EDITORIAL

It is an honor to be the guest editor of this issue of Balungan focusing on the gamelan tradition of Cirebon. This old Javanese cultural center on the north coast of West Java remains almost unknown to Indonesian scholars, much less to gamelan students from the West.

The government and the people of Indonesia, who have been kind and gracious hosts to many foreign gamelan students such as myself, have recently become active in the recognition and revival of many neglected Javanese cultural centers such as Banten, Cirebon, Banyumas, Malang, Banyuwangi, and Banjar Masin. Each has a distinct yet related style of gamelan.

Perhaps initially seen as "strange" variations on the more well known traditions of Central Java, these "re-discovered relatives" bring into question the very concept of a "standard" Javanese culture. In fact, upon closer inspection, variation seems to be the rule rather than the exception.

On my last trip to Cirebon in December of 1988 I found that the increased interest by "outsiders" (both Indonesian and foreign) has rekindled a sense of pride in the native culture of the people. Village gamelan and wayang troupes are proliferating. The younger generation of the royal family is taking a new interest in preserving their unique heritage of music and dance. The Cirebon batik tradition seems to be flourishing after a long period of decline, and a beautiful new open air stage and arts training center had just been completed on the grounds of the old royal gardens at Sunya Ragi.

Contributions and advice were sought for this issue from the most knowledgeable sources available: Dr. Michael Wright of the State University College at Buffalo; Endo Suanda of the University of Washington; Pamela Rogers-Aguiniga of Los Angeles; Dr. Kathy Foley of the University of California at Santa Cruz; Dr. Allan Thomas of Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand; Professor Hardjo Susilo of the University of Hawaii; and Elang Yusuf Dendabara of the Kacerbonan palace. I am grateful for their input while any errors or inaccuracies that remain are my own.

I hope that this issue of Balungan will encourage further research and scholarship on lesser known aspects of Indonesian music and culture. These contributions can only enhance our appreciation of the many disparate yet connected "regional" arts that give new meaning to the Indonesian national motto: Bhineka Tunggal Ika—the many are one.

Richard North
Guest Editor
TRADITIONS

An introduction to the musical traditions of Cirebon

by Richard North

It is becoming increasingly clear that Javanese culture is not a monolithic entity, but exists in many forms and regional styles. One particularly interesting center of this rich and multifaceted culture is Cirebon, an ancient sultanate on the north coast near the border of Central and West Java. Cirebon today is a port town of about 350,000 people and is known mainly for its royal courts, unique style of batik cloth, and sacred shrines. It is located in the Indonesian province of West Java, populated predominantly by ethnic Sundanese.

Cirebon gamelan: Sundanese or Javanese?

Is Cirebon culturally a part of Sunda? The popular assumption seems to be that Cirebon and Sunda are somehow synonymous. In actuality, this assumption is false. Although Cirebon is found in the province of West Java, political boundaries do not necessarily reflect cultural or ethnic regions. Cirebon is not culturally a part of Sunda. The people of Cirebon are ethnically Javanese, and refer to themselves as wong Jawa (Javanese people). The first words sung by the sindhen (solo female vocalist) in a Cirebon gamelan performance typically are:

Wilujeng, wilujeng képanggih maning, seni swara kejawen asi. 2

"Greetings, welcome as we meet again, to this performance of genuine Javanese music."

Clearly, then, the people of Cirebon view their art and culture as Javanese, not Sundanese. The Sundanese, on the other hand, view Cirebon-style gamelan as something quite foreign to their culture, saying that they really don’t understand “gamelan Jawa.”

Interestingly enough, Central Javanese regard Cirebon culture as equally foreign to them. For initiated listeners, the musical traditions of Cirebon and Central Java are obviously different. The Central Javanese listener has a hard time accepting such an utterly foreign style of music as part of their Javanese heritage and tends to lump together the two “foreign” musical traditions of Sunda and Cirebon that share the same political province but have otherwise very little else in common. What, then, is the basis of Cirebon’s Javanese identity?

Historical background

The history of the Javanese is a history of successive waves of culture brought to Java’s shores from across the sea and the ingenious blending of these foreign cultural influences with indigenous elements. Each era borrows, adapts and builds upon the culture of the previous cultural “wave.” In the ninth century Buddhism and Javanese culture combined to build the world’s largest Buddhist temple, Borobudur, in Central Java. In the tenth through the fifteenth centuries a Hindu-Javanese blend with distinct Buddhist elements produced the court cultures of Majapahit in East Java and Pajajaran in West Java. And in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the pasisir (north coast) kingdoms produced a synthesis of Muslim and Hindu-Javanese culture, that included Cirebon as a major capital. In following centuries the Muslim dynasties of Central Java adapted certain aspects of north coast culture and blended them with new elements, producing the rich court culture of Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Pigeaud 1976:8-9 and Wright 1978:13-14).

Cirebon was originally settled by immigrants from the East Javanese kingdom of Kediri in the thirteenth century (Elliot 1984:76 and Abdurachman 1987:24), and, although the language of the southern border of the Cirebon region contains some Sundanese borrowings, a “recognizable Javanese” remains the lingua franca of Cirebon and the surrounding area to this day (Hatley 1984:6, 24; Abdurachman 1982:13). The immigrants brought the Javanese arts of gamelan, wayang, and topeng (masked dance) with them to their new homes (Elliot: 1984:76) and became the ancestors of the current residents of Cirebon, which might explain why certain aspects of the culture of Cirebon today more closely resemble those of old East Java than contemporary Central Java (Wright 1978:14). The house of Cirebon was founded in c. 1378 by “a Muslim with strong Hindu ties,” and became one of the dominant royal courts on the north coast (Elliot 1984:72,94). This makes Cirebon the oldest extant kingdom in Java. 3 However, Cirebon came into its own as a cultural and political force under the leadership of Sunan Gunung Jati (reign 1479-1568) a Javanese ruler and mystic who was one of the wali sanga, or “nine saints,” of Javanese Islam (Abdurachman 1982:19,33,64). This was an exciting and dynamic time—the “golden age” of the pasisir states (Siddique 1977:21)—reflected in the energetic and exuberant arts of Cirebon.

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Due to the vicissitudes of history, the material fortunes of the sultans are greatly diminished today, but what remains is an outstanding legacy of Hindu and Muslim art forms from fifteenth century Java. Cirebon architecture, exemplified in its kraton (royal courts) and ancient mosques, preserves a style which closely resembles that of Hindu East Java. The arts of woodcarving and painting on glass feature dramatic blends of Hindu and Muslim motifs and portray Hindu deities, such as Shiva and Ganésha, whose bodies are completely filled with calligraphy from the Koran. The batik of Cirebon, famous for its megamendung (rain cloud) patterns, also depicts graphic cloth representations of mythological creatures, royal heirlooms, and wayang puppet figures permeated with mystical symbolism (Elliot 1984). Cirebon metal working, although now a lost art, created keris (ceremonial daggers) and gongs of rare beauty.

The link between Sundanese and Cirebonese gamelan

If the people of Cirebon are Javanese and not Sundanese, two questions immediately come to mind: First, why do their gamelan music sound so similar to Sundanese gamelan and, secondly, why is it so different from the music of Central Java?

The key to understanding the similarities between the gamelan of Cirebon and Sundanese is once again the history of the kingdoms of Java. The arts of gamelan (of the sléndro and pèlog type), wayang and topèng were imported from the northern plains of Cirebon to the southern mountains of Sunda, during the period when the royal courts of Cirebon held sway over Sunda (Pigeaud 1967:144, 225 and Foley 1979:24). As elsewhere in Java, gamelan sets were given to local aristocrats in Sunda and became symbols of their power and connection to the Javanese royal courts to the north.

The Sundanese, however, had a rich variety of indigenous forms of music long before the introduction of gamelan from their Javanese neighbors to the north. Two Sundanese gong ensembles, rénteng and degung, are mentioned in Sundanese oral histories as far back as the Hindu Era. The musical ensembles of angklung (Baier, 1986:8-16.), kecap suiling, kendhang pencak, calung and kethuk tilu, as well as the solo music of kecap buadui, calung buhun, renggong, tarawangsa, talent, and bangseng, attest to the rich heritage of indigenous musical forms in Sunda prior to the arrival of gamelan from the north coast of Java (Heins 1968; Soepandi 1976:4-33).

Old Dutch photographs from the early part of this century show gamelan sets in Sunda virtually identical to those found in Cirebon today (Kunt 1973:453-455). However, the decline in power of the Cirebon court, accelerated by Indonesian independence in 1945, led to the autonomous development of a completely new style of gamelan, shaped by the aesthetics and values of the Sundanese people. This resulted in the gamelan Sunda of today.

Distinguishing between Cirebonese and Sundanese gamelan

The gamelan styles of Sunda and Cirebon possess a number of traits in common. Both styles have a pair of interlocking saron, a single kemput, prominent drumming, and share certain structural similarities. However, a number of important differences make it easy to distinguish the two styles:

Instrumentation. A Cirebonese gamelan may have more than twenty instruments, whereas eight musicians form a complete Sundanese gamelan. Absent from the Sundanese ensemble are eight instruments found in the Cirebonese gamelan: gendér, suling, keménak (hand-held slit bell), klenang (similar to the Central Javanese kempyang), bérí (floor cymbals), gong sabét (Central Java: gong suwukan), badhak, and kebluk (a kind of low octave kethuk). The Cirebonese titil (CJ: peking), kenong, jengglong (one octave below kenong), kethuk, and kemyang (CJ: bonang panerus) are also extremely rare in Sunda. (See Figure 1.)

By contrast, a Sundanese gamelan typically consists of a gong, kemput, two saron, a panerus (CJ: demung), bonang, gambang, kendhang, and rebab. The rebab, so prominent in the Sundanese ensemble, is absent from the Cirebon gamelan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>ERA</th>
<th>TUNING</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rénteng</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>5-tone pèlog</td>
<td>village and court celebrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denggung</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>5-tone pèlog</td>
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<td>Sekatên</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
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<td>Gamelan Prawa</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>5-tone sléndro</td>
<td>accompanying wayang purwa (shadow puppet theatre) and topèng (masked dances)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gamelan Pélòg</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>7-tone pèlog</td>
<td>accompanying wayang cepak (rod puppet theatre), badhaya (classical dances), tayuban (social dances), and as lalagon (listening music)</td>
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Figure 1. Table of Cirebon Gong Ensembles

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The daughter of the king of Cirebon married the famous Sultan Agung of Mataram, and a special relationship was established between the two Javanese courts that continues to this day. The Sultan arranged for artistic and spiritual advisors to be brought in from the older courts of Cirebon (Siddique 1977:26; Abdurachman 1982:50). And, it is considered probable by both Western and Indonesian musicologists that the music of Cirebon and Mataram at this time were quite similar, if not identical (Wright 1978:17; Abdurachman 1982:92). Indeed, museums in West Java contain gamelan sets given as gifts from the Mataram court virtually identical to the Cirebon gamelan of today.

After the death of Sultan Agung, a conscious effort was made to create a new court culture entirely separate from that of the north coast states (Elliot 1984:64). An exclusive style of gamelan developed under the guidance of the Sultan’s royal palace musicians, evolving into the refined and elegant Central Javanese music that we know today (Abdurachman 1982:92). Cirebonese gamelan also doubtless experienced significant changes.

Wright, in his dissertation on Cirebonese music, suggests that the resulting “vastly different” gamelan traditions of Cirebon and Central Java are due in part to the relative wealth of the Central Javanese sultans during the colonial period that resulted in a “perfect atmosphere for artistic development.” During this time “the Central Javanese enjoyed a veritable renaissance” (Wright 1978:15-16). Cirebon was not so fortunate. While the Central Javanese courts enjoyed lucrative financial support extracted through lease arrangements with the Dutch, the assets of the sultans of Cirebon were seized soon after the Dutch took control of Cirebon c. 1682. The resulting impoverishment of the Cirebon palaces was no doubt a factor in the relative lack of development of the Cirebon gamelan style since the seventeenth century (Wright 1978:16). Whether due to relative poverty, political isolation, or to the conservative influence of the kraton, Cirebon gamelan has retained certain traditions “which have apparently been preserved with little change up to the present time” (Wright 1978:17).

The old palace in Cirebon has “peacefully continued its sleepy existence from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries” (de Graaf and Pigeaud 1984:85). Over time Cirebon has managed to preserve a distinct regional style of music and art, giving it a sense of cultural identity within the broader context of Javanese culture. The very fact that two styles of Javanese gamelan, such as Cirebon and Central Java, could be so dissimilar only serves to demonstrate the richness and variety of the Javanese gamelan tradition.
The ensembles are tuned to scales resembling Javanese pêlog and include no "soft-style" instruments such as gender, suling, rebab, gambang, or voice. The Cirebonese differentiate between these ancient Hindu ensembles and gamelan proper. They contend (as Western musicologists such as Kunst and Heins also argue) that Javanese gamelan as it is known today—with its expanded instrumentation and tonal systems, a mixture of soft and loud-playing instruments, and "layered" polyphony—did not come into existence until the rise of the Islamic courts in Java during the sixteenth century (Kunst 1973:17,109,113; Heins 1977:31).

The first, and probably most ancient, of these Hindu Era gong ensembles is rębêng. This boisterous and energetic music is played on long, single-row bonang with unpadded wooden sticks, and is accompanied by loud drums and crashing cymbals. It has been found throughout the villages of West Java since ancient times, both in the inland regions of Sunda, as well as in the Javanese-speaking coastal plains such as Cirebon and Banten. The music of rębêng is loud, fast and syncopated, and is clearly the product of the village sphere. Even so, rębêng is considered appropriate for certain palace festivities—an indication of the close relationship between court and village arts in Cirebon.

Denggung

The other two Hindu-era gong ensembles of Cirebon—known as denggung and sekaten—are both sacred ritual orchestras and the exclusive province of the Cirebon kraton; they are reserved for ceremonial use by the sultans and their relations. Denggung was formerly the court music of the kingdom of Pajajaran, the last Hindu-Sundanese empire of West Java. Each of the three Cirebon kratons (Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacerbonan) possesses a denggung set said to date back to the fifteenth century; the instruments were acquired when Pajajaran was conquered by the Cirebon forces led by Sunan Gunung Jati (c. 1527). Each is tuned to a five-tone pêlog scale, and consists of a long, single-row bonang, one or two saron, a kethuk, and a set of small hanging gongs similar to Kempul. The music is believed to have great supernatural power, and is played to ward off evil influences or, more often, to bring rain for the rice crop in times of drought.

Sekaten

According to traditional accounts, the sekaten of Cirebon was one of three such ensembles brought to the kraton of Banten, Cirebon, and Demak following the capture of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit in East Java by the forces of the north coast states c. 1527. The sekaten of Cirebon was divided between the kratons of Kasepuhan and Kanoman around 1662. The instruments are tuned to a seven-tone pêlog scale, and consist of a long, single-row bonang, several saron, a kethuk, and a pair of huge gongs. As with the rębêng and denggung, no soft-style instruments are present in the ensemble. Sekaten is considered to be the most sacred and powerful music in all of Cirebon, and is played to celebrate certain Islamic holidays such as Lebaran and Muluadan.

