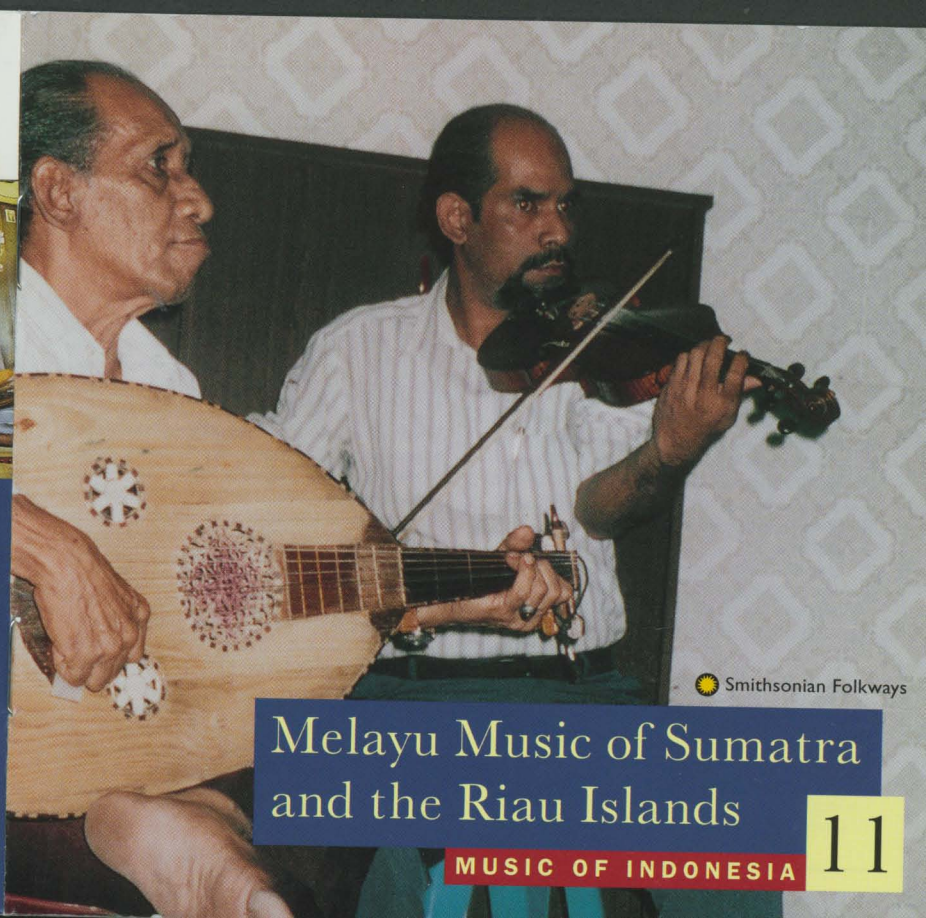





Smithsonian Folkways

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings
Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600
Smithsonian Institution
Washington DC 20560
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Melayu Music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands

MUSIC OF INDONESIA

11

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*Melayu Music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands:
Zapin, Mak Yong, Mendu, Ronggeng*

Melayu (or "Malay") culture has been influential throughout much of Indonesia. This album presents two widespread Melayu entertainment genres, plus songs and instrumental music from two forms of Melayu theater. Among the instruments heard are the *gambus* (a lute believed to originate in Arabia), violin, several kinds of drums, and—in the polished *ronggeng* dance music of Medan—an eloquent accordion. Recorded in widely scattered locations in Sumatra and in three islands of Riau. 73 minutes with a map and extensive notes.

*Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky.
Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI)
All selections recorded in Sumatra and the Riau Islands, 1993 and 1994.*



ZAPIN

1. *Cari Hiburan Palembang* 7:02
2. *Dayung Duabelas Pekanbaru* 6:57
3. *Lancang Kuning (excerpt) Pulau Bengkalis* 4:47
4. *Ahmadi Pulau Bengkalis* 6:19

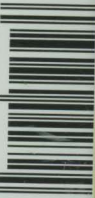
THEATER FORMS:

MAK YONG & MENDU

5. *(Mendu) Peranta Pulau Sedanau* 1:36
6. *(Mak Yong) Betabek Pulau Bintan* 6:22
7. *(Mak Yong) Cantèk Manis Pulau Bintan* 2:54
8. *(Mak Yong) Timang Bunga Pulau Bintan* 3:59
9. *(Mendu) Jalan Kunon Pulau Sedanau* 1:45
10. *(Mendu) Lagu Perang Pulau Sedanau* 0:50
11. *(Mendu) Air Mawar Pulau Sedanau* 1:56
12. *(Mendu) Bermas Pulau Sedanau* 2:30

RONGGENG

13. *Sri Mersing Pulau Bintan* 3:54
14. *Serampang Laut Pulau Bintan* 3:44
15. *Serampang Laut Orang Asli, Pulau Bengkalis* 3:22
16. *Damak Medan* 9:03
17. *Hitam Manis Medan* 6:03



Melayu Music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands: Zapin, Mak Yong, Mendu, Ronggèng

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The *Music of Indonesia* series. Research and publication sponsored jointly by the Center for Folk-life Programs and Cultural Studies of the Smithsonian Institution and the Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia (MSPI), and funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation. Series edited by Philip Yampolsky.

