that they forgot how to sing *tivay* a long time ago (maybe 20 to 30 years ago).

Talking with them about the reason why *tivay* is uninteresting and bad to hear, I came to recognize their ideology or way of thinking. Explanations such as "voices should always be new" (*Piaq meseti pegéng maréng*), "if a song is not created on the spot, it does not have the power" (*daun yeng manew sitew, piaq itew yeng puqun pepusit*), and the two statements cited at the beginning of this paper -- all reflect their pragmatic and opportunistic ideology.

When you meet a wild boar, you must throw your spear or bush knife appropriately for the situation: when you are alone, you have to aim at its heart; when with somebody else, you should coordinate with his actions; and when with dogs, too, it is better to wait for a moment and coordinate.

Just as the success of their hunting activity depends on luck, and thus a successful hunting trip never happens the same way twice, each song is sung but once in its particular context. (I have no space to discuss the ideology of the Penan and other hunter-gatherers in the world here. For a more detailed discussion, see Sellato (1989 [1994])\*5, and Sirmeda 1993.)

According to their opportunistic ideology, the Penan people prefer the improvisatory *sinuy* to the rather fixed *tivay*. *Sinuy* performance style allows them more "deviation". They will probably abandon *tivay* completely in the near future, but *sinuy* is still alive because it is more flexible and thus suitable for reconstructing and expressing their changing daily experience.

## Opportunism and Transmission

It is difficult to find such notions as "tradition" or "transmission" in the Penan culture. They show little attention to their past -- I had to arrange to collect and interpret data from the Kenyah people in order to reconstruct the Penan history of migration -- and their children "come to know" (*jadi mejam*) cultural things including *sinuy* with very limited direct instruction.

Although it is true that the distinctness of *sinuy* is guaranteed by a theory or set of rules shared between the two groups in Sarawak and Indonesia, the opportunistic Penan pay little attention to the transmission of it. Rather, they care about the appropriateness and effectiveness of a *sinuy* performance, judging it in terms of the specific context in which it is being performed in the present moment.

As their language (or its grammar) is maintained and transmitted through its daily use, children come to know the *sinuy* grammar through its performance. The phrase "sing like talking" expresses their opportunistic ideology in their way of life. This ideology does not limit, but rather widens, the opportunities to perform *sinuy* -- a situation that does not apply to *tivay*.

The performance, in turn, enhances the coherence of the grammar, even though the performance deviates from the grammar in some of its details. (Compared to the fact that *tivay* is dying out, the coherence of the *sinuy* performance style between the two groups of Penan is surprising.)

Furthermore, opportunistic *sinuy* and linguistic performances, which sometimes show grammatical deviations, prove and maintain the value of their opportunism as long as those performances yield some kind of profit; and they do indeed, up to now. For example, I visit the Penan occasionally, spending money in each village and giving gifts; in addition, government officials and neighboring swiddeners invite them to local events and parties.

After 150 years of separation between the two groups of Penan, both the language and the *sinuy* still retain their respective styles. Penan opportunistic ideology, seemingly destructive to the coherence of performance style, actually plays an important role in maintaining it.

## Notes

1. This article is a revised version of a paper read at the world conference of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) held at Hiroshima in August 1999.
2. My fieldwork among the Penan people in Sarawak, Malaysia was done in 1983, 1984, 1988-9, 1990, 1997, and 1998. In East and West Kalimantan provinces, Indonesia, it was done in 1994, 1997, and 1998. For the first expedition (1983), I received a research grant from the Kansai Chapter of the Musicological Society of Japan. The research expeditions in 1988-89, 1990, 1997 and 1998 were supported by a Grant-in-Aid from the Ministry of Education, Japan. And the research expedition in 1994 was supported by The Japan Foundation and Institut Seni Indonesia, Yogyakarta. I appreciate their assistance very much.
3. The term *sinuy* has multi-layered meanings, but I must avoid explaining its full depth here. On the lexical analysis of the term, see Simeda (1986b:183-4).
4. The concept of musical theory in general, and the description and interpretation of that of the Penan in particular, are discussed in Simeda (1988). "To sing imitatively" is a kind of accompaniment in unison: the follower(s) who catch the words of the main singer will

sing part of the newly improvised text. Except for *sinuy petikun* (solo performance usually by a woman), there is at least one person doing *ngedaqang*, especially in a long performance (i.e., more than half an hour). For example, the main singer repeats one line or phrase twice; the follower joins the singing on the second repetition, during which time the main singer may stop singing in order to construct the next line.

5. I am indebted to him for the depth of my understanding of the relationship between opportunism and *sinuy* performance. He confirmed my ideas and insights and encouraged me to develop them.

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## Postlude

### Ritual, Public Performance, and Tourism (Cases in Japan and Indonesia)

Simeda Takasi

#### Ritual

Ritual, in its original or strictly defined meaning, is a system of conventional activity handed down traditionally; it is believed to heighten the possibility of survival (though it might be only a little) of any society or group which depends on uncertainty of the natural environment. There were no other choice or, whatever there seemed to be, its trial was inhibited because it meant a clinical experiment on all members of the group.