Cirebon gamelan

The tradition of gamelan in Cirebon features a combination of loud-style and soft-style instruments that, according to local tradition, were blended to achieve an aesthetic in keeping with the cultural ideals of the newly emerged Muslim courts of Java's north coast in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In this way Javanese music was able to make the transition from Hindu ritual to art music suitable for the courts of the sultans. Retained were ancient instruments such as the bêrê, the kemanak, and the ten-keyed gender, which closely resembles the instrument still used to accompany shadow plays in Hindu Bali today. The old style, single-row bonang was modified into the current double-row instrument, and soft, padded mallets were introduced. The instruments of the old loud-playing ensembles (gongs, saron, bonang, drums, and cymbals) were blended with the more delicate gender, suling, rebab, gambang, and voice to create an early form of the Javanese gamelan prominent today (Kunst 1973:113-114).

Cirebon gamelan, both in the courts and in the villages, is characterized by dynamic changes in tempo and vigorous drumming. The instruments are both smaller in size and fewer in number than their Central Javanese counterparts. Cirebon gamelan is noted for its great liveliness and exuberance and, although perhaps sounding less refined to the Central Javanese ear, can at times create an "ethereal other worldly" atmosphere (Wright 1978:272). Instrumentalists frequently contribute vocal parts to the music, both improvised melodic phrases and interlocking rhythmic calls known collectively as senggak. The gamelan bears numerous similarities to Balinese tradition, not entirely surprising since the music of Cirebon and Bali share a common source: Hindu East Java.

The gamelan of Cirebon are tuned to two systems that, as in Bali and Sunda, are differentiated both in terms of instrumentation and function. The gamelan prawa is tuned to the five-tone prawa scale, equivalent to the slêndro tuning of Central Java. Nowadays, its main function is the accompaniment of wayang purwa. However, an archaic variant of gamelan prawa still exists in some of the villages surrounding Cirebon and is used to accompany ritual topping performances.

The gamelan pelog is tuned to the seven-tone pelog scale. It does not include the gender in its instrumentation, and it has two bonang rather than one as in the gamelan prawa. The instruments are usually larger and tuned in a lower range than those of the gamelan prawa, producing a more ponderous and, to the Cirebonese, a more mystical sound. Gamelan pelog is therefore considered more appropriate for lilagon (court listening music) and bedaya (classical dances) than the light and cheerful gamelan prawa used for wayang purwa and topping. However, Cirebonese gamelan pelog is also used in the courts and villages to
accompany the rather rowdy, all-night tayuban. In addition, the wayang cepak (rod puppet theater) developed on the north coast in the sixteenth century, requires the gamelan pèlog as accompaniment. Rather than the Indian epics of the older shadow puppet theatre, wayang cepak depicts the legends and romances of Middle Eastern and Javanese kingdoms.

4. In Central Java, the ancient Hindu ensembles of kodok ngorèk, munggang, and cara balèn fall into this category. Other gong ensembles based around single-row bonang-type instruments are found in the Philippines (kulintang), Sumatra (gong sembilan), and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

5. The sekatèn ensemble of Banten is now in the Museum Pusat (Central Museum) of Jakarta, having been confiscated by the Dutch when they destroyed the kraton of Banten and exiled the Sultan from Java in the nineteenth century. According to legend, the sekatèn of Demak was acquired by the kingdom of Mataram, and the instruments later divided among the royal houses of Yogya and Solo, where they remain today.

6. This rod puppet theatre later spread inland into Sunda and Central Java, where it developed into the form known as wayang golèk (Foley 1979:23).

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Wright, Michael Richard.

Other musical genres
Beyond the rich and varied heritage of the Hindu Era gong ensembles and the Muslim Era gamelan orchestras, several other types of music deserve mention. Angklung bungko is the Cirebon version of the bamboo rattle ensemble found throughout Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The bamboo instruments are played with gongs and drums to accompany kuda kèsang (horse-spirit possession dances).

Tarling, a new genre of music developed in Cirebon in the 1940’s, is an acronym for the ensemble composed of gitar (guitar) and suling (flute), as well as various combinations of gongs and drums. Tarling originated as a substitute for gamelan during the Indonesian war for independence, but has since become quite popular in its own right especially as accompaniment for sandiwara (dance dramas). The guitars are tuned to an approximation of the pèlog scale, and produce a surprisingly convincing imitation of traditional Cirebon-style gamelan music.
Finally, macapat, Javanese tales, legends, and didactic verse composed in complex poetic metres, are sung throughout the island of Java. A very old type of macapat singing exists in Cirebon, where it is sung a capella in both court and village ceremonies (Foley 1985:7; Wright 1978:44).

This short survey mentions only some of the varied musical traditions of Cirebon—one of many Javanese cultural centers that have received only scant attention from musicologists. Recently in Indonesia there has been a resurgence of interest in “regional” Javanese gamelan styles. Perhaps this revival will allow Western students greater access to the many manifestations of Javanese gamelan and lead ultimately to a deeper understanding of the multifaceted culture of Java.

Notes
1. Cirebon has been known throughout history by a bewildering variety of names: Caruban, Carbon, and Ceron (Javanese), Cirebon (Sundanese), Cherimon (Portuguese), Tjerbon and Cheribon (Dutch). The official Indonesian name is Cirebon, although the Javanese name “Ceron” is the one used by the local inhabitants. The latter term is currently gaining popularity in cultural publications in Indonesia and abroad.
2. From the commercial cassette "Tayuban Masa Kini," Gamelan Langen Suara, Basari director, recorded October, 1977.
3. The better known courts of Yogjakarta (Yogya) and Surakarta (Solo) were formed in 1755, as a result of the division of the old Mataram kingdom by the Treaty of Gyiati.

6 Balungan
Dancing in Cirebonese Topèng

by Endo Suanda

The term topèng in Cirebon refers to a specific type of mask play, as well as to the main artist (dancer) of the play. Other mask plays, such as bangbarongan or bèngbèrokan (a "monster" folk play) as well as wayang wong (dance drama presenting the Mahabharata or Ramayana stories) are never referred to as topèng. Topèng can also mean just "mask," but another word, kedok, is more commonly used by the people of Cirebon.

Cirebonese topèng exists in both the court and village environments. There is no distinction between court and folk artists, as indeed in the court too, topèng is performed by artists that predominantly live and perform in villages. A traditional performance of topèng takes place during the day while the wayang kulit shadow puppet theatre is performed at night. The practitioners of topèng and wayang kulit are often very closely related, if not the same. Most are from "artist families," a certain group of families that have been professional artists for generations.

The occasions for topèng, or wayang, are mostly as entertainment in the celebration of auspicious events such as circumcisions and weddings. However, topèng is also performed in the annual village festivals. For an individual family’s ceremony, topèng will be performed in the front yard of the host who builds a special, temporary stage especially for the performance, while for a communal village ceremony it would be performed in the village square (alun-alun), village office building (bale-desa), or cemetery. In either case, the audience participates a great deal in directly influencing the performance by supporting, criticizing, and to a certain extent also determining the "improvised" program of the group.

In this article, I will focus on the dance in a topèng performance. I will describe briefly the main dances in a "complete" performance followed by a consideration of the way the dance is performed, choreographed, and improvised. I will conclude with a discussion of topèng aesthetics. It will be clear from the tone of the discussion that I place myself as an "outsider." This is due to several reasons; most importantly is that since I entered the dance academy in Bandung in 1968 I could no longer return as an "insider." Although I have performed often with the artists mentioned in this article, my way of "doing" and "looking at what we were doing" is different.

One major difficulty in discussing topèng is that each area, each individual, and even each village possess different styles (often several artists from different areas will move to one village). The presentation of the dances, songs, and comical repertoire not only vary from region to region, but also from one performance to the next by the same group. This is based upon the context of the performance, the spontaneous response of the artists to the situation before them, and variation due to improvisation (discussed below). Nevertheless, if we compare all of these styles, we will find a great similarity in their approaches in almost every aspect: movement patterns, dance sequences, musical accompaniment, costuming, and masks. This leads us to believe that all topèng styles came from the same root, and that many of the professed genealogies of these artists might very well be true.

Another difficulty we encounter in a discussion of topèng is in the terminology. In the topèng tradition, and in the traditional arts in general, we find different terms that apply to the same thing, or, conversely, the same term used for different things. This is not just because of an oral tradition, but also because in the performing arts, actions (including the names of movements and musical pieces) generally don’t need to be verbalized. Moreover, artists seldom discuss much about technical terms outside of their performance context. For them, music and dance are to be done, not to be talked about. However, in the 1960s, outside scholars and students (from Bandung, Jakarta, and even abroad) started to do research or study on Cirebonese arts. As usual, they (myself included) asked the names of anything possibly having names. This made the artists much more concerned about names and terminologies than ever before. Artists started to question themselves, trying to remember terms that had been forgotten for years, or to find or make up names for that which had remained nameless. Of course this created some confusion in regard to the terminology and theory of practice, but not in the actual practice itself. Therefore, in any discussion of topèng, it is important to state that there are no standardized terms or rules; they vary from village to village, from individual to individual, and even from time to time for the same person. The terms I use in this article are also by no means universal but, unless indicated, almost all of them come from the Cirebon region.

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Let's examine briefly the main dance characters presented in a topèng performance. As I mentioned above, topèng is not always performed in the same order due to the time available and audience interruptions or involvement that affect the overall performance length and emphasis. However, in a "full" or "complete" performance, the following characters would be present: Panji, Pamindo, Rumyang, Patih, Tumenggung, Jinggananom, and Klana.

Panji

The Panji dance is the most refined of all topèng dances. All of the movements are extraordinarily slow, and could not be categorized as mere audience entertainment. As a matter of fact, the movement of the Panji dance is like no other dance in Cirebon, or in Indonesia, as far as I know. Although it is one of the most difficult dances, the layperson would say that the dance has nothing to do with movement technique. The dance is more likely done for the dancer's inner satisfaction or ceremonial intent. Also, unlike the other dances, the entire Panji dance is performed without any interruption.

The Panji mask is the most refined of all topèng masks. It looks down, with a small nose, narrow (gabahan) eyes, and closed mouth (upper teeth connected to the lower lip). The mask is always painted white.

In general, the audience and artists are not concerned with the story or the identity of Panji. Nevertheless, some artists mention his name as Panji Kudawaning Pati. Others, as expressed in the martawara (the "announcement" from the narrator), say that he is Arjuna—an example of the frequent mixing of stories from the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and the Panji legend. It is also interesting to note that in Losari this first dance is called Mindo, since Panji appears later, in the lakonan section.

Pamindo

Pamindo, or Mindo, literally means "the second," and alludes to the fact that this dance is traditionally the second dance in a complete topèng performance. The character of the dance is referred to as layap, which means "light," nimble, joyous, coquettish and arrogant at the same time. It is a dance that expresses the mood of "youthfulness" or "brightness." The layap character represents neither a halusun (refined) nor a gagah ("strong") character to the Cirebonese people. Rather, unlike in Central Javanese dance, the layap character stands between the two. In terms of movement characteristics as well, there is a big gap between the Panji and Pamindo dances—a difference that is much greater than in dances in other genres, for example, Arjuna and Karna in Cirebonese wayang wong, or leyegan and suria in the Sundanese kursus dance. It is true that the Pamindo topèng dance is more dynamic than the Karna wayang wong dance, but more importantly the Panji dance is by far more "quiet."

The Pamindo dance, indeed, has the richest vocabulary of movements of any of the dances. Some dalang, who feature the Pamindo dance, will display their ability in dance technique and improvisation. The audience invariably will start to "participate" in the performance by making a response with tawur or sawer—the throwing of money or cigarettes to the dancer and musicians—and prolonged interruptions of the comic and musical presentations. This can be the longest section of a topèng performance, often lasting for three or more hours.

The Pamindo masks are generally white, ivory or light yellow, or (rarely) light blue. The masks have hair around the top part, with a decoration bordering it, called kembang pilis or pipilis. Its nose is most often, but not always, more pointed out than Panji, its mouth is open (i.e. there is a gap between the upper and lower teeth; the lower teeth are almost always painted black while the upper teeth are either painted gold or white).

The mask and the dance are also called Samba, a son of Kresna, from the epic, the Mahabharata. Although the audience invariably knows who Samba is (since the wayang enjoys a great deal of popularity), the story or episode from the Mahabharata is unknown. Hence, the name of Samba in topèng is not related to any particular story.

However, from the scattered atur-atur ("words" in narration or speech) of the bodor (clown), there is the suggestion that at one time a story related to the character of Pamindo existed. In this version, Pamindo is R. Kudapanulih, a brother of the Bawarna princess (Galuh Chandrakirana?), who is busy preparing wedding attire for his sister's marriage. In a comedic scene, he and his panakawan (Central Javanese: punakawan; clown servants played by the bodor) talk about various parts of the costumes and other attributes.

Rumyang

The Rumyang dance was not popular as an "independent" dance piece until about 1970, at which time the Ramayana dance drama project of the West Java government started to do research on Cirebonese dance. This research was repeated, more intensively and extensively, in 1971. Most people in Cirebon, artists included, were not even familiar with this dance until that time. Topèng artists from the areas of Palluman, Suranenggala, Bantarwaru, Bongas, and Beber said that the Rumyang dance used to be performed at the end of a performance, after the Klana dance, if they still had time.

I myself have never seen it performed that way, but, in topèng performances I witnessed in Losari in 1977 and 1984, the Rumyang scene was performed after the Klana dance at the start of the story. Groups from Slengit village, in particular, present the Rumyang dance after the Pamindo dance and differentiate it accordingly. On the contrary, Mutinah, the oldest dalang-topèng in Gegesik village, no longer recognizes the Rumyang dance as a distinct dance. If we compare the Rumyang dance from Slengit with the last part of the Pamindo dance from other areas, there are many similarities. First of all its musical accompaniment is exactly the same composition, lagu Rumyang—the only one of the
topeng dance names to come from the name of the music. (It is more common to name the lagu after the name of the dances, such as lagu Manji—for Panji, lagu Mindo, and lagu Tumenggungan.) More importantly, the principal choreography is composed of the same structure and type of movements; the only difference is in the style of the movements, just as this differs in all other dances. Another distinguishing aspect of this dance, unlike others, is that the Rumyang (of Slangit) does not have a section in the beginning of the dance where all the main characters appear without wearing a mask. Thus, it is more likely that the Rumyang dance performed after the Pamindo dance is perhaps a new development; the Pamindo mask is merely replaced by the Rumyang mask at the point in the music where lagu Rumyang begins. The occurrence of the Rumyang dance after the Klana dance, as it is still performed by groups in Losari, functions as the prelude to the presentation of a specific story. In this case the “Rumyang” dance has a different name according to the story presented.

Interestingly, the masks used for either style of Rumyang are basically the same. They have an open mouth, “open” smile, curved-shaped nose, and kembang pills like the Pamindo mask. The main difference between the Pamindo and Rumyang masks is that the latter does not have hair and is painted pink (in various degrees).

The character of the dance is very similar to the Pamindo dance. There are many interchangeable phrases of movement with slightly different tempo and dynamics. Although it is a lanyap character, the expression of the dance in general is considered calmer than Pamindo.