MUSIC OF INDONESIA

If Indonesia were superimposed on Europe, it would stretch from the western shore of Ireland almost to the Caspian Sea. Only three countries in the world (China, India, and the United States) have larger populations, and few encompass a more bewildering diversity of societies and ways of life. Indonesia's people belong to more than 300 ethnic groups, speak almost as many languages, and inhabit some 3,000 islands (out of nearly 13,700 in the archipelago). Nearly three-quarters of the population lives in rural areas; on the other hand, the capital, Jakarta, is one of the largest cities in the world, both in area and in population. Most Indonesians (about 90 percent) are Muslim, but there are substantial numbers of Christians, Buddhist/Taoists, Hindus, and animists as well. The Javanese rice farmer, the Buginese sailor, the Balinese *pedanda* (Hindu priest), the Acehnese *ulama* (Islamic teacher), the Jakarta bureaucrat, the Jakarta noodle vendor, the Minangkabau trader, the Chinese-Indonesian shopkeeper, the Sultan of Yogyakarta, the forest nomad of Kalimantan, soldiers, fishermen, batik makers, bankers, shadow-puppeteers, shamans, peddlers, marketwomen, dentists—these are all Indonesians, and our picture of the country must somehow include them all.

Indonesia's music is as diverse as its people. Best known abroad are the Javanese and Balinese orchestras generally called *gamelan*, which consist largely of gongs and other metallophones, but *gamelan* is only one aspect (albeit an impressive one) of the whole. Solo and group singing

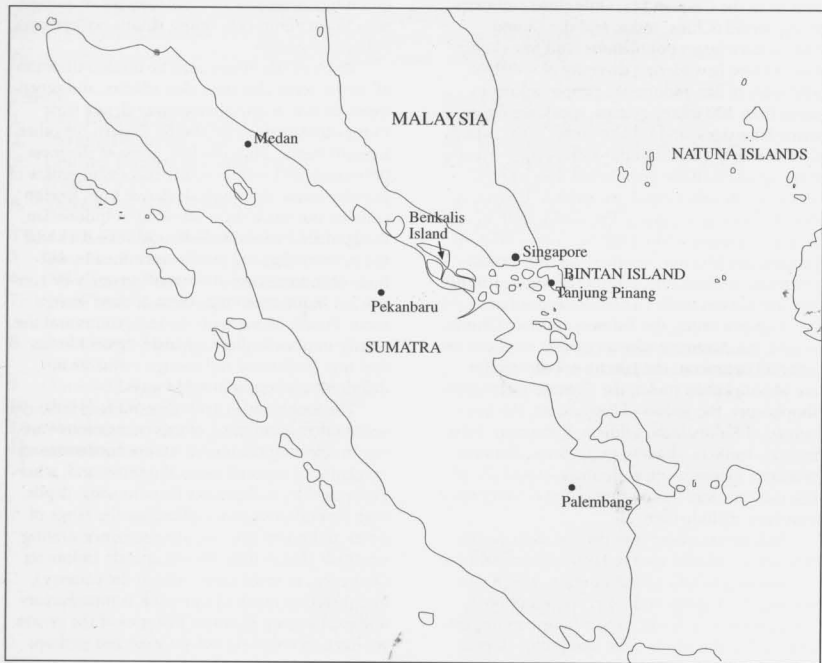
and solo instrumental music (played typically on flute, shawm, plucked or bowed lute, plucked zither, or xylophone) are found everywhere, and so are ensembles of mixed instruments and ensembles dominated by instruments of a single type (most commonly flutes, drums, xylophones, zithers, or gongs).

Much of this music may be termed traditional, in the sense that its scales, idioms, and repertoires do not in any obvious way derive from European/American or Middle Eastern (or other foreign) music. Nevertheless, some of the most prominent and commercially successful genres of popular music definitely *do* derive from foreign sources; but since these are sung in Indonesian, disseminated nationwide through cassettes and the mass media, and avidly consumed by millions of Indonesians, they must certainly be considered Indonesian, regardless of their foreign roots. Finally, along with the indigenous and the clearly imported, there are many hybrid forms that mix traditional and foreign elements in delightful and unpredictable ways.