In most cases, this kind of ritual is accompanied with music or musical activity. The music realised there, however, should be performed appropriately, following the proper procedure within a certain framework of the ritual. Therefore, there exists no "aesthetic judgement"; any judgement of good/bad or right/wrong, if exists in any way, is done from the viewpoint of correct execution of the ritual process as a whole.

However, what is "music" (or "dance", "theatre", and so on)? By using these terms, we may impose some bias upon these activities so named: in fact, most Japanese did not have any concept something like "music" until the beginning of the era of Meiji (1868); peoples in Kalimantan neither, 100 years ago. If we call a part of the ritual as music, we often imply that it is not only a component of the ritual but also an object of aesthetic (value) judgement. This is one of the important factors posed from outside that have some effect on the ritual and its performance. We should take into consideration this kind of academic bias when we talk about the change of the rituals.

#### Transformation (modernisation) of rituals in Japan

In Japan, most rituals have changed in their function and content since as late as 1960s: for example, *kagura* (a dance performance devoted to the deities of the Shinto) and *bon-odori* (dances with songs performed in the middle of August, when the spirits of ancestors are believed to come "home"), to mention just two. Major causes of change were: the decrease of the number of bearers, especially of younger generation, in the community following the development of industrialisation; the decline of traditional beliefs in the Shinto and Buddhism as a result of modernisation (in some part, this was also the result of industrialisation which lowered the value of traditional rural life with many religious aspects).

After a couple of decades or so, people began to try to revitalise such performances in many villages. One of the most prominent action was to organise a so-called "*hozon-kai*" (preservation association) to preserve and/or activate the ritual or performance. In order to achieve its purpose, it has worked as an organisation, for

example, to buy and repair things necessary for the performance, to solve financial problems, and, of course, to practise the performance.

The foundation of *hozon-kai* meant the beginning of modification or transformation of the form, function, and content of the performance. In some cases, people began to isolate the performance from its original (religious) context; or to try to reconstruct its "original" style back to 100 or 200 years ago, in other cases (often with the assistance of expert such as folklorist, historian of the performing arts, ethnomusicologist, and so on). Though there were substantial amount of influence from the outside (including academic one mentioned before), these moves were internal, anyway. The bearers themselves felt like preserving or activating their traditional performance, even though with some modification: the decision was made by the bearers themselves.

The situation changed drastically when the governmental support to the preservation associations began. Some associations were registered as "holders of important cultural properties" and others were not. The registered associations, receiving support from the state as well as local government, became thought their performance authorised by the government as "original", "authentic", and/or "good". Their performance became known to people in general, then open to tourists. Other associations which were not registered were forced to "elaborate" their performance in either of the two directions. One is toward a "better" performance in its original context, and the other is toward the one in the aesthetic sense of the word "better".

Along the process as mentioned above, the performances have changed in many aspects. We can find the two extremes. One is the case that a kind of "inflation" of performance happened. Every detail of the performance is revised from the aesthetic viewpoint, which may lead to the professionalisation of the performance. People tried to make the performance more attractive, intricate, finer. To achieve the purpose, they had to practise for a longer time than before. Therefore, the participants became limited to persons who had enough time for the practice. Practised by the limited and rather fixed members, the performance became more and more elaborate, with requiring higher techniques and skills; then it became necessary to practise much longer; then the participants were limited again. The final result of this cycle is professionalisation, and there are more than 10 such groups now in Japan. They can gather many tourists from all through Japan every year.

Another extreme is that the performance became stereotyped, with losing the tension of performers because of the lack of socio-cultural (especially religious) background. In this case, the bearers tried to keep their performance as it was (or had been), strictly prohibiting changes. The changes here, however, means only those of the performance itself (for example, melody, arm position, costume, and so on), not including its context: in fact, it had already changed severely. Most performers did not believe in its original religious function, but they are prohibited to perform it free from its original style and details. Now, the performance is only for some of the historians of the performing arts (virtually, their disciples).

Most cases in Japan, of course, are situated between these two extremes. In any case, however, the point is almost the same: the performance becomes losing its original corporality or corporal motor sense. In the former case, people try to extend their capacity of motor learning into the level of modern performing arts, and in the latter, they reduce



their traditional motor learning process to a minimum so that even a 10-year-old child can perform accurately.

### Some Cases in Sarawak and Kalimantan

In Sarawak, I stayed mostly with the Penan Belaga and Penan Gang people living at Long Urun and Long Ketuet on the upper reach of the Belaga river, a tributary of the Rejang (Balui). They were nominally sedentarised in the 1970s but, in fact, there were always a few families absent from their "permanent" villages at any given time. Each family would stay in the jungle to hunt animals and to collect and process wild sago (their staple food) for a couple of weeks at a time, even as recently as 1988.