Patih

From 1970 onward I encountered only four Cirebonese artists (except in Losari) who differentiated the Patih and Tumenggung dances. All others maintained that the two dances were essentially the same. However, in 1977 I saw Dewi’s group (from the village of Losari) perform the Patih dance in the manner described to me by those four artists.
Tumenggung and Jinggananom

The scene portraying Tumenggung and Jinggananom is the only dance that has a clearly definable story. Tumenggung Magandiraja is sent by the King of Bawarna to capture the giant Jinggananom. Jinggananom is a Chinese descent, and is also a regent (sometimes called Tumenggung Jinggananom) of Jongjola. Since he feels that he is able to manage and to develop the country by himself, he wants to be fully independent. This infuriates the King who sends Tumenggung Magandiraja to attack him. In their meeting, Jinggananom argues that Jongjola is indeed its own country despite generations of rule under Bawarna.

The style of the Tumenggung dance is similar to the Patih dance. The dancer wears a costume with a collar, bow-tie and visor as described above, and is accompanied by the hand drumming technique. The Tumenggung mask, however, for those who still distinguish it from the Patih mask, is quite distinct. The overall shape is very close to the Patih mask, but its mouth is open and wider like the Rumyang mask, yet larger. I have seen only two Tumenggung masks with topeng groups since most don’t differentiate between Patih and Tumenggung. One was painted white and had a moustache made of human hair, with both ends loose and untied so it spread out naturally (jebrisan), unlike the Patih mask moustache that is almost perfectly round. The other mask was painted dark orange and didn’t have a moustache since it was no longer in use. Kandeg’s style of Tumenggung masks, however, has a neat moustache made of leather with a coma-shaped end pointed upwards.

The Jinggananom character, on the other hand, is rather ambiguous. First, in all areas, except Losari, Jinggananom is danced by the bodor as a comical character. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the dance, when the dancer has no mask on, we often can’t tell whether the clown is dancing an interlude, a comic scene, or a portrayal of Jinggananom. Secondly, the Jinggananom mask is a giant mask with big bulging eyes, a short, round nose, a wide open mouth with big teeth, and a thick, real-hair moustache often spread out in all directions. It is comparable to a buta alas (forest giant) in the wayang story, as opposed to a buta pangkat (dignitary giant) or buta raja (king giant). At the same time, the bodor also wears a bodor costume and headdress so that Jinggananom doesn’t look at all like a chief or regent (tumenggung) of a region. However, in Losari, Jinggananom is not played by the bodor but by another dancer in the troupe who wears a costume more befitting a chief—a bendo headdress, krodong and soder scarfs (almost like the dress of a dalang topeng), on top of his everyday dress. Moreover, the Losari style Jinggananom is accompanied by a clown servant played by the bodor.

In all styles the Jinggananom and Tumenggung fight several other places in the past, the Patih dancer still wears the regular topeng costume and changes to this special costume for the Tumenggung dance only.
is a very comical affair. In the first instance, where the bodor plays both figures, the alternation between the clown and Jinggananom is quite unique; besides the comical scene he often transforms his partners (dalang and narrator) into their own "real-life" figures.\textsuperscript{17} The bodor usually invokes this "transformation" when he feels that the scene was not fair (for example, when Tumenggung's words were too rough or hit too closely to home, or when Tumenggung actually hurt himself physically during the fight). The bodor will open his mask to protest and often complain to the audience as well. Of course, at the end of the scene Tumenggung wins the battle.\textsuperscript{18}

**Klana**

The Klana dance is the most dynamic of all topèng dances. It is the most "strong," (gagah) of the dances and is even considered coarse, wild, or rude. Considering the progression of the characters in a topèng performance that begins with the refined character of Panji, it seems logical that the Klana dance indeed was "designed" to be the last. The dance is also called Rahwana—the evil figure of the Ramayana epic, often pronounced Ruana or Rewayana—since both stories share similar attributes; a greedy king falls in love with a beautiful princess and wife of the hero (Panji in the case of the Klana dance, and Rama in the case of the Rahwana dance). Of course, Klana never gets what he wants and eventually loses in battle. So from this perspective, and because of the course nature of the character, no one would choose to be Klana or Rahwana. However, the Klana dance remains most people's favorite scene. It is one of the most spectacular and popular dances in all styles of topèng, not just in Cirebon, but throughout Java.

In topèng performances in Cirebon today, the Klana dance is usually performed for somewhere between forty-five minutes to two hours. However, the dancer will never stop if the audience is still enthusiastically watching and continues to tawur (throw money or cigarettes to the dancer). The popularity of the Klana dance varies from one region to another, but it is generally the highlight of a performance; many people come only to watch this section. In the area of Gunungsari in the region of Indramayu, people approach the stage during the Klana dance and, making a vow for their little children, will ask the dalang to bestow a mantra upon the child or even dance while carrying the child.\textsuperscript{19}

The Klana mask also has the most variable wanda (moods): barong, big and wild, gelib, small but fierce, wringut, mad and frightening, and drosos, big, wild, but rather "stupid" looking. These wanda are seldom known by the general audience, but most dancers seriously consider the mood of their masks. All Klana masks, however, have big open eyes (not as big as Jinggananom, but bigger than Tumenggung), a very long, forward-pointing nose, an open mouth with no lower teeth, a round-ended mustache made of real hair, and a jamung (head ornament, headdress) across its forehead.

**Dance Structure**

As I mentioned previously, there are relatively few standardized terms for the various styles of topèng performance. Consequently, it is difficult to talk about technical aspects. Nonetheless, in practice there are general rules or patterns, seldom verbalized, that are followed by everyone. For example, the terms "right" and "wrong" as well as "good" and "bad" are applied frequently when referring to the dance.

I will not describe the details of the dance patterns, but only the parts related to the following discussion on improvisation. Dance structure patterns are shared by all topèng artists throughout the Cirebon region. Although their details and terminologies may vary, the basic characteristics of these patterns are as follows:\textsuperscript{20}

Each dance can be divided into sections according to the "rhythm" of the gamelan; for example, dodoan (slow), tengahan (medium slow), kering (medium fast), and deder (fast). The order of performing these sections is always from slow to fast—never the reverse.\textsuperscript{21}

In each section there are sequences of movements called jogèdan (lit. "dance"), denoted by names such as jangkang-ilo, Klépat, ngongkrak, kényut, incek and many others. These jogèdan are almost always repetitive movements and consist of symmetrical choreography of left and right movement phrases.\textsuperscript{22}

Sequences of movements, or alihan, serve as transitions between the jogèdan.\textsuperscript{23} These alihan can be rather long or very short, but two alihan are never performed in a row nor repeated. Thus, they are never symmetrical (i.e. there are no left and right designs).

Besides sharing certain forms or gestures, both jogèdan and alihan have particular functions in relation to the gamelan structure (i.e., the beats, melody, or gong cycle). It is always possible to shorten or lengthen the jogèdan (i.e. to repeat a jogèdan for as long as necessary) as long as the following alihan occurs in its proper place. Likewise, the order of jogèdan in each section is flexible, and traditionally dancers never try to make this order the same.\textsuperscript{24}

**Improvisation**

Practically speaking, we can define improvisation in topèng to mean that performers set the order and determine the duration of jogèdan and alihan spontaneously while dancing. However, there is much more involved than that. Perhaps a more appropriate question might be: what does improvisation mean to the dancers, and how do they prepare for it?

The term "improvisation" does not actually exist either in Indonesian or in the regional languages, so its use may be somewhat inappropriate. However, in the urban areas and among intellectuals and scholars, this term has come into popular use in both Indonesian and the regional languages (improvisasi or impresisasi). Other terms that do exist in Cirebonese related to the idea of improvisation are jogèdan, sekaran, and kembangan.
Jogèdan is often used to mean improvisation; probably because, quite simply, the jogèdan are always improvised, and never fixed choreography. Criticizing a dancer by saying that they do not have jogèdan (langka jogèdan), means that the dancer does not have an extensive vocabulary of movements, are not creative in improvising, or do not have many kembangans. Another word for kembangans, in wide-spread use the last few decades, is parèssi or prèssi, from the Dutch variatie (variation).

Another word close in meaning to “improvisation” is saka. Commonly used by Sundanese speaking people and some Cirebonese, saka is a prefix meaning “whatever...” For example, sakaiinget means “whatever is remembered,” sakapanggih means “whatever is found,” and sakarep means “whatever is wished for or desired.” However, unlike the terms for improvisation mentioned above, saka often has a disrespectful meaning. The terms igel saka (saka dance) and lagu saka (saka song) can mean “a rambling dance or song,” with a negative connotation—a concept of improvisation that may be defined as “not trying to remember.”

I want to emphasize that there is an aspect of “forgetting” (from the word saka) in improvisation, in contrast to the aspect of “remembering” defined above.26 “Setting the order” or “choosing the patterns” could be seen as a selective practice—as an effort to find the best pattern for a given moment from a dancer’s existing vocabulary of jogèdan or alihan. For this kind of activity a dancer needs some time to consider or think (i.e. to remember as many patterns as possible). In improvising, however, “choosing” is less likely to be the case since the dancer doesn’t have much time to select. Indeed, most dancers don’t seem to try to remember (consciously) his or her vocabulary of patterns. Rather the dancer concentrates on the surrounding (e.g. audience, music, etc.) or even meditates (to possess the spirit of the dance or of the ancestors). The choice that the dancer makes is considered a gift from divine inspiration—or more commonly personal expression—rather than the result of a selective effort. Nevertheless, both aspects of remembering and forgetting exist in improvisation in varying degrees. Which one is the stronger aspect of improvisation is hard to say, and varies from one dancer to another. However, it seems the more accomplished the dancer, the less remembering is involved—a natural phenomenon found in almost every type of activity.

Modality
Of course to be able to improvise, the dancer must know the vocabulary of patterns very well. Knowing the movements is not a function of the mind alone, but of the body as well. Muscles have to recognize and feel the movements without need of conscious direction. Since the movement patterns are closely related to the music of the gamelan, knowing the musical patterns is perhaps as important as knowing the dance. Musical patterns do not exist solely in the mind of the dancer, but are physically internalized. The dancer Diah of Bantarbaru village told me that since she was about seventy she had been having trouble with her ears, but often could not refuse people’s requests for her to perform, especially when it was for a spiritual ceremony. When she danced, she could hear only a little of the sound of the drums, keceker (metal plates), and only rarely the kebluk (a punctuating instrument similar to, but pitched lower than, the Central Javanese kethuk). She said, “Kapokoh laguo wis ana ning jero kéné iki li, bisané isun jogèh kuhl!” (It’s just because the melody is already in here [pointing to her heart] that I am still able to dance.)

It makes sense that when something is deeply known remembering it can be accomplished without trying. No doubt it takes much time to achieve this, but, once achieved, it is never forgotten. For example, after spending nine years with her husband in Sumatra where she could neither see topèng nor hear gamelan at all, the dancer Sawitri was able to get up on stage and dance upon returning to her home village of Losari. She recalled later that she felt a little stiff at the beginning but was sure that she could do it.

Besides a strong commitment to the achievement of physical skill and technical ability, topèng dancers also must have a strong spiritual conviction. Family genealogies and the invocation of spirits are still intrinsically important aspects of Javanese society. Many artists, especially dalang wayang and dalang topèng, regularly practice fasting and meditation, even when they no longer do physical practice.27 On the one hand they believe themselves to be fully experienced and knowledgeable, but, on the other, they believe in the
concept of being spiritually "empty" or "clean."

This concept of "emptiness" seems to be very much related to the concept of "forgetting" discussed above. "Fasting," one dancer said, "is simply emptying your body." When the body is empty it is easier to put something in it. On the other hand, if the body is full, nothing can be added. Emptying, in this sense, has the same meaning as "cleansing." The beneficial spirits the dancers wish to invoke, "like" a "clean" body. To be empty is to be strong since the spirits invoked will help more than just physical ability.

To be empty also means to be relaxed. Instead of fixing the mind beforehand, the dancers allow themselves to be sensitive to the time, space, and "vibes," of a performance. Surrendering to the spirit guides the dancer (i.e. making his or her physical body passively "forget" the pattern). This belief in divine inspiration that comes at the very moment the dancer has to perform might be termed improvisation in our society.

Aesthetics and Emotion

The aesthetic concepts involved in dancing are not only tied to improvisation, but to all aspects of movement. In this final section, I will discuss the dancer's evaluation of other dancers; what kind of dancers are considered to be good, and what kind are not? This is one of the most difficult areas to describe since no dancer ever discussed it clearly with me.

Words often used to criticize or praise a dancer are: *bisa* (to be able), *bener* (right, proper), *prigel* (suitable), *énak* (nice), *bagus* (good, beautiful), and *pinter* (clever). The following are sentences I often heard:

"Bener sih bener, mung durung prigel/énak/bagus." (Their dance is right, but it is not yet suitable/nice/good.)

"Ari bisané sih (u)wis, mung durung prigel/énak/bagus." (They are already able to dance, but not yet suitable/nice/good.)

"Prigelé sih prigel, mung kuran pinter." (Their dance is suitable, but not clever enough.)

"Ari jogédané sih énak, mung mengkanan-mengkonon bae, langka parasisé." (Their dancing is nice, but like that again and again with no variation.)

"Ari kuen sih pinter jogédé." (That person is a clever dancer.)

"Jogédané bagus/énak temenan, kaya-kaya langka kembaré." (Their dance is very good and without match.)

Even though the terms are sometimes ambiguous, there are basically three different levels of dancers. First, there are those dancers who are considered "bisa" or "bener." Probably they are already able to improvise in a simple way or for an easy part since most dancers start to improvise from the early stages of their studies. However, although they execute the pattern correctly, they do not yet have good control or feeling of movement. The second level of dancers are those who are considered to be "prigel," "énak," or "bagus." These dancers have nice looking movement and good feeling, but they are not yet creative enough in improvising nor possess an extensive vocabulary of movements. The last level of dancers are those who are referred to as expert (pinter) in their knowledge of patterns, dance styles, and improvisation.

From the above description it is clear that improvisation is expected of all performers and is very highly valued. Improvisation, indeed, is the most exciting part of the dance. The dancer creates new experiences by spontaneously interpreting the traditional vocabulary, and, in addition, they have more chances to express themselves. The musicians, and especially the drummer, will also be involved in the excitement and lively interaction created. They will have to focus close attention upon the dancer in order to follow the spontaneous choreography. However, although it is through improvisation that a dancer gets a chance to show their ability and creativity, the dance has to be in balance and both look and feel right.

Of all the topéng dancers interviewed only Dasih spoke of the role of emotion in dancing. Speaking in Sundanese she said, "Ari ngbing têh kudu sîga anu geregeteun; geregeteun di dieu yeuh... ngarah anu lalujo oge milu geregeteun." (When you dance you should be emotional and full of intensity; emotional here... [circling her fingers around her heart] so the audience will also be emotional.) Here we see two concepts illustrated; the first is that Dasih is fully aware that she expresses her emotion through movement for her satisfaction, and the second is that the emotion she expresses will affect the mood of the audience by either satisfying or charming them. Hence, the patterns that "spring out" from the dancers when they are improvising are not the result of choosing, rather, a spontaneous decision as part of their expression.