The Smithsonian Folkways *Music of Indonesia* series offers a sampling of this tremendous variety. In selecting the music, we are concentrating on genres of especial musical interest and, wherever possible, will present them in some depth, with several examples to illustrate the range of styles and repertoire. We are also concentrating on music that is little known outside Indonesia (and even, in some cases, within the country), and therefore much of our work is introductory and exploratory. Accurate histories of the genres we have recorded do not yet exist and perhaps

never will; studies of their distribution and their variation from place to place have not yet been done. So our presentations and commentaries

cannot presume to be definitive; instead they should be taken as initial forays into uncharted territory.



THE MELAYU CULTURE AREA

The present album is devoted to music from the east coast of Sumatra and the Riau islands, in western Indonesia. This music is described by its performers and audiences as *Melayu* music, and we had best start by looking at some of the many senses—ethnic, historical, racial, political, linguistic, and cultural—of that complicated and contested word.

People designated by the term *Melayu* (or its English equivalent, *Malay*) are found in significant numbers in five modern nations of South-east Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei

Darussalam, and Thailand. Their status differs sharply from country to country. In Malaysia and Brunei they are a constitutionally defined, politically dominant group; in Thailand they are a marginal minority; in Singapore they are one of two principal minority groups, numerically dwarfed and economically outstripped by the dominant Chinese; and in Indonesia they are one among hundreds of ethnic groups, with prestige in their home region but no distinguishing legal status. We are concerned here mainly with the *Melayu* of Indonesia, but it is impossible to discuss their history and culture without looking at

4 the wider Melayu context.

The definition of Melayu ethnicity written into the Malaysian constitution is now gaining acceptance among influential Melayu figures in Indonesia as well. It limits the application of *Melayu* to persons who accept Islam as their religion, habitually speak the Melayu language, and live according to the *adat* (custom and ceremony) considered typical of the Melayu ethnic group. (Ethnicity is more commonly treated as an inherited identity, neither chosen nor assigned, that unites an individual with other members of a group. Proponents of the Malaysian definition claim that it establishes a cultural rather than "genealogical" standard for Melayu ethnicity; but in practice there is a genealogical, or rather, racial component as well, since Malaysian or Indonesian Muslims of Chinese ancestry who seem to fit the terms of the definition are still generally not accepted as Melayu.)

Modern legal and political uses of ethnicity invite restrictive, exclusionary formulations of this sort. But can such a subjective, situational, and negotiable idea as ethnic identity be adequately itemized in this way? It is by no means clear that Melayu identity was so rigidly formulated in earlier centuries—or even that it was perceived as an ethnicity.

In its earliest known applications to persons, *Melayu* designated not an ethnic group but a royal dynasty, the rulers of the kingdom of Melaka (Malacca) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Melaka was established sometime in the fourteenth century; early in the fifteenth century its rulers embraced Islam; in 1511 it was conquered

by the Portuguese. Court historians traced the dynasty back to the earlier kingdom of Srivijaya, which was probably based on the east coast of southern Sumatra (near Palembang) in the seventh to thirteenth centuries. Both Srivijaya and Melaka were powerful maritime trading states.

Over the course of four centuries after the fall of Melaka, large and small Muslim kingdoms and sultanates claiming a legitimating connection to Melaka and the Melayu kings rose and fell throughout a wide region: along both coasts of the Malay Peninsula and the east coast of Sumatra (from Medan south to Palembang); in southern Thailand; in Singapore and the Riau islands; and along the coasts and rivers of northern and western Borneo. All of these Melayu trading states were, like Srivijaya and Melaka before them, dependent on their subject or vassal populations—inland and coastal groups and nomadic "boat-dwellers"—for marine and forest products and other trade goods. These subject peoples also provided much of the rulers' army and navy, and sometimes fulfilled crucial roles in royal ceremony.

Did these subject peoples regard themselves as ethnically Melayu? They were integrated into polities whose *rulers* called themselves Melayu; and even before the sultanates were established, they apparently spoke dialects of the language now known as Melayu. But was their primary inherited identity Melayu, or was it instead based on place of birth or residence, with "Melayu" the name of an overarching cultural or political system? The question is perhaps unanswerable now. Certainly it is the case (as court chronicles

like the nineteenth-century *Tuhfat al-Nafis* show) that the rulers perceived their subjects as divided into innumerable small groups known by ethnic names other than Melayu, or, still more commonly, by toponyms, the names of the places where they lived. Even today, the question "what group (*suku*) or people (*masyarakat*) do you belong to" is apt to be answered first with a place-name: we are *orang* ("people of") Bintan, Sedanau, Pekanbaru.... "What language do you speak" receives the same kind of answer: *bahasa* ("the language of") Palembang, Pontianak, Siak. "Melayu" can eventually be elicited, but one usually has to move up one or more levels of generality to get it.