There are three vocal genres (*sinuy*, *ketaruy*, and *tivay*) and three kinds of instrumental music (solo *sapeh* [two- to three-stringed plucked lute], *keregot* [nose flute with three or four finger holes], and *ilut* [jaw's harp]) among the Penan. The most often performed genre is *sinuy*, improvised song. Most *sinuy* texts relate to the expression of thanks to their gods and spirits, usually sung at night after eating wild boars or other wild animals obtained from the jungle.

As I described and analysed elsewhere (Shimeda 1986a, 1986b, 1988), musical theory about improvisatory construction of the *sinuy* is transmitted as a part of their religion. In this sense, *sinuy* is not music but a kind of ritual, ability to perform *sinuy* being a special type of linguistic one in religious context. Its performance needs a certain kind of corporal motor sense which is embedded deeply in the religious experience (Shimeda 1996: 110-124). And seeing the matter from the opposite side, we can interpret *sinuy* performances as a medium to make their religion and language use become more immanent.

Their "traditional" religion, however, is not a prerequisite to *sinuy* performance (Shimeda 1994: 275). It has possibility to be performed in the entirely new context. Their opportunistic point of view (cf. Sellato 1989) may change *sinuy* into quite different one in near future, and if so, the *sinuy*-specific corporality will be lost. The process will be not so far from that in Japan, but one of the biggest difference is that the influence of governmental policy is very little on the Penan Belaga until now. As I mentioned elsewhere (Shimeda 1994: 276), the people of Penan Belaga can choose one of the ways to create their own "new" tradition by themselves, with devising another way of motor learning.

Some of the Kenyah people (Uma' Pawa, Ma' Long, Badeng, etc.) in Sarawak and Kalimantan Timur show rather different process from that of the Penan. As the *sapeh* (*sapih*, or *sambe*) music is famous especially in Sarawak, the playing of it is one of the dominant musical activities in many Kenyah village. The *sapeh* has been used as an accompanying instrument to dance which is a part of ritual. Though most of the Kenyah people are now converts to the Christianity, the dance performance accompanied by the *sapeh* is thriving.

In some villages in Sarawak, however, taped *sapeh* music is now in use for the accompaniment to dance. In some cases, the sound were recorded by themselves 10 years ago, but now the tapes recorded and sold by music industry are used by the majority of such villages (note that these villages are still minority among the whole Kenyah groups). Such tapes were already sold as late as mid-70's but their major target was tourists from abroad. As the inland people (*orang ulu*) became rich, they began to buy such tapes for

individual or communal entertainment. There are some influence of the policy by the Sarawak government in conjunction with foreign organisation: for example, the Japan Foundation had a project called ATPA [Asian Traditional Performing Arts], one of the topics focussed in the first seminar concert held at Tokyo was the *sapeh* music of the Kenyah (Koizumi, et al. 1977).

I have not encountered such a case in Kalimantan Timur, but it may occur in near future. Here we find the professionalisation and minimisation of motor learning at the same time. The corporality related to the *sapeh* playing is abandoned, and the dance is also likely to change in the new situation. (We can also refer to the social factors which make gong ensemble of the Kenyah Uma' Jalan survive, as an example of minimisation, see Grolinski 1994.)

### **Tourism and Public Performance**

As an object of tourism, the performance tends to be judged aesthetically, the process of motor learning changed. Is it necessary, however, to professionalise in order to develop the tourism?

As cases in Japan show, the point seems to be that it depends on how the bearers themselves think about and which way they decide to take. As a part of ritual, most traditional performing arts were not open to public (even prohibited outsiders from attending or seeing it, in some cases of *kagura*). Once the performance became open to public, the loose apprenticeship, which had maintained the traditional performance through transmitting the corporal motor sense concerning the performance, tends to be tighten in both directions of professionalisation and minimisation of motor learning. Further, the governmental support to the grass-root activities often tends to differentiate and rank them, then reinforces the tightness of the apprenticeship.

In Sarawak and Kalimantan, the governmental support is rather limited if compared with Japan. The governmental support should be done with much care, reminding that it is the bearers themselves who make a decision.

Every intended (and non-intended, to some extent) human action is acquired through motor learning (see Blacking 1977), and the way how people construct their bodies and kinaesthesia is a very interesting aspect of human beings to see, though it usually takes a long time for outsiders to grasp it. The aspect, however, is often buried under modern Westernized terminology and modern way of thinking. Moreover, kinaesthesia and construction of corporality are sometimes difficult to describe in language. With these difficulties aside, if a public performance can show its own corporality through it, it can be a focus of tourism and good for both bearers and tourists.

Ethnomusicologists and other scholars concerning the performing arts are in the nearest position to uncover the knowledge transmitted through the motor learning (both cerebral and kinaesthetic). This should be one of the biggest tasks for ethnomusicology and other disciplines concerning the performing arts.