In summary, improvisation in topéng dancing is highly valued, and regarded as the personal "expression," as well as the personal authority of the artist. This personal expression, however, does not stand alone; it is tied to almost every element of the performance. The topéng dance is not a free improvisation, rather it is a structured improvisation with definite rules, a definite vocabulary of movements and styles, and definite musical structures. On the one hand, the musicians follow the dancer's improvisational movements (the good dancer will provide much excitement for the musicians) but, on the other hand, a dancer will always improvise according to the musical framework. In other words, music and dance become an inseparable unit with the same importance for both dancers and musicians. In addition, the audience is also a very important aspect in supporting the dance-music integrity. The audience is not only necessary for witnessing or admiring a good performance, but is directly involved in forming the aesthetic expression—perhaps comparable to the audience at a rock concert: you need the right audience to have a good performance.
Notes

1. Part of this article, including the map, is taken from my Master's thesis "Cirebonese topeng in its social context," Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, 1983; the material is based on data collected during my research in Cirebon on and off, from 1971 to 1979. Firstly, I would like to hereby acknowledge the significant help of my advisor, Mark Slobin, who gave me valuable ideas, direction, and editorial advice in the completion of that project. Secondly, I would like to thank my wife, Marjie, who has always helped to correct my work since I first started writing in English. For this I am grateful.

Part of this article was also delivered as a paper at the "Mini-Conference: Masks, Puppets, and Performing Objects," at Porter College, University of California at Santa Cruz, November 13, 1988. Some new ideas, added to this article, were inspired by that discussion.

2. The orthography for the regional languages, Cirebonese and Sundanese, is based upon the Indonesian spelling system. However, I differentiate between two "e's."

The first (e) is pronounced like the e in "mitten," the second (é) as in "set." In addition, there are two consonants in Cirebonese that are not found in the Indonesian language—light "d" and heavy "t"—which are the same as in Central Javanese. I do not distinguish between them, as the difference in Cirebonese pronunciation is not as clear as in Central Java, especially in those areas of more Sundanese influence. Another unique vowel is the Sundanese "eu," pronounced almost like "eu" in the French bleu. Note: To maintain editorial consistency all Javanese terms are rendered in accordance with the orthography employed by Elinor Horne in her Javanese-English Dictionary. A differentiation is made between three "e's."

The first (e) is pronounced like the e in "mitten," the second (é) as in "set," and the last (é) like the a in "date." -ED] ![

3. The same phenomenon occurs in Central Java, East Java, and Bali, where the mask drama called "topeng" is only one particular type of mask play.

4. The artists believe that they are descendants of Pangeran Panggung, the son of Sunan Kalijaga and one of the wali sange (nine Islamic saints) of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

5. When the male dancers from the audience in the social dance layaban want to ask for a certain melody (laga) they do so by calling it out by name. However, in a topeng performance, with the exception of the clown, the dancers do not announce the name of the music or dance piece. Instead, the leading musician will perform the introduction of the piece and immediately, or soon thereafter, the other musicians will know what piece to play—even if they don't know the name of the piece. This is not the same for wayang kulit properties where almost every single item has a unique name; for example, the "bamboo nails" used to secure the cloth shadow screen to the banana trunk, are referred to as placek, and the "rope" used to tie the screen to the bamboo trunk, is referred to as plunteur.

6. Mindo and paminido are derived from the word pindo. Mindo means "to do a second (time)," and paminido means "the person who does mindo." The phrase that often appears in the dialogue of wayang kulit and topeng: ora kapindo gawé (low Javanese) or mboten kapingkulih damel (high Javanese), literally means, "not to have a second chance," or in other words, "yes."

7. Today, topeng groups rarely perform the Panji dance, so the Pamindo dance becomes the first presentation. In the Losari area, even the oldest, most traditional group calls the first dance Mindo. Interestingly, the first part of this group's Pamindo dance is similar to the Panji dance elsewhere in the Cirebon region.

8. The word lanayep is not commonly used in daily conversation. However, I heard it employed once or twice with the implied meanings "arrogant" or "brave," with rather negative connotations.

9. The traditional topeng performance is more likely to commence at 8:00 AM and last until 5:00 PM.

10. These artists were Kendeg, Mutinah, Carnita, and Bodong (of Mayung, not Kréyo).

11. Both the tacub and kursus dances are found all over West Java. The kursus dance was derived from topeng (more specifically the Path and/or Tumenggung dances) and tacub dances.

12. This type of headdress is commonly found in many genre of folk performance in Central Java (such as kuda kempang), and in the West Javanese rod puppet forms wayang cepak and wayang menak.

13. In one of the versions, Tumenggung Magangdiraja is betrothed to the princess of Bawarna (although the name of the princess is never mentioned). However, this is never mentioned in performance and generally he is known just as a tumenggung (regent).

14. The name Jongjola could be a corruption of Jenggala, the kingdom in the Panji cycle of stories. However, the story and the figure of Jingganganom is not related at all to the kingdom of Jenggala.

15. The content of the dialogue may possibly hint at propaganda surrounding the Indonesian war of independence. Jingganganom says, "This is my own people, my own country; we don't need to be colonized!" However, if this is true, it is interesting to note that Jingganganom is on the "left" side, the side usually associated with ogres and giants. Yet in this interpretation he represents the artists and people of Indonesia.

16. So, in this respect, Tumenggung symbolizes the non-Javanese character, as opposed to Jingganganom who wears the clown or "villager" type of costume. However, here we see the problematic situation. Which one represents the Javanese people? Tumenggung, on the right, or good, but at the same time colonial side wearing foreign costume; or Jingganganom on the left, or bad, but colonized side wearing a village costume?

17. In the dialogue, Jingganganom speaks by himself with one hand holding the mask in front of his face, but Tumenggung is spoken by a narrator (like the dalang in
wayang) while the dancer mimes the narration.

18. This story of Tumenggung and Jingananom, one informant said, used to be continued with the Aki-aki (“old men”) scene: Kyai Subakrama (Tumenggung’s father) on the right side, and Babah Sentingpraya (Jingananom’s father) from the left. This time, however, Sentingpraya (played by the bodor) wins over Subakrama (played by the dalang). I have never seen this scene myself, but the Aki-aki dance is still performed separately by certain groups, although very rarely. However, the action of Sentingpraya taking revenge against Subakrama is a very common concept in the wayang.

19. When a child is sick, for example, the parents make a vow that whenever that child recovers they will have him or her dance with the dalang topèng. Also quite frequently mothers will bring a sick child to the stage to be cured by the dalang topèng.

20. Consequently, certain terminologies I use here might not have the same meaning, or even be totally unknown to certain artists. It is also important to mention here, that this particular analysis is not from interviews, but rather from observation (i.e. watching a lot of performances, and, of course, from my own practical experience). It was difficult to interview artists about technical aspects. I frequently found that what they said was totally different than what they actually did.

21. The Tumenggung dance sometimes begins with the fast section as an introduction. The Pamindo dance has a more complicated order. In Slangit style, for example, the complete Pamindo dance would start from dodoan Gaya-gaya, kering Gaya-gaya, deder Gaya-gaya. Kembang Sungsean (dodoan), dodoan Rumyang, kering Rumyang, deder Banyu-banyu (Rumyang), kering Banyu-banyu, and ends with deder Banyu-banyu. In Ggesik, the order of the Klana dance often goes: dodoan, kering, deder, kering, deder.

22. Surprisingly, my awareness of this symmetric-asymmetric dichotomy arose just recently, from a question posed by Lou Harrison after my talk in Santa Cruz (see note 1).

23. This literally means “transition.” This is not a common term, however, I use it here only to make the discussion clearer. Most dancers refer to these sections as koma (comma).

24. The first and last jogèdan in a section are usually fixed by each dancer as a cue to the drummer.

25. Kembangan comes from the word kembang which means “flower.” Likewise, sekaran comes from sekar, or “flower” in high level Cirebonese and Javanese. In this context they both mean “embellishment,” “ornamentation,” or “variation.”

26. My realization of this concept was inspired by a discussion with John Pemberton in Ithaca, New York, in October of 1981. One of his points was that in Surakarta there are many gamelan musicians who like to drink before playing.

27. The Javanese attitude in general is that from an early age children are taught to be prihatin (solicitous, or “willing to fast or meditate”) in order to become smarter or to receive God’s blessing, instead of being taught to eat well to grow up big and strong. In Sundanese the expression, kuru cileuk kentel penjit (having skinny “sleep in the corner of the eyes” and thick intestines), and in Javanese cegah dafar lawan gulung (avoid eating and the bolster [pillow]) both mean “eat and sleep less.”

28. When I began studying dance with Dasih I had to be tawajuh, that is given a bath by my teacher with a bowl of water and flowers while she recited mantras. The sarong that I wore in that bathing had to be given away to her; perhaps as a symbol of the “dirt” that was taken out of my body.

29. In 1958, I was in a wayang kultit group with a dalang from Leuwungbata named Raniti. During one of the months, we had about twenty performances, day and night, and twice there were six performances in a row. During this time Raniti was fasting ngetan (eating nothing but a little saucer of sticky rice each day) for forty days.

30. In the wayang group it is also quite common that the dalang wayang does not decide what story he will present until he sits before the screen, underneath the wayang lamp, and lets his ancestral spirits decide.

31. This critique is usually addressed to dancers of the same area—including students and young dalang as well as more senior artists. I am not including comments of dancers addressed to dancers from different areas since they generally can not appreciate other dance styles. The best dancer from the southern Cirebon area, for example, would perhaps not even be considered by those from the north, and vice versa.

32. There are additional categories besides these three that also come from the comments. For example the comment, “Jogèdan apa kuené, beli ngalor beli ngidul.” (What sort of dance is that, neither to the north nor to the south), is made when a dance “is just rambling.” When a dancer fools around too much and mixes styles, others may comment that, “émán-émán, pepetané prigel temenan; jogèdané, ngampak-ngampak sakarep isun.” (It is a pity, the movement is very nice but the dance goes everywhere, wherever he feels like it).

33. Gergetesun in this sense means being emotional and full of intensity in both madness and love.

34. I believe that every dancer does, yet no one else ever expressed it verbally.
An introduction to wayang kulit Cirebon

by Richard North

Of all the traditional performing arts in Cirebon, the shadow puppet theatre is probably the most prestigious. Wayang kulit, more often known in Cirebon as wayang purwa (lit. old, original) is one of two forms of puppet theatre popular in Cirebon. To be a dalang wayang purwa (shadow puppet master) is considered by many Cirebonese to be the highest goal to which an artist can aspire. In addition to being able to manipulate the puppets skillfully, a dalang must be able to sing, chant, narrate, tell jokes, philosophize, and direct the gamelan ensemble. The dalang must have full command of the vast repertoire of lakon (stories) and suluk (chants of poetic texts), as well as mastery of all the instruments of the gamelan. Additionally, many dalang are highly respected members of the community and are even considered to possess great spiritual powers.

The people of Cirebon say that wayang kulit was created by the wali sangha (nine saints) who brought Islam to Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is, however, considerable evidence that wayang predated the arrival of Islam, and was performed at the courts of the Hindu-Javanese kings. Viewed in a certain way, both statements can be seen as correct. The shadow play, gamelan, and other Hindu-Javanese art forms were drastically altered during the era of the Muslim saints in order to conform to and help popularize the new faith. In this sense perhaps the old Hindu wayang may have been "created," or more accurately "recreated," by the wali. One of the most important cultural centers during this era was the city of Cirebon, which remains to this day a center of wayang and related Javanese arts of great antiquity.

Wayang. Likewise, even today, the sléndro-like tuning of the gender wayang is still the only tuning considered appropriate for the Balinese shadow play.

An exclusive feature of the gamelan accompaniment for wayang purwa in Cirebon is the archaic Cirebon gender. Sharing more physical similarities with the Balinese than the Central Javanese gender, the Cirebon gender possesses ten bronze keys, suspended over long bamboo tubes (bumbung), which make the instrument much taller than its present-day Central Javanese counterpart of fourteen keys. Ethnomusicologists contend that this taller gender was formerly prominent throughout most of Java.

As in the rest of Java, the sound of the gender accompanies the dalang during his suluk. In Cirebon it is usually played by women, often the dalang's wife or mother. The dalang hangs his keris (ceremonial dagger) from the side of the gender, which is thought to magically protect both him and the gender player during the wayang performance.

Another archaic aspect of the music for the Cirebon wayang kulit is the kemak. This ancient instrument, which is described in Hindu-Javanese literature as early as the twelfth century, resembles a pair of hollowed-out bananas made of bronze. Often intentionally out of tune with the other gamelan instruments, the kemak are struck one against the other in the old East Javanese manner, producing an eerie flow of haunting tones which add to the mystical atmosphere of the performance.

At the beginning of each wayang performance in Cirebon, the gamelan plays an elaborate series of long and difficult introductory pieces, or talu. In a complete version, the entire sequence includes three suites of ten pieces in all which may last up to an hour and a half. Although often played before the audience has arrived, they are considered quite important to the ritual efficacy of the wayang, and are felt by the Cirebonese to be exceptionally beautiful and magically powerful pieces. During the first suite of pieces the dalang plays the kendhang (drums), as a part of his mental and spiritual preparation for the long night of performance.

Music

Before describing some unique features of the Cirebon shadow play it would be wise to make brief mention of its musical accompaniment. The gamelan for wayang purwa is arguably the most elaborate and beautiful form of traditional music in Cirebon. It has a gentle and lyrical quality which distinguishes it from music played to accompany the various genres of Cirebon dance. Traditionally, the five-tone gamelan prawa (similar to the gamelan sléndro of Central Java) is the exclusive accompaniment for wayang purwa, and, except for some recent experiments, the seven-tone gamelan pelog is not used. This is similar to the preeminence of the sléndro gamelan accompaniment once the norm in most of Central Javanese
style to earlier forms of wayang from Java’s Hindu past. Although a more exhaustive study is beyond the scope of this article, I would like to point out several interesting iconographic details of the puppets in the Allan Thomas Collection of Cirebon puppets, now housed at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand. The Thomas Collection is made up of a rather complete set of excellently crafted wayang purwa puppets in the old Cirebon style. This set of 140 puppets was purchased in a village near Cirebon in 1973, and had not been used for some fifty years prior to that time.

Perhaps the most prominent feature of Cirebon puppets is the shape of the gelung, or headdress, of the noble male characters of the ksatriya (warrior or knight) class. Prominent examples of this type are Arjuna and Bima (figures 1 and 2, respectively). In the Central Javanese style the gelung worn by these characters extends from the back of the neck in a curl and attaches at the top of the head. In the Cirebon version, the gelung does not touch the top of the head but extends halfway up and stops in midair.

This distinctive gelung shape is one of the easiest ways to distinguish a Cirebon puppet from its Central Javanese counterpart. This design is not however exclusive to Cirebon. It is also found in other north-coast styles of Javanese wayang, as well as in the shadow puppet theatre of Bali and wayang wong (dance drama) in East Java. This same iconography is also found on wayang characters of old Javanese temple reliefs such as the fourteenth century Candi Panataran, and suggests that the Cirebon wayang may in fact preserve an older style which later died out elsewhere.