In describing the modern (1980s) situation in Indonesia, the anthropologist Vivienne Wee suggests that two opposing scales or indexes for Malayness are now operative: purity and indigeneity. The Malaysian constitutional definition is based entirely on purity: those who meet the religious, linguistic, and behavioral standards qualify as Melayu. This definition has obvious appeal to Indonesians with connections to aristocracy or to religious authority, whose own credentials are thus, by definition, impeccable. Indigeneity, on the other hand, is the criterion used by the common people, the *rakyat*. By this measure, all of the inhabitants of the region of Melayu rule (we are extrapolating here; Wee's discussion is limited to mainland and island Riau) are Melayu, except for obvious immigrants (Chinese, Javanese, Minangkabau, etc.). And even immigrants (possibly excepting the Chinese) can *become* Melayu if the ties to their exter-

nal homeland are lost.

The question of who is to be considered ethnically Melayu is today not merely academic. In Malaysia, Melayu status brings privileges reserved for the politically dominant group; in Indonesia the benefits are less direct, but in eastern Sumatra, island Riau, and western Kalimantan, Melayu still enjoy prestige and considerable local power. In Indonesia, many of the population groups formerly subject to Melayu rule became sufficiently Islamized and assimilated that they are now readily accepted as Melayu. Others, however—particularly forest peoples and boat-dwellers who did not accept Islam or who blended it with animist beliefs and practices—are now regarded by the majority as imperfectly Melayu or as not Melayu at all. These groups often call themselves "original people" or "original Malays" (*Orang Asli, Melayu Asli*)—thus invoking the criterion of indigeneity—but the terms do them little good. Instead, these groups, lacking support from majority Melayu spokesmen (with a few notable exceptions), are virtually powerless against business and government plans to restructure their lives—to move the boat-dwellers onto dry land, to restrict or resettle the forest-dwellers and free up their lands for exploitation.

Regardless of whether Melayu was an *ethnicity* before the twentieth century, it was without doubt a culture. Melayu political and economic systems, Islam, the Melayu spoken language and writing system, literary forms and themes, music, palace ceremony and regalia, domestic and agricultural rituals and practices—all were

widely shared throughout the region of the Melayu kingdoms and sultanates. Some of these features (most notably, language and literature) also travelled independently, extending Melayu cultural influence beyond the limits of Melayu rule—to Aceh and Minangkabau in Sumatra, to the north coast of Java and the islands running east to Flores, to eastern Kalimantan, and to the islands of Maluku.

This entire region of cultural influence is what we are calling the “Melayu culture area.” It may be useful to break it down into the “primary” sector that was actually ruled by Melayu kings and sultans, and the “extended” sector where Melayu cultural influence was felt but Melayu rule was not imposed.

Within the “primary” area there are some broad musical unities. A perhaps unique characteristic of the region is the five-hundred-year-long period during which Arab and other Muslim, European, and local musical ideas and practices have not only coexisted but energetically and productively interacted. This has made musical boundaries remarkably porous. For example, the violin (introduced from Europe), the frame drum (probably introduced—there is debate—from the Middle East), and the bossed gong (which is so old as to be “indigenous”) are all now *Melayu* instruments, found at every social level and in nearly every social context. (In some forms of *ronggèng* music—e.g., track 15 here—they are all found together.)

Another example: it is a nearly universal practice in the Melayu culture area to have two percussion instruments (or two people on the

same instrument) play related parts in the same register. One of the parts is comparatively simple and repetitive (*melalu*); the other decorates or “responds to” (*meningkah*) the first. We do not claim that this practice cannot be found elsewhere in Indonesia (in Karo, say); but in Melayu it is virtually everywhere, in the instrumental melodies and ritual drumming of forest peoples, in *mak yong* drumming, in *silat*, in *zapin*, and in *ronggèng*.

In this album and in Volume 7 (*Music from the Forests of Riau and Mentawai*, SF 40423) we explore some of the most important and representative elements of the music of the Melayu culture area—more precisely, the Indonesian part of the “primary” area. Volume 7 presents ritual and private entertainment music among animist and syncretic-Muslim peoples in mainland Sumatra. Here we present two entertainment dance-and-music genres, *zapin* and *ronggèng*, that are virtually ubiquitous in the area of former Melayu rule, and music for *mak yong* and *mendu*, two of the many instances of a widespread complex of Melayu theater forms.

As for ethnicity: most of the performers here are Melayu by any definition, but our intent is to introduce music that is culturally rather than ethnically Melayu. The album opens with a piece by performers from Palembang who describe themselves as being of Arab descent, not Melayu; another selection is performed by Melayu Asli musicians; and the album closes with two songs featuring a well-known singer of Melayu *lagu ronggèng* who, when asked whether she was Melayu, replied, “No, I am Karo.” Yet all of the

musicians would acknowledge that the music itself—in an unspecified sense that we are calling cultural—is Melayu.

ZAPIN

Zapin is a dance performed at Muslim domestic celebrations (weddings, circumcisions, a baby's first haircut, the completion of lessons in reading the Qur'an) and Muslim community festivities. It has existed in several forms in the Melayu world. (*Zapin* or the kind of music associated with it is also found in Indonesia outside the Melayu culture area—in Lampung, Java, South Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi, for example—but we will have to omit those varieties here.) In older rural versions it was danced by groups of men; nowadays women may dance as well. It is often performed by one or more pairs of dancers, with women and men in separate pairs or together in one. (There is also an elaborate, stage-show *zapin*, sometimes with vast armies of dancers, that will not concern us here.)

In rural Melayu areas of Indonesia, the basic musical accompaniment for *zapin* is a single plucked fretless lute, called *gambus*, plus a number of small two-headed frame-drums (*marwas*, pl. *marawis*) that play interlocking rhythms. The *gambus* player sings while playing. Rural musicians we spoke with described this ensemble as “authentic” or “original”; other instruments that are sometimes included, such as violin or accordion, were in their eyes later additions. The songs that accompany *zapin* are collectively referred to as *lagu gambus* (“*gambus* melodies”).

In urban areas, the ensemble is usually aug-

mented with violins—along with optional extras such as keyboards, flute, electric guitars, and further percussion—to make what is called an *orkès gambus*. In these orchestras, the comparatively slim rural lute, whose resonating cavity is closed by a skin, has been replaced by the wider, “pear-shaped,” wood-faced lute known in the Arab world as an *ud* (but still often called *gambus* in Indonesia and Malaysia). The *ud* has apparently replaced the skin-faced *gambus* in rural Malaysia as well. It appears that the strong popular association of *zapin* with Arabia makes it seem appropriate and logical to use an Arab lute when available.

Recent research provides some support for the common belief in the Arabic origin of *zapin*. Mohd Anis Md Nor and Charles Capwell have found terminological correspondences (*zapin/zafana*, *gambus/qanbous*, *marwas*) and performance-accounts that link it to the Hadramaut region (now the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) along the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. The Hadramaut is indeed the homeland of many of the Arabs in Malaysia and Indonesia.

Drawing on legend and popular belief, Mohd Anis Md Nor goes on to suggest that *zapin* may have first come with Hadramaut Arabs to the kingdom of Melaka, and then to have spread, as a court art, to the later Melayu sultanates of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and the Riau islands. This theory is uncomfortably dependent on royal patronage as the mechanism for dissemination. How *zapin* became as widespread as it is in the rural areas, outside the courts, is not

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accounted for by the theory. (Let alone how it got to Java or South Kalimantan.) Moreover, despite the weight of legend, Mohd Anis does not adduce any evidence that *zapin* was actually present in Melaka or anywhere else in the Melayu area before the late nineteenth century (though that does not in itself disprove the theory, since early evidence for any performing arts in the region is extremely fragmentary).

Regardless of how and when *zapin* came to the Melayu world, it is apparently true that the genre now serves as "an icon of Arabic culture" (Capwell) and that among Muslims it enjoys some of the prestige of Islam itself. Because of its supposed Arabic origin, it escapes the hostile gaze that Islam often casts upon secular music and dance. In Indonesia, the repertoire of the urban *orkès gambus* features songs in Arabic, and others in Indonesian with morally acceptable messages (track 1). In rural areas, the Islamic associations of *zapin* seem just as strong, but it is interesting to note that Arabic-language songs are rare, and the songs in Indonesian or Melayu (which are essentially the same language) tend to have no recognizable religious or moral content. In track 2, the singer inserts some Arabic words and Arabic-sounding vocables at certain points in every stanza, but these are irrelevant to the meaning of the verse.

Our selections present one song performed by an *orkès gambus* from Palembang, the second largest city in Sumatra, and three using the nuclear instrumentation of just *gambus* and drums. They show the basic structure that is apparently common to the whole *zapin* repertoire: a free-meter instrumental introduction, often quite brief,

which we heard called by several terms (*laram*, *taksim*, and *qasidah*; we don't recognize *laram*, but *taksim* and *qasidah* are also terms in Arabic music); the body of the song, with a repeating melody and energetic interlocking drumming to mark the end of each repetition; and *tahtim*, an extended drumming coda with a final phrase stated three times. The dance has a similar three-part structure: during the *taksim*, the dancers wait in a position of salutation to the spectators; dance movements are arranged in sequences lasting the length of a melodic repetition; and the *wainab*, a string of faster, more active movements, is performed during the *tahtim*.

Several features of the music sound Middle Eastern: the low-pitched, double-coursed lute; the relation of violin to plucked lute; the *taksim*; the interlocking drumming with flashy cadences. All of the songs we recorded use seven-tone rather than five-tone scales, suggesting a possible origin outside Indonesia, and the melodies could, in three out of four instances, be seen as more likely Middle Eastern than European.