Semar And His Sons

The semi-divine clown servants, known as the panakawan, hold a prominent place in all forms of wayang. The most important of these is Semar, a revered figure in Javanese wayang and the father of the other clowns. While there are four panakawan in the Central Javanese wayang tradition, there are nine in the Cirebonese wayang (figures 3, 4, 5, and 6). These are said to represent the wali sangha, or nine saints, that played such an important role in Java’s transition from Hinduism to Islam in the fifteenth and

Figure 1. The Cirebon version of Arjuna.
Figure 2. Bima.
sixteenth centuries. Even the term “pana-kawan,” which means “clever friend” in Javanese, relates to the wali. The word “wali” also means “friend” in Arabic, implying a “friend of God” (waal'i'llah). Like the clever and sometimes naughty panakawan, the wali sanga are often portrayed in Javanese literature as intelligent but mischievous rascals. Moreover, both the clown servants and the wali are said to have a special relationship with God.

The general appearance of Semar in the Cirebon style resembles the Central Javanese counterpart, with one notable exception: the Cirebon version has a moveable jaw (figure 3). The dalang works the jaw up and down by pulling on a thin string, allowing Semar to appear to “speak.” This is similar in design to the clown servant Tualen in the Balinese wayang.

The Semar puppet is considered to be very sacred in Cirebon. It is one of two puppets that require lengthy fasting and elaborate offerings before a puppetmaker can begin carving and tooling the leather. The other puppet requiring this elaborate preparation is the gunung, or sacred mountain.

The Gunung

The gunung (or kayon) puppet is one of the most complex symbols of Javanese traditional culture. Its outline suggests the shape of a leaf, and it is filled with branches and small creatures symbolizing the cosmic “tree of life,” represented in Javanese and Balinese palace compounds by the sacred banyan tree. Its shape also suggests a mountain (gunung), another prominent cosmic symbol in mystical thought—a symbol of great power on an island where volcanos can mean life or death to the people. Thirdly, it symbolizes a gateway, not only from one portion of the palace to another, but from our world to the world of spirits. Furthermore, it may symbolize a meditation cave, a hermitage where mystics enter to contact the gods. The gunung symbolizes all these things in wayang traditions throughout Java.

There are several details however which distinguish the Cirebonese gunung puppet from the more familiar Central Javanese form (figure 7). First is the decorative base in the form of stylized rocks or wadasan, a typical decorative motif in the visual arts of Cirebon, as well as Bali. Second, is the figure of the elephant-headed god Ganésha, son of Siwa. Third, and perhaps most interesting, is the unique interpretation of these elements of the gunung as a symbol of the three religious streams which constitute the Cirebon Javanese spiritual heritage. Ganésha represents Hinduism,
the pair of winged creatures represent Islam and the *bouraq* on which Muhammad ascended to heaven on his miraculous “night journey” (*mi’raj*); and the serpent represents Buddhism and the *naga* (snake, or sea serpent) that protected the Buddha during his Enlightenment. This interpretation of the gunung is typically Cirebonese in its tolerant and all-encompassing spiritual point of view.

**Conclusion**

For someone accustomed to the wayang kulit of Central Java, Cirebonese wayang is both familiar and yet foreign. Many of the shadow puppets are strikingly different from their Central Javanese counterparts (figure 8). The shadow screen (*kelir*) and puppet chest (*kotak*) are somewhat smaller like that of the Balinese shadow play. There is also an intensity of music and action which feels closer to Bali than to Central Java.

The wayang tradition of Cirebon is centered not in the kraton (royal courts), but in the villages surrounding the town. Performances in the kraton “borrow” artists from villages well-known for excellence in wayang. As elsewhere in Java, the villagers are often more conservative than their urban counterparts—especially in the realm of the arts. In Cirebon they have rejected the introduction of gamelan pélog for wayang accompaniment, and until the last several decades would not sanction the inclusion of female vocalists (*sindhen*) in shadow play performances. They have clung to the archaic kemanak as well as the ten-keyed gender.

They have also stubbornly refused to replace the oil lamp (*dalung*) with the more practical electric bulb now widely used in other parts of Java. (It’s told that one Cirebon dalang who attempted to use an electric light was literally pelted with stones by angry villagers until he agreed to resume using a flame.) Watching the Cirebonese wayang is like stepping back into a magical realm of flame and shadow where men and gods mingle freely. Yet this is only one regional style of wayang kulit, among many, such as the old traditions of Banten, Krawang, Banyumas, Madura, Lombok and Banjar Masin. The publication of Allan Thomas’ catalogue of Cirebon wayang puppets is a good first step in exploring the rich variety of wayang styles extant in Indonesia today.

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**Figure 5.** Bagal Buntung, one of the nine Cirebon panakawan.

**Figure 6.** Sekarpandan, one of the nine Cirebon panakawan.
Notes

1. The other Cirebon form of wayang is the rod puppet theatre called wayang cepak, (lit. close) also known as wayang pepak (lit. level, even). Both names are interpreted as “flat,” and are descriptive of the low-profile carved headdresses worn by the wooden puppets who represent the Javanese and Arabic characters in the Panji, Amir Hamza, and Babad story cycles. A very similar style of headgear is worn by the puppets of wayang golek and wayang gedhog in Central Java, wayang klithik in East Java, wayang gambuh in Bali, wayang sasak in Lombok, as well as the ancient Javanese scroll wayang form known as wayang beber. The repertoire for all of these forms of wayang is drawn from local Javanese, Balinese, or Arabic stories, rather than the Indian epics. The flat back-curved headdresses distinguish these genres of wayang from the purwa types, whose up-curved gelung headdresses adorn the Hindu characters from the Indian epics the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The cepak puppets of Cirebon are easily distinguished from the wayang golek purwa of Sunda, whose rod puppets sport the high curled gelung headdresses of the Hindu purwa characters. With the exception of the Sundanese wayang golek purwa, there has been relatively little research done on any of these lesser known forms of wayang.


3. Besides the four panakawan traditionally found in Central Javanese wayang—Semar, Petruk, Gareng, and Bagong—Cirebonese wayang adds the puppets Ceblok, Bagal Buntung, Sekarpandan, Dawala, and Bitarta.

Figure 7. The Cirebon version of the gunungan or “tree of life” puppet.

Figure 8. The Cirebon version of Dewi Rekatawati.
Tarling: modern music from Cirebon

by Michael R. Wright

The modern Cirebonese ensemble, tarling, derives its name from the suling miring, a transverse flute having six finger holes plus another opening covered with a fixed, sound-adulterating membrane (similar to the Chinese ti ise after which it is probably modeled), and gitar, the Western guitar. The smallest sized tarling ensemble consists of two amplified acoustic guitars, a battery of four or more kendhang (drums), performed by one player (usually with his hands), a pesindhèn (female singer), a suling miring, and a gong. Ensembles may also include a kebluk (similar to, but pitched lower than, the Central Javanese ketuk), a kemput, a kecerek (metal plates similar to the Central Javanese keprak), and a tambourine as well as several additional singer-actors. Tarling performances are essentially dramatic in nature. Staged stories unfold through both spoken and sung dialogue between the pesindhèn and either the lead guitar player or another singer-actor.

Cirebonese folklore says that the tarling ensemble developed during the Indonesian revolution (1945-49) when the nationalist troops, who were hiding in the forests, attempted to recreate gamelan sounds using guitars. While the authenticity of this legend remains unverified, it is certain that the ensemble does not predate the revolution. Therefore, considering its brief history, the impact that the tarling ensemble has had on Cirebonese culture is startling. Today, within the metropolitan Cirebon area, tarling performances are as common as wayang kulit (shadow puppet theatre) productions. The “modernity” of this musical theatrical genre, with its melodramatic love stories and idolized celebrity performers, has captured the imagination and spirit of the newly emerging Indonesian middle class of Cirebon.

While obviously departing from the stylized wayang kulit tradition, tarling productions still retain certain traditional and spiritual elements of the former genre. First, tarling performances usually last throughout the entire evening beginning around 9:00 PM and lasting until 5:30 AM. Additionally, it is common for some form of spirit offering to be made, often a bunch of bananas or a small bundle of rice stalks. While the dramatic action of a tarling production may not always be in the form of a continuous story, the action does progress in a series of related episodes. These episodes may portray the ordeals of a hero or heroine undergoing tests of spiritual strength. Magical elements, such as consulting a dhakun or sorcerer, and ultimate—though temporary—resolution achieved by the protagonists are common dramatic elements of both wayang and tarling. Furthermore, like wayang, an evening of tarling would not be complete without some comic action and ribald quips.

Undoubtedly, part of the appeal of tarling is that it is more personal and less abstract than the wayang tradition. Furthermore, many young urban Javanese, who (perhaps mistakenly) seem to pride themselves on their modernity prefer listening to the guitar rather than gamelan.

Both the dramatic and musical aspects of tarling draw upon both traditional and contemporary sources. Episodes from the Panji cycle of stories, although seldom performed anymore by tarling ensembles, constitute the most important traditional dramatic source. More prevalent modern theatrical sources for the tarling dramas include the East Javanese ladrak, sandiwara (a contemporary Javanese-language dramatic form), and television plays as well as a considerable amount of original material. The patokan (Sundanese modal system) based lagu gamelan (gamelan compositions) constitute the traditional musical sources of tarling. Tarling performances of such music are referred to as tarling klasik (classic tarling). Tarling music also draws from modern musical genres such as newly-composed patokan based lagu (that is music not yet part of the gamelan repertoire); orke Melayu (a popular song type that supposedly came to Indonesia from the Malaysian peninsula); and kroncong (an acculturated musical tradition of song accompanied by violin, ukulele, guitar and other Western instruments). However, tarling musicians have not yet adapted rock music.

Performances of tarling are normally held outdoors on raised platforms with a covered roof, usually open in the front and back—similar to the kind of stage used for a wayang kulit performance. The front and back stage areas are at least partially divided by a flimsy partition, often times covered with advertisements, through which sound might easily pass. The kendhang, suling miring, and gong players are usually backstage while the pesindhèn, the guitar players and the various actor-singers are situated in front of the

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audience without props or scenery. Holding only a microphone in one hand, the actors exaggerate their facial expressions and sometimes dance by themselves in the Cirebonese style during their dialogue.

Because the tarling ensemble is relatively new and its practitioners are constantly experimenting with new techniques and modes of expression, it is difficult to make definitive statements about the tradition. However, since most of the performed repertoire consists of new patokan based lagu, a dramatic episode based on a composition of that genre was chosen as a representative example of the tarling style of the mid 1970s and is presented below: *Gandrung Kapilaya*, loosely translated as a “Love Story,” was created and recorded by the *Melodi Kota Udang* ensemble in 1976. ²

Of the five dramatis persona in *Gandrung Kapilaya* only the two leading characters have both sung and spoken parts—the three supporting roles are limited to spoken dialogue. Unlike the gamelan tradition, in tarling the male performers sing, often times in falsetto voice, as frequently as the pesindhen. Traditional Cirebonese poetic phrases, which constitute a major portion of the gamelan dramatic repertoire, have been incorporated within the text and are indicated in italics. Within the context of a tarling performance these phrases are linked together in a continuous story.

**Gandrung Kapilaya**

**Characters:**

Dadang: *A young girl about eighteen years old.*

Nanto: Dadang’s boyfriend.

Dadang’s father.

Dadang’s father’s neighbor (male).

Nanto’s friend (male).

Nanto: Look at the moon. I don’t think that anyone else in the world could be as happy as we are tonight.

Dadang: Shh! Don’t talk so loud. For a long time you have talked about us but you still don’t have the courage to take me from my father.

Nanto: Don’t worry, no one else can hear us. I think we could go on meeting like this forever. It gives me the strength to go on living.

Dadang: Ah, you lie! (She then sings the following lines within the period of one gongan.) Aduh, my sweetheart! I see much that is good but only bad things seem to be around me. For a long time now you have talked about our future together but it is just talk. I feel so sad. The truth flashes before my eyes. I am sad because you are not waiting for me.

Nanto: (sings for one gongan) Aduh Dadang. I too have felt sad, *empty like plain water which becomes black coffee and then must wait for sugar at midnight when we meet.* I would be like a zombie if I could not marry you. I could even live in the hole of an ant if I could live there with you.

Dadang: (speaks) You must hurry and talk to my father.

Nanto: (sings) I know that you love me but I am ashamed because I am a poor man. But only I could love you as much as I do.

Dadang: (speaks) It is the same with me.

Nanto: (sings) Yes, I know that you love me but it is so sad because you are from a rich family but I am a poor man la . . . la . . . lu . . . lu . . . etc.

Dadang: (sings) *There is a good world. Dead wood can grow living wood, hope can make them both flourish.*

Nanto: (speaks) That’s easy for you to say.

Dadang: I can say that because it’s true. I pray that we can be together. There are many nice boys but I only love you. If we are in love, take me to the hole of an ant, take me to the lair of a dragon! I could endure it with you.

Nanto: (speaks) Yes, I know but Dadang still has a father who’s wishes come before mine. I am afraid that your father will not give his permission for us to marry. (sings) *Our spirits are like twins, back to back* (mirror images). If we cannot be together then my heart will not be happy.

Dadang: (sings) *If a man owns a carriage, has four wives and lives very high but still has a longing in his heart, then he cannot be happy.* It does not matter if I am rich or poor, if I still have a longing for you and we cannot be together then I would be better off dead. Perhaps my father can understand feelings like this. (Dadang’s father comes out and sends Nanto away and scolds Dadang. The neighbor tries to assuage the father’s anger but the father dismisses him. Dadang cries and says:) If you treat me like this then you do not remember what it is like to be young. Maybe you were in love like this once yourself. (The father, unmoved by her speech, continues to chastise his daughter. Dadang sings.) I would be better off dead than alive. My soul is spread out across the sky but my father is indifferent to my suffering. He thinks that I am still a child but I am already a woman. Father does not understand. Aduh! I don’t know where I must go but my love is so strong I will always remember Nanto in my heart and I will always think about him. (Nanto’s friend brings Dadang a letter from Nanto. In the letter Nanto explains that he must go far away. Dadang sings.) Nanto, my heart wants to hug a mountain but my hands are not large enough. Aduh! I must follow you. Every wife must be with her husband but my father is indifferent. *Bitters from the mountains, salt from the sea, meet together in the cooking pot* (this proverb refers to mixed marriages). Longing makes me forget about everything. My spirit is broken, I only think about you, Nanto. I’ll become like a zombie if I can’t stay together with you. There are many stars in the sky but they cannot grow together to make a moon. I may have many boys but none of them will be good like my beloved Nanto.

While the staging and spoken dialogue of *Gandrung Kapilaya* may represent modern dramatic elements, the overall theme of the episode—disappointment in love—is perhaps the most common traditional Cirebonese literary subject. The fact that Nanto has to go “far away” reflects a modern concept in Javanese society. On the other hand, the fact that
Dadang remains with her father represents the conservative element of the story.

Primarily for the benefit of those familiar with West Javanese and Sundanese performance practices, I will now examine the structural and modal features of *Gandrung Kapilayu*.