The fourth melody, however, that of *Lancang Kuning* (track 3), sounds surprisingly European: it uses an ordinary major scale, at one point altered in a way that suggests modulation from the tonic to the dominant. What is surprising is not the fact of European features, since European music has, as we observed earlier, been present in the Melayu culture area for five hundred years, but finding them in *Lancang Kuning*, which is considered in Riau to be the quintessential *zapin* song. It is also intriguing to note that some unorthodox beliefs have become attached to it: the singer and

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gambus player in this recording, Haji Zakaria of Pulau Bengkalis, called the song *keramat* (roughly, "sacred"), and said that if it is played without proper observances there can be a storm; and the *mak yong* artist M. Atan Rahman (tracks 6-8) knew a musician who died suddenly after being obliged to sing it without making the necessary offerings.

Other things that Haji Zakaria told us: in the old days the *gambus* was long, so that the performer could dance and play at the same time, holding the instrument behind his neck. These long *gambus* were shaped like a woman's calf (*betis*). The first *gambus* player designed the lute in this way in honor of his dead wife, Ainin, and people who heard the *gambus* could be possessed by the spirit of Ainin and dance barefoot on fire until the *gambus* player brought them out of trance. (At another point in the conversation, Pak Haji said that the *gambus* originated in Arabia and came to Bengkalis and Riau from Palembang.)

Let us add here the information that further south in Sumatra, among the Semende, inland from Palembang, we recorded a smaller *gambus*, without drumming, played not for *zapin* but to accompany a woman's private lament for her dead father and a sung narrative about local events, neither of which had any apparent Islamic associations at all. And let us throw into the pot the non-Middle-Eastern sound of *Lancang Kuning*, the dangerous and magically powerful song that is nevertheless the pre-eminent *lagu gambus*. Stir it all together, and what rises like an unexpected genie is the possibility that the *zapin* dance and the strong Islamic connotations of *gambus* music

may be a comparatively recent overlay on an earlier rural tradition of lute-playing.

Returning to our *zapin* selections here: the lyrics in tracks 2, 3, and 4 all consist of ordinary, secular quatrains of the form known as *pantun*. *Pantun* are the most common form of Melayu sung poetry. Thousands have been collected and published; undoubtedly thousands more have never been written down. *Pantun* provide the texts for most *lagu gambus* and *lagu ronggèng* (see below), and also for some forms of music outside the Melayu area (*gambang kromong*, *kroncong*). Though certain melodies (such as *Lancang Kuning* here) have one or two standard verses that are always sung, and many have a title phrase (as in *Damak*, track 16) that is regularly used as an added refrain, for the most part *pantun* are not fixed to melodies but instead are chosen ad lib by the singer from a stock of memorized verses, or are invented by the singer on the spot.

Mak yong

The oldest form of Melayu theater using live actors is *mak yong*, first reported from the Melayu court in Patani (now southern Thailand) in the early 1600s. By the 1800s, *mak yong* was also present in the neighboring region of Kelantan (now northeastern Malaysia), where it flourished as both a court and a village entertainment. Royal *mak yong* troupes apparently visited other palaces in Malaysia, Sumatra, and island Riau during the nineteenth century. The Sultan of Serdang (near Medan) was attracted to the form, and his palace is said to have maintained a *mak yong* troupe. In the early years of the twentieth century, a powerful prince in Kelantan was a devotee of *mak yong* and kept his own troupe in the palace, but in 1920 a new sultan took power who refused to support it. The Kelantan court players were forced to find work outside the court, and some of them apparently came south to Singapore and island Riau.

Pudentia MPSS, who has done extensive research on *mak yong*, argues that in Indonesia it was mainly a court theater—performing occasionally in villages for weddings or circumcisions but primarily supported by the patronage of the sultanates—until after the Indonesian Revolution of 1945-1949. Only then, when the sultanates were abolished (in some cases violently), did *mak yong* become fully a village theater—and then not for long: the form went into a severe decline in the late 1960s and has never recovered.

There may never have been many *mak yong*

troupes in Indonesia—possibly no more than three or four. One was founded in 1937 in Mantang Arang (an island about thirty minutes by motorboat from southern Bintan, in island Riau) by Mak Ungu, who is said to have come from Kelantan. Mak Ungu's troupe performed regularly for officials of the Riau-Lingga court in nearby Penyengat, and according to one report it was sent on missions to perform at palaces in Bangka, Siak, and Deli (in Indonesia), and Melaka, Johor, and Pinang (in Malaysia).

Mak Ungu was the mother of M. Atan Rahman, the leader of the performers heard here. Pak Atan (as he is known) grew up in the *mak yong* milieu, during the heyday of the form. In those days, he told Pudentia, *mak yong* players took part in other theater genres as well—he named *bangsawan* and *mendu*—and they also put on *ronggèng* dances (see below). A *mak yong* performance, which always took place at night, lasted for three hours; after that the players would do *ronggèng* until dawn. There was a two-month period every year when musicians and actors were working all the time, and they could lay up enough money in that period to help them through the rest of the year.

Mak yong was typically performed not on a stage but on the ground, under a roof, with the audience on three sides. Props and scenery were minimal, but costumes were as elaborate as the troupe could afford. There was no backstage area. The musicians sat on the sides, as did actors not involved in the scene under way. The atmosphere was casual: off-duty actors would drink tea or smoke, jumping up to enter the act-

ing area when needed. Musicians sometimes joined in the action. Actors could respond to calls and comments from the audience.

Mak yong plays were about royalty. All employed the same set of stock characters, who were known by their functions. The principal roles were: the Pak Yong, a king or prince; the Mak Yong or Mak Senik, a queen or princess; the Awang Pengasuh, a servant loyal to the Pak Yong; and the Inang Pengasuh, a maid-servant to the Mak Yong. The roles of Pak Yong and Mak Yong, both of which were played by women, could be subdivided, producing a king and a prince or a queen and a princess. The Awang Pengasuh was a comic character, representing villagers and common people, and was entitled to poke fun at his masters. Male actors—who played the Awang Pengasuh, Inang Pengasuh, and various gods and miscellaneous characters—wore masks. (Perhaps significantly, masks were used in the Patani form of *mak yong* but not the Kelantan one.)

Like the cast of characters, the plays themselves, which were unscripted, were built up out of stock elements. They always began with a scene called *Betabek* (track 6), in which the cast greeted the audience. Next, the main characters introduced themselves and explained the initial situation. After that, one could count on traveling scenes, princess-in-the-garden scenes, a scene in the forest, perhaps a scene in a second palace, and so forth. The music was equally modular: the same songs would appear in the same structural positions in play after play.

Although *mak yong* in Indonesia did not ful-

fill a ritual purpose (unlike some kinds of *mak yong* in Malaysia), it did contain ritual elements. A performance began with what Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof calls a "theatre-consecration ritual," in which local spirits were asked to permit the performance to proceed without disturbance or disruption. All the actors and musicians had to be present for this ritual, which involved the recitation of mantras and, in its fullest form, a dance representing a snake found in rice-fields. Mantras were also recited to give power to instruments, masks, and actors to attract and please the audience. Further mantras marked the end of the event.

The music of *mak yong* was provided by an ensemble dominated by percussion. (The instruments are listed below, in the note on tracks 6-8.) Melody was supplied by singers, usually (if not always) joined by a bowed lute or a shawm. Actors sang, often explaining in song at the opening of a scene who they were and what they were doing. (The rest of the scene was carried by spoken dialogue.) A chorus, consisting mainly of women, supported the soloists. Although the question has not yet been studied, it appears that most if not all of the music for *mak yong* was unique to the genre, with few songs borrowed from outside sources.

Mak yong today is barely hanging on. It survived relatively well in Kelantan until recently, when it was banned as incompatible with Islam. No regularly performing troupes still exist in Indonesia, though a small cluster of experienced players—remnants of the Mantang Arang troupe, now living in or near Kijang, on Pulau

Bintan—is sometimes asked by researchers or government officials to put a show together. On these occasions, the musical leader and driving force is M. Atan Rahman, who enlists neighbors, friends, and several of his own sons and daughters (who have been trained at home and are among the strongest of the younger players) to work with the old hands. The group heard here is one of this sort, assembled by Pak Atan for these recordings.

Mendu

Mendu, a younger form of theater than *mak yong*, is now also in decline, though less drastically. It was strongest in the Pulau Tujuh and Anambas islands, which lie in the far eastern part of island Riau, rather remote from Sumatra and the Johor-Riau-Lingga axis. According to one source, *menu* came there from Pontianak; according to another, it came from Siam; Bisri Effendy, a scholar who has worked with the *menu* group recorded here, thinks it may have come from the Malay Peninsula in the 1870s. Two Pulau Tujuh performers who were active in the 1950s told Bisri that they were of the third *menu* generation, which would put the first generation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Here is yet another origin story, which the researcher B. M. Syamsuddin heard on Bunguran (Natuna Besar) in Pulau Tujuh: *menu* arrived in Bunguran around 1812, when planters came from western Kalimantan to start coconut plantations. One of the planters liked to sing and act out stories, among them the story of Dewa Mandu that is the basis of all *menu* plays. What

is appealing about this version is that it suggests that *menu* started not as theater, but as narration. How then did it become theater?