While the kendhang, the various colotomic instruments, the voice, and the suling miring essentially play in a traditional gamelan style within the tarling ensemble, the role of the guitar in the ensemble differs markedly. The lead guitar rather freely imitates a solo *seronjigambang* style. The second guitar may play either the *panerus* (a multi-octave low-pitched saron) or *kenyang* (C: bonang *panerus*) melodic patterns. Thus, the guitars represent the fixed-pitch melody instruments within the tarling ensemble.

One gongan of *Gandrung Kapilayu* with lead guitar, suling miring and voice parts is shown is Figure 1. The guitars play only in the pentatonic pèlog-like scale, C, D, E-flat, G, A-flat. For purposes of analysis, these might be considered to represent the pèlog gamelan tones 7, 6, 5, 3, 2, respectively.

In depicting a patokan-based lagu, only the kenong and jenglong (bass kenong) tones are represented in cipher notation. All of the other melodic parts can be improvised according to the structure. However, since the tarling ensemble does not have kenong or jenglong sound kettles, the various patokan tones normally played by these instruments are represented by sustained pitches in the guitar part sounding on the downbeats of each measure. Thus, the patokan structure of *Gandrung Kapilayu* is as shown in Figure 2.

In Figure 3 this “new” lagu, given in both cipher and modal notation, is shown to be a slightly irregular realization of the traditional Sundanese patokan formula *Pangling*, (I_G–IV_C–II_C) on pitch level six wherein pitch 6 (D) is modal degree I. The irregular features of this patokan structure include: the consistent placement of strong modal degrees (the “strong” modal degrees are always I, II & IV; I is a fifth above IV which is a fifth above II) in weak patokan positions (1st, 3rd, 5th, etc.) of a gongan; conversely, the positioning of weak modal tones (ii and v) in strong patokan positions (2nd, 4th, etc.; the lack of patokan positions (represented by a blank in Figure 3) in the seventh and fifteenth positions of each gongan; the anticipation of the various cawelan (the kenong pitch midway between two gong strokes); and finally, gong pitches within the patokan structure itself.

However, most of these irregularities are found, to some degree, within the traditional gamelan repertoire.

Generally, after sustaining the patokan tones for a minimum of two beats in each measure, the lead guitar plays cadential melodic figures in eighth and quarter note rhythms that culminate on the subsequent downbeats (patokan tones). The guitar frequently shifts octaves within a phrase—a practice that is well within the idiomatic style of that instrument. The guitar rhythms tend to be quadratic triplet figures rare in saron playing (but common in gambang playing). While the voice and, to a lesser extent, the suling miring may intermittently stop during a performance, the guitar player continues to repeat the patokan cycle, preferably with variations, until the dramatic episode has been played out.

The suling miring and vocal parts are essentially identical to their analogous roles in traditional gamelan. Typical embellishments such as grace notes, sustained and slow vibratos, upper mordants (measure 1), portamentos (such as in the voice part of measure 11), and phrases that terminate on quick ascending portamentos appear in each part. Additionally, a technique similar to sprechstimme is found in the vocal part in measure 3. The vocalist notated is a male performer, accounting for the tenor tessitura of that part.

Consistent with conventional gamelan practice the singers and suling miring parts either fall silent or sound in unison or octaves with the guitar on the downbeats of those measures that emphasize strong modal degrees (i.e., pitches C, D, G). Subsequently, these voices would either sound a vocal dissonance (i.e., sound or sustain a tone other than the guitar pitch) or remain tacet on the other, modally weak downbeats.

The singers generally follow these rules although there are a few exceptions in the vocal part in respect to traditional pèlog gamelan vocal practice; for example, the singer may continue singing throughout the first quarter of the gongan. Occasionally the vocalist uses pitches F(4) and B-flat (I) as *sorogan* (exchange) tones for pitches C and G, respectively, but this practice is well within the pèlog vocal tradition. The singer’s use of the pitch E in measure 9, however, introduces

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<td>II - iii - II - v - II - iii - _ - II_C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 2 7 5 3 2 _3_C</td>
<td>II - iii - II - v - IV - iii - _ - IV_C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 2 6 5 6 2 _6_C</td>
<td>I - iii - I - v - I - iii - _ - I_G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. The patokan structure of "Gandrung Kapilayu."

Figure 3. Cipher and modal notation of the patokan structure of "Gandrung Kapilayu."

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a “vocal tone” (i.e., a tone that is not within the predominant pêlog surupan) thereby temporarily suggesting a quasi-slêndro vocal style that is more “chromatic” than conventional pêlog vocal practice.

The suling miring part in Figure 1 is even more suggestive of the chromatic slêndro style. The vocal surupan D, C-flat, B-flat, G, E-flat, i.e., a pentatonic scale that differs from the established instrumental surupan D, C, B-flat, A-flat, E-flat in which pitches C-flat and B-flat are sorgen for the pitches C and A-flat, respectively, appears in the suling part in measures 1, 4, and 5. The B-natural in the measure 9 of the suling miring part appears to be a chromatic passing tone. Like the voice, the suling part employs F as a substitute for either G (as in measure 14) or E-flat (as in measures 8 and 9). However, the scale pattern G, F, E-flat, D, C (measures 7 and 13) does occur in the suling miring part. Note that this scale, (3, 4, 5, 6, 7) is in contradiction to the usual pêlog surupan practice (wherein only two of the three pitches 3, 4, and 5 appear within the same phrase). Strong “vocal” dissonances appear in the suling miring part on the downbeats of measures 9 and 13. In both instances, these dissonances are the results of delayed resolutions of the suling miring phrases. Resolutions to the desired patokan tones (pitch C in both instances) occur later in measure 9 and 13. Such delayed resolutions are not a common feature of the Cirebonese gamelan tradition although they are commonly found in Central Javanese vocal and suling practices.

The reader is cautioned against inferring harmonic connotations from the tarling music. The individual parts are conceived linearly and whatever perceived harmonies that may result are purely coincidental. It does not seem that tarling musicians are interested in exploiting either the harmonic possibilities of their instruments or the potential of the guitar to affect modulations (other than changes of vocal surupan) within a given composition.

While purists may decry the fact that the tarling ensemble is rapidly usurping the popularity and functions of traditional gamelan and wayang traditions in the Cirebon region, they should remember that the tarling ensemble is, in no small way, a modified extension of those traditions. Furthermore, tarling performers are generally very accomplished, creative musicians who in many instances are forging new forms from old while preserving the artistic integrity of the suling miring and vocal styles. Finally, whereas both the Central Javanese and Sundanese have modified their respective gamelan traditions in order to reflect modern values and tastes, in Cirebon, it is the tarling ensemble that appeals to contemporary standards while the gamelan tradition has continued to be representative of established values and practices.

In writing about the gradual decline of the wayang kulit tradition in his monograph The Mythology and Tolerance of the Javanese, Benedict Anderson observed:

“Autumn is in the air...[and] on the tree of Javanese culture the leaves are dropping one by one. The question now is whether the roots will nourish fresh leaves and flowers for a new spring-time.”

It seems that tarling is indeed a fresh flower of the new Indonesian springtime.

Notes
1. This article is based upon dissertation research undertaken in the Cirebon region of West Java during the summer months of 1974 and 1976; therefore, some observations concerning this rapidly changing tradition may no longer apply.
2. A recording of the performance of Gandhurung Kapilayu is included on the tape “A Composite of Tarling Excerpts” in the Wright Collection. Copies are available from the University of California at Los Angeles Ethnomusicology Archives, Archives Number 77.1-35.
3. Since the tarling ensemble does indeed perform in the Western equal-tempered tuning system, and the tuning of the guitars is essentially standard (although a semitone flat) traditional Western music notation was employed in Figure 1. The voice and guitar parts are notated in the treble clef, sounding one octave lower than written, while the suling miring part sounds one octave higher than written.
4. The reader is cautioned that, unlike Central Javanese cipher notation, the West Javanese and Sundanese build scales from high pitch 1 to low pitch 7.
Coast
by David Mahler

Coast, for gamelan, consists of three contrasting sections, each of which is a different treatment of the same single-page cipher score.

Section 1A
Tempo, one pulse = circa 200.
Only bonang, bonang panerus, kenong and kethuk play. Beats where numbers occur are treated as rests. When the players encounter an actual rest (-) in the score, they should sound pitch 6 on that beat where the rest occurs. The notes should be played loudly, vigorously, and each note should be played with a damped stroke and not allowed to sustain. Bonang may double at the octave (gembang). The first note sounded would be on the eighth beat of the third line; the next note would sound on the second beat of the fifth line, and so on. For example:

-6- -6-
---- ----
----- ----
---- 6
----- ----
-6-- ---- etc.

Section 1B
In this section, each number in the score corresponds to a pitch played in unison on the peking, saron, demung, and slenthem. In addition, each number also represents the duration of that pitch, that is, the number of pulses which that pitch lasts. If these durations were noted out as pulses, the score would appear as follows:

2-6----15----7------5------13-- etc.

Dynamics should be fairly loud and the saron instruments should dampen previously sounded notes in the conventional way to create a legato effect.

In addition to the above procedure, the bonang, kenong, and kethuk repeat their procedure from section 1A. In other words, when a rest occurs, these instruments will sound their damp stroke on pitch 6. The result is that when the saron instruments are resting the other instruments will be playing. In the last line of this section, the bonang, bonang panerus, kenong, and kethuk decrescendo and also ritard. to approximately 100-120. They should continue playing through the first six pulses of Section 2, continuing to decrescendo as they do, thereby effecting a smooth transition into this new section, while also establishing the new tempo.

Section 2
Tempo, one pulse = 100-120.
In this section, each consecutive pitch in the score is pulsed evenly four times, with entrances staggered in the following manner in order to create a canon effect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>peking 1</td>
<td>2222666111155557777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peking 2</td>
<td>2222666111155557777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saron 1</td>
<td>2222666111155557777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saron 2</td>
<td>2222666111155557777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demung 1</td>
<td>2222666111155557777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demung 2</td>
<td>2222666111155557777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slenthem</td>
<td>2222666111155557777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kempul</td>
<td>2 6 1 5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b., b.p., ken., ket.</td>
<td>6666666 tacet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continue through the whole score in the above manner, carefully observing the rests, which also receive four counts each. Play softly and without damping. (Use soft mallets so that the attacks are minimized.) In addition to the above procedure, the bonang barung and bonang panerus silently follow the slenthem and demung 2 parts, respectively. In following these parts, they will occasionally encounter a number that is enclosed by a circle or a triangle, or sometimes both. These symbols indicate that the bonang barung (circle) or bonang panerus (triangle) should effect a rapid roll on that note, which is then continued for twenty pulses or until a new circled pitch is encountered, whichever comes first. When not rolling, the bonang are silent. When rolling, the dynamic level of the bonang should rise subtly to a level just above that of the rest of the gamelan, so as to provide a reinforcing of these other parts.

Section 3
Tempo, one pulse = 35-45.
After the last pitch of section 2 is sounded, a designated leader conducts the entrance to the next section, establishing the new tempo. Saron 2, demung 1 & 2, bonang barung and bonang panerus play the notes of the score just

David Mahler is a composer living in Seattle, Washington.
as written. They should play in a manner that is stately, full, and resonant. The regular mallets should be used (not the softer mallets of section two) and the notes should not be damped at all. Gong plays pitch 6 and kempul plays both pitch 6 and pitch 3 on the first beat of each line. On the fifth beat of each line the kempul and slenthem play both pitches 3 and 7 in unison. These unison pitches from gong, kempul and slenthem should be played at a moderate volume.

In addition, peking 1 & 2, saron 1, and slenthem should sound the last pitch in each line. They should double at the octave where possible (each player using two mallets), and each of these notes should be played very loudly by all players and allowed to sustain as long as possible through the following beats.

Beginning with the ninth line from the end, the kempul and gong should play the first pitch of each line as usual. Then, after the note is struck, a common pencil, well-sharpened, should be held so that it just touches the vibrating gong or kempul. It should be held loosely, so that the vibrating of the instrument causes the pencil to bounce up and down rapidly, thereby creating a buzzing sound. Other possibilities besides the pencil may be explored, such as a metal rod, small bells, or what have you. However, the effect should always be subtle and its rhythm reflect the true vibration of the instrument. Please note that once the kempul has begun to implement the buzzing effect, it should not attempt to play on the fifth beat of the line. Rather, it should play only on the first beat of the line, leaving the fifth beat to the slenthem.

*Coast* was written for the aluminum-style American gamelan, with key-gongs and kempul. However it may be adapted to any type of gamelan. The tuning used for performing the piece combines pitches from *sléndro* and *pålog* into one set in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tuning</th>
<th>p1</th>
<th>s2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>s5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>p7</th>
<th>s1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>score equivalent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approx. ratio</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>16/15</td>
<td>6/5</td>
<td>7/5</td>
<td>8/5</td>
<td>9/5</td>
<td>28/15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extended range of the instruments, above or below the octave given above, may be used when appropriate (i.e. the doubling of notes at the octave). Traditional gamelan practices have been adhered to in this piece only in the most general sense, and only when doing so is of help to the players. There is no attempt here to recreate the coincidental counterpoint so prevalent in traditional Javanese gamelan music. Rather, *Coast* is concerned with time, resonance, and the sonorous ringing qualities of the gamelan. Color and specialized ensemble techniques are two additional matters of interest in this music.

The word “coast” is, of course, both a verb and a noun. Without belaboring the point and thereby inviting a listening which seeks a literal link between title and music (“Oh yes, I can hear the waves crashing over the beach!”), I nonetheless attempted here to create a music which “idles” through much of the piece, and I do intend this music to conjure up something of the breadth and mystery of the Western America Pacific Coast, a region which has generated such a revolutionary interest in the musics of non-Western cultures.

This piece was commissioned by Gamelan Pacifica in Seattle as part of a consortium with the Berkeley Gamelan, Gamelan Son of Lion, and Gamelan Si Betty. I am grateful to Paul Dresher and the members of Gamelan Pacifica for their care and interest in working through this music with me. For a composer to work with an ensemble during the formulation of a piece of music (as opposed to simply turning over a finished product) seems to me the most logical and healthy way in which new music may be generated.
Weraspati Gong, Sweden

by Peter Hogenäs

My first contact with gamelan music was on Bali in April, 1984. I returned to Sweden completely filled with the impressions of long nights of gamelan at the temple festivals. I was searching for an outlet for my inspiration when, at a concert in Gothenburg, I was confronted with a Swedish group playing Indonesian music. The leader of the group was Pentti Niemi, and since our first meeting then I have played with him in a few different groups.

Pentti’s first group playing Indonesian music was formed at the music college in Fränkis in northern Sweden. At that time the group played gamelan gong music on Orff instruments. In 1983-1984 he formed a group consisting of Gothenburg jazz musicians who played Sundanese music on European instruments. The next group—that’s when I joined—was a small Javanese gamelan purchased from a group from Bandung that toured Sweden in 1985. Carolin Stockfeldt, who had studied Javanese culture at Cornell University, taught us to play on the Bandung instruments.

The current group has been playing for about a year on a gamelan angklung that Pentti brought back from Bali in the Spring of 1987. The name of the group, Weraspati Gong or Thursday in Balinese, was chosen so we wouldn’t forget our rehearsal night. Our gamelan has only a single set of instruments, so with two gender, jegogan, kendhang, gong, ceng-ceng and an occasional suling we need about eight players. Weraspati Gong consists mainly of musicians and music teachers from Gothenburg.

The first time we played in public was at a Christmas party of the Indonesian club of Gothenburg. Since the music was appreciated by native Indonesians, we became encouraged to present it to a Swedish audience. As far as we know we are the only active gamelan group in Sweden, so for most of our audiences it has been a totally new experience. The music has been well received though, and many have been curious to know more about Bali and its music and culture. During this Winter and Spring we have had about seven concerts. We have played at a folk music festival in Gothenburg and in December we arranged a “Balinese cultural afternoon” at Backa Culture Center. In Backa, a Gothenburg suburb, we also performed with two

Left to right: Jan Weeis, Michsel Andersson, Johan Hogenäs, Inger Olevik, Pentti Niemi, Magnus Lindstrom, Peter Hogenäs.
Indonesian dancers, Hanni Kallberg from Bali, who has lived in Sweden for ten years, and Metty Sri Suriyanti, who came to Sweden from Bandung, Java about a year ago. Metty is a professional dancer and is familiar with Sundanese, Javanese and Balinese dancing traditions. The audience was also treated with Hannis’ delicious Balinese cooking and a slide show that Penti had produced.

In purchasing the gamelan Penti was helped by I Made Sija from Bona village. I Made Sija, whom Penti knew from previous visits, together with some friends, also made a few tape recordings to give us a first repertoire. Back in Sweden, Per Arvidsson took the music down on paper from which we have been rehearsing. Penti has also been corresponding with Han Kuo-Huang at Northern Illinois University and has received some angklung pieces from him. Learning the music from paper has of course been a compromise, but by now we have learned a lot of our repertoire by ear.

I Made Sija was in Sweden in November 1987. Unfortunately, we only rehearsed with him for a few hours. It was a great inspiration and brought new life into our music, which at that time had tended to get rather academic—probably partly due to the notation, but also because of the great difficulties we have encountered in trying to use a cultural/musical language that is so new to us. I Made Sija helped us to get past a point of stagnation. Penti is going back to Bali this summer, hopefully coming home with enough inspiration to get us past our next hurdle.

Simultaneously, we also have a group, Taman Ajun, which has put together a musical tale, mainly for preschool children. Penti as Hanuman, Hanni as the princes Sita, Jesper Lundhal and Johan Hogenäs alternating as Celuluk, and myself as prince Rama both act and play on the angklung instruments. Hanni, of course, dances. Up until now we have done fifteen to twenty performances in the Gothenburg area, and we have had very good response from the children. They are also very enthusiastic to try the instruments and the group of potential gamelan enthusiasts in Sweden is growing!

The Hawaii Loa College gamelan ensemble

by Richard North

Of the more than one hundred gamelan groups in the United States today, few have ever focused on the Javanese musical traditions of Cirebon. In the 1970s the Central Javanese gamelan group at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York performed Cirebon dance pieces at the instigation of the ethnomusicologist Michael Wright (who had conducted his doctoral dissertation research on the music of Cirebon) and the noted gamelan teacher, dancer, and author Endo Suanda. Meanwhile, in Berkeley, California, Pamela Rogers-Agustin, a teacher and performer of the topeng (masked dance) tradition of Cirebon, established a gamelan that actively performed the repertoire of the village style masked dance tradition of Cirebon under the direction of Sundanese master musician Pak Undang Sumarno. Today, however, neither gamelan performs Cirebonese music.

Elsewhere in the United States, other gamelan perform pieces from the Cirebon repertoire from time to time. The gamelan at the University of California at Santa Cruz, under the direction of Pak Undang, concentrates upon the Sundanese gamelan repertoire, but occasionally performs the Javanese topeng dances of the villages around Cirebon. In Seattle, Washington, Pak Endo teaches the village topeng music to students at the University of Washington. In addition, he has begun teaching Cirebon repertory to Gamelan Pacifica, the resident ensemble at the Cornish College of the Arts under the direction of Jarrad Powell. However, as far as I know, the only gamelan in the United States focusing on Cirebonese music and dance is in the middle of the Pacific—at Hawaii Loa College in Kane‘ohe on the island of O‘ahu in Hawaii.

A private, four-year liberal arts college nestled against the breath-taking green cliffs of the Ko‘olau mountains, Hawaii Loa College has a special focus on the cultures of Asia and the Pacific. Students from Samoa, Tonga, Ponape, Guam, Truk, and Tahiti mingle with others from Japan, China, Korea, the Philippines,
Thailand, and Indonesia as well as the students from Hawaii and the continental United States. This truly international student community is a microcosm of the increasingly dynamic Pacific Rim region, an area in which Indonesia holds a prominent position both politically and culturally.

In 1982, after having studied, performed, and taught gamelan music on the mainland United States and in Indonesia for ten years, my wife Maggie and I moved to Hawaii with our Cirebonese gamelan. Due to the kind efforts of the highly respected University of Hawaii gamelan director, Bpk. Hardja Susilo (See interview, Balungan 1(1): 5-8) a Cirebon gamelan was established at Hawaii Loa College in November of that year.

The instruments, an iron set of the type known in Cirebon as gamelan prawa, were commissioned from a gamelan maker in the Cirebon region in 1978 with the assistance of the gamelan teacher, Pak Sukra. It was Pak Sukra who bestowed the honorific name Budi Daya upon the gamelan—loosely translated as “the power of enlightenment” or “virtuous work.” Our gamelan Cirebon can accommodate fifteen musicians compared to eight in a typical gamelan Sunda and upwards of twenty in some Central Javanese gamelan. The tuning is similar to that of the gamelan sléndro of Central Java and the gamelan saléndro of Sunda, although much higher in range. The instruments themselves are considerably smaller in number and in actual size compared to their Central Javanese counterparts.

The Gamelan program at Hawaii Loa College was initiated by a one month intensive session that provided the core group of the ensemble, some of whom are still playing today. New members have been added from both community gamelan classes as well as from credit courses offered through the regular college curriculum. The international make-up of the group, some not native English speakers, has encouraged a traditional rote teaching approach—that is learning by following and imitating, with a minimum of verbal explanation. Cipher notation is used sparingly, and students are encouraged to play without notation quickly in order to develop the memorization and listening skills which Javanese music requires. Moreover, this cultivates flexibility in performance and encourages a real ensemble feeling among the members that allows them to respond simultaneously to changes and signals from any instrument in the gamelan.

Shortly after its inception, the gamelan was designated the “official college orchestra” by the president of Hawaii Loa College. As a symbol of the institution’s emphasis on the culture of Asia and the Pacific, the ensemble performs at official college functions such as commencement, awards banquets and receptions for visiting dignitaries, in addition to formal concerts of classical Cirebonese music and dance. The group also performs off campus at both public and private events, as well as occasional joint concerts with the University of Hawaii gamelan under the direction of Pak Susilo. There are very warm relations between the two gamelan ensembles, and a number of musicians are members of both groups.

In the summer of 1986 the Hawaii Loa College gamelan program received a tremendous gift from the mainland United States. Through the kindness and personal generosity of the famous American composer and gamelan enthusiast Lou Harrison we received a second gamelan, this one tuned to the pèlag scale. In addition to the Cirebon pèlog repertoire, the new gamelan was designed to be able to play the lively rèntèng village music as well as the gentle dènggung music of the Cirebon palaces. Special palace music taught to me by the arts director of the kraton Kacerbonan, Elang Yusuf Dendabratara, also became part of our repertoire with the arrival of the new instruments. With a little rearrangement we could also play pieces from the lyrical Sundanese degung repertoire on the new instruments. After a traditional Hawaiian blessing, a selamatan feast was held celebrating the safe arrival of the new instruments. During the festivities, Bapak Susilo bestowed the name Sekar Parahyangan on the gamelan. Among the many interpretations of this name are “The song of West Java” and “Flower of Heaven.”

Throughout its activities at Hawaii Loa, the gamelan has kept in close touch with Indonesia, sending photos, program notes and concert recordings back to our teachers for comments and suggestions. In return we have received letters of commendation from the West Java Cultural Office, the kraton Kacerbonan in Cirebon and the Jakarta government recognizing the Hawaii Loa College gamelan as the only group in the United States presenting classical Javanese music in the Cirebon court tradition.

Several of our members have visited the kraton in Cirebon, and more study trips are planned. There is also a tentative plan to bring Elang Yusuf Dendabratara, to Hawaii Loa College to teach for a semester. He is a teacher of rare ability. As well as being the director of gamelan and dance at the palace, he is also accomplished in the arts of wood-carving, glass painting and batik in the Cirebon style—in addition to being a performing dalang of wayang kultí. One of his specialities is the sacred bedhaya dance of the Cirebon kraton, known as rimbe. He has agreed to come as soon as logistical details are worked out. It would be a great honor to have a teacher of Elang Yusuf’s caliber at Hawaii Loa College.

In this short work, Tan introduces ko-tai, a relatively new form of theatrical entertainment popular among Malaysia's urban, working class Chinese community. Literally "song-stage," ko-tai has developed since the 1960s from an all night performance of popular songs held in amusement parks to a shorter, modern stage show associated with religious festivities and comprising popular songs, comic sketches, and instrumental interludes. Although secular in content, ko-tai performances are now held two or three nights after the traditional operas still presented during religious festivals and use the same temporary stage equipment. The association of ko-tai with religious events has proved mutually beneficial: ko-tai has found a more salubrious venue and the religious festivals have become more accessible to a younger generation.

Comic sketches, lasting from fifteen to thirty minutes each, are the main attractions in ko-tai performances. These sketches are essentially improvisatory in nature and deal with issues important to the audience such as urban and social problems, generational conflicts, and class differences. While exhorting values such as industriousness, education, respect for one's elders, and at the same time rejecting crime and gambling, the comic sketches serve to highlight the problems of the young, the lower class, and the poor. In effect, they provide an outlet for the younger generation to laugh away their tensions and frustrations. Wider social problems—such as corruption and the tensions between Chinese and other Malaysian ethnic groups—are also addressed. In this respect ko-tai is rather similar to the Indonesian popular drama ladrak (see James Peacock, Rites of Modernization, University of Chicago Press, 1968), helping the old and young alike to understand and deal with the problems of modern urban life.

Although only an introduction to the genre, Tan's study is pithy in the extreme, leaving me wanting to know more detail about the many aspects of ko-tai, especially its musical sections. The balance of the book is rather uneven—twenty-eight pages of text followed by forty pages of appendices—but this may be a characteristic of the series in which it is published. The three appendices—a transcription of the text of an entire comic sketch, a calendar of performances in Penang during 1980, and personal statistics of the members of one troupe—may be interesting (and even entertaining, as in the case of the first), but tell us little that has not already been discussed in the text. As an introduction to the little-known traditions of the Chinese community in Malaysia, this study is long overdue. I hope, however, that it will be followed by a longer, more comprehensive study.

Margaret Sarkissian
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign


Lou Harrison's importance to the "American gamelan" movement is immeasurable; his heartfelt advocacy of just intonation; his experiments along with Bill Colvig in instrument building; and the consummate example he has provided to a generation of composers on the West coast of the United States in his incorporation of gamelan into the oeuvre of the Western musical mainstream is unparalleled. His former students are legion; his musical progeny evident in gamelan groups not only on the West coast of the United States but throughout North America. So, it is no small event indeed when a new recording of gamelan compositions by Harrison appears—an event made all the more momentous when, to the best of my knowledge, it is also the first recording of any of his gamelan compositions on compact disc.

La Koro Sutro consists of three major pieces, each in Harrison's own distinctive form of short movements in contrasting styles. Two of the pieces, the Suite for Violin and American Gamelan, and the title track, La Koro Sutro, are written for a traditional complement of gamelan instruments with the addition of Western instruments while
the remaining composition for Western instruments displays the strong mixture of cross-cultural elements that characterizes all of Harrison’s work.

*La Koro Sutro*, for one hundred voice choir, aluminum gamelan, organ and harp is an eight movement work based upon an Esperanto translation of the Buddhist *Heart Sutra,* originally written for an international gathering of Esperantists in San Francisco in 1972 (Harrison has long been a vocal advocate of Esperanto). The interplay of the choir (featured prominently throughout) and gamelan borrows more from Western historic musical practices than the traditional relationship between the *gerong* and gamelan in Javanese practice. The work’s eight short “strofo” explore a range of dynamics from the semi-liturgical monody and antiphonal elements of “Strofo 5” to the exuberant percussive style of “Strofo 6.”

The second piece, *Varied Trio,* written for violinist David Abel, pianist Julie Steinberg, and percussionist William Winant, composed in 1986, is a five movement work that at times, for me, recalls Harrison’s much earlier *Concerto in Slendro* in mood and form. The opening interplay of piano and percussion in “Cending” sets up a mood and quadratic form reminiscent of Central Javanese gamelan and provides the ground for Harrison’s mellifluous violin passages. Both the wonderful “Rondeau in Honor of Fragonard,” and the final movement, “Dance,” feature Harrison’s resplendent string writing. The former is appropriately expressive in similar manner to Fragonard’s use of color, and the latter, an up-tempo counterpoint between violin and piano with tambourine and drum accompaniment. “Elegy,” for violin and piano, is decidedly less tonal than the other movements, and allows Harrison, ever the melodist, the expressive range befitting his rubato violin passages.

The final piece on the recording, *Suite for Violin and American Gamelan* is a six movement work, cooperatively composed with Richard Dee, that was commissioned by the San Francisco Chamber Music Society and first performed in 1973. In their most abstract forms, the concerto and suite have always fascinated Harrison. From the aforementioned *Concerto in Slendro* to the more recent series of pieces for combinations of solo or duo Western instruments with gamelan (for French horn, trombone, saxophone, violin and cello, and piano) Harrison has paired the solo expressive voice with gamelan (or its functional equivalent) more than others. Likewise, his trademark use of a suite of smaller “classical” or often dance forms as movements of larger works ranging from small chamber compositions to his symphonies appears as readily in his compositions for gamelan. *Suite for Violin and American Gamelan* is pivotal in this regard in that it represents the first of his works for gamelan to embody both devices. From the idiomatic double-stop passages of the “First Movement” and the upbeat “Estampie” to the melodious violin passages with ostinato gamelan accompaniment of the “Air,” Harrison employs the “suite” as a device to explore the soloistic range of the instrument. Only in the final “Chaconne” is the foreground-background relationship of the violin to gamelan somewhat mitigated in melodic counterpoint.

The recording quality for all three pieces is excellent; the original analog recordings have been digitally mastered for transfer to compact disc. More importantly, the recording allows the extreme bass tones of the gamelan to ring true without the usual low end distortion and coloration found on analog gamelan recordings. The sound is transparent and the dynamic range a delight, especially on the title piece.

*La Koro Sutro* is graced with the distinctive art work of Mark Bulwinkle, and the accompanying text and graphics are handsomely designed. New Albion Records, the small San Francisco based label that produced the recording, continues to maintain its high standards of artistic integrity and production values, and, with more than seventy-two minutes of music packed onto a single disc, it is certainly the most extensive recording of Harrison’s gamelan-inspired music yet released.

*Kent Devereaux*

*School of the Art Institute of Chicago*
NETWORK

Australia

Inside Indonesia: Bulletin of the Indonesia Resources and Information Programme (IRIP) is a quarterly magazine on contemporary Indonesian politics, society and culture. For more information write to Inside Indonesia, P.O. Box 190 Northcote, Victoria 3070, Australia.

The Music Department of Monash University has announced the establishment of the Sumatran Music Archives, a research archives of materials on the music and culture of Sumatra. Made up primarily of Dr. Margaret Kartomi’s extensive field documentation collected over a period of seventeen years, the materials include tapes, cassettes, color transparencies, photographs, maps, books, articles, pamphlets, programs, and musical instruments. The geographical regions and cultures include from North Sumatra: Aceh, Batak, Nias, and both West and East coast Malay music and cultural forms; from West Sumatra: talempong, gong-chime music, and randai theater; and from throughout Sumatra; Muslim music and cultural practices, Malay genres and forms, and shamanistic rituals. Materials from other parts of Indonesia and Southeast Asia are also included. The Sumatran Music Archives is organized and maintained by Aline Scott-Maxwell, who is currently compiling a detailed catalog for publication.

Great Britain

York University announces the annual conference of the International Council for Traditional Music (United Kingdom chapter) March 30–April 2, 1989. Among the themes commemorating the centenary of the 1889 Paris Exhibition will be the growing interest in Indonesian music and gamelan in Great Britain. Further details may be obtained from Annette Sanger, ICTM Conference Organizer, Department of Social Anthropology, Queen’s University, Belfast BT71NN.


Indonesia

The 4th annual Society for Balinese Studies/Lembaga Bali PP Conference will be held July 28-31, 1989 at the Wisma Pusat Dokumentasi, Denpasar, Bali. Papers will be presented in both English and Indonesian, and the conference is open to anyone interested in Balinese culture. Last year’s conference included papers by Prof. Dr. R. Moerdowo, Drs. I Gusti Ngurah Rai Mirsha, David Stuart Fox, Judy Slattum, Dr. H.L.R. Hinzl, Dr. I Gusti Putu Panteri, and was concluded with a performance of new compositions by Komang Asitita and Suryatini, presented by Dr. I Made Bandem.

Japan

Min-on: Minshu Ongaku Kyokai (Democratic Music Foundation) has produced a series of music and dance programs, called “A Musical Voyage Along the Marine Road” that alternate Japanese ensembles with performers from other countries. The first was shared with the Royal Thai Dance Company, the second with the Malaysian National Folk Dance Company, and the third, which toured October and November, 1988, was a group of musicians and dancers from Indonesia. Min-On is supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Agency for Cultural Affairs. The Indonesian concerts were also supported with assistance from the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia. See Programs for pieces performed.

United States


Fredrik E. deBoer, continues to do an outstanding job at keeping Balinists informed of current developments by editing and publishing his fine Bali Arts and Culture Newsletter. The newsletter lists recent publications, upcoming conferences and ongoing research concerning the island of Bali as well as keep readers abreast of the current whereabouts of each other. If you are interested in receiving the newsletter write to Bali Arts and Culture Newsletter, Theatre Department, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT 06457.

The University of California at Santa Cruz (UCSC) gamelan presented a performance of wayang cepak with Kathy Foley and topeng with Endo Suanda on November 16, 1988. The performance followed a seminar on puppets, masks and performing objects on November 13th at UCSC in which Foley, Suanda, Ben Suharto of the University of California at Los Angeles, and Brad Clark and Michael Schuster of UCSC gave presentations. As guests of the Indonesian government, the UCSC gamelan troupe also toured West Java for a week of performances after presenting wayang gedé̱k rod puppet theatre at the quadrennial wayang festival in Jakarta on July 17, 1988. Marc Hoffman of the University of Hawaii and Larry Reed of San Francisco also gave performances of, respectively, Central Javanese and Balinese wayang kulit.

The Association for Asian Performance is a new associate organization of the Association of Theatre in
Higher Education dedicated to the fostering of Asian performing arts in all their forms. A regular $36 membership includes a subscription to *Asian Theatre Journal*, the scholarly journal of the organization, as well as the semi-annual newsletter. A student membership rate of $17 is also available. For further information about the organization contact Carol Sorgenfrei, Secretary-Treasurer, Department of Theatre, University of California at Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

Dr. Frances H. Harwood writes from the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado, that a Balinese gong kebyar *Pusparwara*, built by Pak Gableran is now in residence at the school. Classes in Balinese dance and music are offered throughout the year with Balinese master teachers. Last summer, I Nyoman Sumandhi and his wife Putu taught dance and gamelan, and presented the gala performance of *pendet*, *baris*, *topeng* and *wayang kulit*. The Naropa Institute also offers a twelve week semester in Ubud, Bali in the Spring of each year. For more information on the Institute or its Study Abroad Program, write to Admissions, The Naropa Institute, 2130 Arapahoe Ave, Boulder, CO 80302.

Peter Carellick, recently returned from Indonesia, is offering for sale a 20-piece iron pelog gamelan made by Pak Trimanto in Yogyakarta (without cases or stands). He also wishes to sell 22 Yogya-style players’ costumes: batik kain, shirts, and hats. Interested parties should contact Peter at 6119 San Vicente Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90048, phone (213) 938-8968.

Endo Suanda reports that the Boeing Chatauqa Festival, as a part of the Washington Centennial Commission Celebration, will be bringing over a group of sixteen musicians and dancers from West Java for performances at the Festival this coming September. The group will consist of two distinct, yet compatible ensembles: the *Giri Harja III* wayang golek troupe with Asep Sunandar Sunarya as dalang and the *Pusibitari* dance ensemble featuring Irawati Durban Ardjo. After performances at the Boeing Chatauqa Festival from September 11 to 24 the two groups will also be available for touring. Anyone interested in booking either ensemble should contact Endo Suanda at 337 17th Ave. E., Seattle, WA 98112.

ARCHIVES

We are pleased to announce that the Archives now has permission to distribute materials from Gamelan Son of Lion, one of the oldest and best-known American gamelan. Son of Lion’s distinctive esthetic is well-represented in two collections of scores with the overall title *Process Composition for the Gamelan*. The first, *Convergences and Permutations* ($8), contains six scores by composer/players David Demnitz, Jon Child, Daniel Goode, Philip Corner, and Barbara Benary. Volume two, *Randomness, Exhaustiveness & Arithmetic Processes* ($10), contains twelve scores by Benary, Corner, Demnitz, Goode, Nick Didkovsky, Peter Griggs, Laura Liben, and David Simons.

Two cassettes, *Barbara Benary: Pieces for Gamelan Son of Lion* [T.Ben01] and *Gamelan Son of Lion: New Music* [T.Son01], are also available at $10 each.

Listed below are items received since the last issue. The Archives has permission to distribute those items marked with an asterisk. Fees charged only partly cover the costs involved in copying, mailing, and maintaining the Archives collection. A portion of the fee for scores goes to the composer.

- Cassettes: $7 each
- Selected quality cassettes: $8 each
- Monographs: $5 per fifty pages or fraction thereof
- Scores: $5 each
- Score collections: priced individually
- Videotapes: $25 each
- plus $1 per item for postage.
- California residents add 6 1/2% sales tax

Monographs


Scores and score collections

- *Barkin, Elaine. Encore*, for gamelan. [S.Bar01].
- *Corner, Philip. Spec*, for gamelan. [S.Cor02].
- *Curtin, Steven. Spores*, for pelog gamelan. [S.Cur01].
- *Forlin, Gino. Raoul y Anselmo*, for gamelan. [S.For04].
- *Burroughs’ Welcome*, for gamelan. [S.For05].
- Parsons, Michael. *Changes*, for Central Javanese gamelan, slendro. [S.Par01].

From Process Composition for the Gamelan.
GROUPS

Group: University of Hawaii Gamelan Ensemble
Date: November 28, 1987
Place: University of Hawaii at Manoa
Title: Javanese Music and Dance
Director: Hardja Susilo
Guests: Maya Sutoro, Kaoru ljima-Sipman, Ravi Narayan

Group: Gamelan Degung Ombak Banyu, Gamelan Anggita, Kecapi Sulung/Tembang Ensemble
Date: January 29, 1988
Place: Cabrillo College, Aptos, California
Title: An Evening of Sundanese Gamelan (Presented by The Friends of Cabrillo Gamelan)
Director: Undang Sumarna
Daang: Kathy Foley
Guests: Marcus Kaufman, vocalist
Program: Kulul-Kulul; Gayu; Belenderan; Kadewan; Papate, Balagenat, Panambih-Nimang; Badak Ceurik; Dengkleung; Seder Manis; Ceurik Rahwana, Panambih-Senggot Pangemeta; Kulu Kulu Sadunya; Wayang Golek; Young Samantri

Group: San Diego State University Javanese Gamelan
Date: March 5, 1988
Place: San Diego State University
Title: Wayang Kult: Lakon Dewa Ruci
Director: Sari
Daang: Widiyanto
Guests: Alex Dea, Daniel Kelly, Laurie Kottmeyer
Program: Gending-gending Petalon: Cucur Bawuk, Ld. Srikaton, Kt. Suksma Ilang, Sampak; Kt. Kabor, Ld. Krawitan; Kt. Paspawara; Srepegan sl. nem; Ld. Moncer; Patetan Sanga Wanthah; Ada-ada; Sampak Galong; Srepegan Otek-ocek; Jiman Uler Kambang; Leleang Witing Kelaipa; Ld. Embat-embat Penjalin; Sampak sl. sanga; Ld. Kondo Manuwa; Sampak Tutur; Srepegan Tutur; Sampak sl. m.; Ayak-ayakan sl. m.; Ayak-ayakan Pemungkas

Group: Mills College Gamelan
Date: May 8, 1988
Place: Mills College, Oakland
Title: Music of Sunda
Director: Undang Sumarna
Program: Bajar Mati, Tunumenggun; Sulan-sana; Renggong; Solotangan, sampak; Falling From (Forlin); Overture (Sumarna); Macan Ucel; Gonjing Miring

Group: Gamelan Si Betty, University of California at Santa Cruz Gamelan Ensemble
Date: May 13, 1988
Place: San Jose State University
Title: Gamelan Music and Wayang Golek
Directors: Trish Neilson, Undang Sumarna
Daang: Kathy Foley
Guest: Henry Spiller
Program: Agum-agum, Gangsaran; Gd. Bonang Babad; Ld. Tropangon; Ld. Pangkur; Krakatau’s Bacchanal (Manning); Wayang Golek Sukma Sadiji

Group: Gamelan Pacific
Date: May 15, 1988
Place: Cornish College of the Arts, Seattle, Washington
Title: Music of Java
Director: Jarred Powell
Guests: Endo Suanda, Margie Suanda, Susan Sefeti
Program: Gd. Bonang Babarlayar; Gd. Kembang Gempol, Ld. Bayemtura; Gangsaran, Ld. Jagung-Jagung; Tratagan; Gonjing; Rumyung; Ayak-ayakan Sarvabhati

Group: Monash University Gamelan
Date: September 1, 1988
Place: Monash University, Australia (Presented in association with the Symposium of the International Musicological Society)
Title: The Ramayana in South India, Thailand and Java
Directors: India: Tara Rajkumar; Thailand: Chalermsak Pikul; Java: Poedijono Guests: Varussri Subramanian, S. Ramnath, M. Ravichandra, Supadanu Sriratana, Jitana Sattayasai, Soemarsam, Soegito, Djoko Waluyo
Program: Part One India: Procession, Chokkettu, Shabdam: The Life of Rama; Dhashavataram: Rama in Hindu Mythology. Part Two Thailand: Sounds of the Surf; Benyakak Transforms Herself into the Image of Sida; Loeaspan. Part Three Java: Gangsaran Jongjong; Dance-Drama “Taman Soka;” The Great Battle with Rahwana and the Return of Rama and Sita

Group: Indonesian touring ensemble
Date: September 21, 1988
Place: Hibiya Kokaïdo, Tokyo, Japan
Title: Malam Indonesia—Court Dances
Directors: Dr. Sri Hastanto S.Kar., G.B.B.P.H. Yudaningrat
Program: Gamelan Concert (Sukarta Style); Bedoyo Durodash Dance (Sukarta Style Modified Version); Lewung Dance (Yogyakarta Style); Gamelan Concert (Yogyakarta Style); Ramayana Drama: Hanoman Duta

Group: Min-On (see Network)
Place: Various cities in Japan
Title: A Musical Voyage Along the Marine Road II—Indonesia & Japan
Directors: Kiyokazu Yamamoto, Nonno Suratno
Program: Opening; Sisingaan (Lion Dance); Jaijongon; Calung; Yafigushivi (Japanese folk song); Tari Pencaek; medley of Japanese work songs; Tari Topeng; Samsa Odori (Japanese folk dance); Heraran; Padayungan Catrik (Gamelan Degung); Kecapi Tembang; Esa Otware-Hetsuki bushi (Japanese folk song) Gamelan Klinking; Tari Klasik (choice from Kandagan, Kartika Puspa or Gagitgaca); Tsugari Aiyabushi (Japanese folk song); Prakpillingkung (Suratno, sung in Japanese); Tari Merak; Rapak Kendang (with five drummers)

Group: Gamelan Rain of Love
Date: November 20, 1988
Place: San Diego State University
Title: A Concert of Javanese Music and Dance
Directors: Robert E. Brown, K.R.T. Wastidiningrata, Sarna
Guests: Ben Suharto, Nyoman Wentsen, Nanik Wentsen, Laurie Kottmeyer

Group: Gamelan Sari Raras, University of California Gamelan Class
Date: November 30, 1988
Place: University of California, Berkeley
Title: Noon Concert
Director: Widiyanto
Program: Srepegan sl. nem “Binangun”; Ld. Tiria Kencana, p. nem; Srepegan Kemuda; Ld. Bibih, sl. sanga, Ln. Singa Nebah; Ld. Asmaradana, sl. m.; Ayak-ayakan, sl. m.
FUTURE ISSUES

Volume 4, Number 1. England issue. David Posnett, guest editor.


Volume 4, Number 3. Mainland Southeast Asia issue. Deborah Wong, guest editor.

SUBMISSIONS

Submissions in any category are welcome. Articles should be typed and double-spaced; photos may be in black and white, or color. Material may be submitted on a Macintosh disk, on other computer media, or via modem. Books, tapes, and records will be considered for review. All submissions will be placed in the Archives of the American Gamelan Institute unless return is requested and a self-addressed stamped envelope included. Manuscripts should follow the Chicago Manual of Style, 13th Edition Revised (1982). A style sheet is available on request.

CORRECTION

An excerpt from John Cage’s score Haikai was printed in our last issue with the permission of the publisher, C.F. Peters. The full score can be ordered from C.F. Peters, 373 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

SPECIAL THANKS

The editor would like to thank Carter Scholz for typesetting the musical example that appears on page 25. Thanks also to Jarrad Powell and René Lyssloff for additional assistance in editing this issue. (KD)

PHOTO CREDITS

page 9 (map): Endo Suanda
page 12, 30: Richard North
pp. 17-20: Allan Thomas