The answer is probably *bangsawan*, the glamorous theater from the Malay Peninsula that was popular throughout the “primary” Melayu area from the late nineteenth century until World War Two, and was still popular, in a reduced form, in island Riau through the 1960s. *Bangsawan* in its prime was a commercial theater, with many touring troupes. It usually required a proscenium stage, backdrops, and a large company of actors presenting plays based on Melayu history and legend, the Arabian Nights, Shakespeare, and other popular sources. *Bangsawan* music used popular songs of all types—Melayu, English, Dutch, Indian, Chinese. Between scenes there were “cabaret” dances and songs unconnected to the plot. For all its cosmopolitan flair, *bangsawan* still had basic similarities to *mak yong*: stock characters and scenes; sung introductions to scenes; flexible plot; improvised dialogue.

The development of Melayu theater forms such as *menu*, *langlang buana*, and *dulmuluk* (or *dermuluk*), all based on limited plot cycles of localized popularity, may have come about from the influence of *bangsawan*. After seeing or hearing about *bangsawan*, we imagine, people thought: instead of just telling these stories, why not act them out? The elements of *bangsawan* that we just listed as similar to *mak yong* are also present in *menu*. It is unlikely that they came into *menu* from *mak yong*, given *mak yong*’s limited distribution and aristocratic connections, but it is quite conceivable that they could have

come in from *bangsawan*.

Mendu is more simply presented than *bangsawan* (though less so than *mak yong*). There is no stage; an acting area is marked out on the ground by waist-high bamboo poles. At the rear of this area is a structure of curtains or screens that conceals the dressing area; the structure has two doorways for entrances and exits, and shows a palace scene. A few poles, plus a table and chairs, establish an interior.

As with *mak yong* in Indonesia, a performance of *menu* is not in itself a ritual, but it requires some ritual observances. (Some of these practices and the beliefs underlying them may have been abandoned in recent years.) In the center of the playing area a tree or tree branch is planted; this is ritually essential, since the gods whose story is told in the *menu* plays must be invited to watch the performance, and they descend to earth by way of the tree. (It is said that the gods are no longer invited to attend, because the necessary mantras have been forgotten. But the tree is still there.) Despite the ritual importance of the tree, the audience is quite casual about the playing area: at the performance we saw, children crossed it diagonally, and one child urinated into it.

To present a play ideally, with no doubling of roles, a company needs about forty actors (until recently, all male), and to present the complete *menu* story it needs forty eight-hour nights. Practice often fell short, even in the past: companies of twenty performed for one night, or three, or seven. But up through the end of the 1960s, rich families were still mounting forty-night

cycles for big weddings. At that time, Bisri was told, there were *menu* groups in every village of Pulau Tujuh and Anambas. (At one time the form may have been even more widespread than that: recall that Pak Atan of Bintan said *mak yong* players before World War Two also played *menu*.) This period was also a good one for other theater forms: a *menu* actor told Bisri that in the 1950s and '60s he also played in *bangsawan* and *langlang buana* groups. Patronage of *menu* was still in the hands of families and communities; *menu* did not sell tickets or tour. Today the few surviving groups may get only one commission a year, from the local government, to play for Independence Day celebrations in August.

Mendu troupes are organized around a leader called a *syekh* or *khalifah*. In part, he functions as the artistic director, determining the course of each performance—what scenes should be included, and how much time and detail should be allotted to them. He is also responsible for ritual observances: he calls the gods to attend, recites mantras to attract an audience and to ensure a good performance, and in the past recited other mantras to protect his actors and musicians from malevolent spells cast by rival groups. (There are not enough rivals now for this to be necessary.)

Mendu music is performed by a small ensemble of singers (soloists and male chorus), violin, a two-headed drum, and a gong; other percussion is added in the introductory *Peranta* music. *Peranta* (track 5) serves to notify the community that a performance is beginning; during this overture the actors line up in the playing area to face the

audience. Next comes the choral song *Ladun*, with dance, in which the actors respectfully greet the audience and introduce their characters; *Ladun* thus corresponds in part to *Betabek* in *mak yong*. The gods come down during *Ladun*. After that the play proceeds. At the end of the night's performance, the actors perform a special song called *Bermas* (track 12), in which they bid farewell to the gods and ask them to return home. If the story continues into subsequent nights, each installment again opens with *Peranta* and *Ladun* and closes with *Bermas*.

These three pieces, and probably many others as well, are unique to *mendu*. But *mendu*, like *bangsawan* and apparently unlike *mak yong*, was open to music from other contexts. In scenes set in Melayu courts, for example, the music could be *lagu Melayu*, "Melayu songs" (presumably drawn from the *ronggèng* repertoire), which, we were told, the *mendu* players learned from 78-rpm records. The "battle tune" in track 10 sounds like a European soldiers' song or popular ditty.

Our *mendu* recordings come from the island of Sedanau, just west of Bunguran in the Pulau Tujuh group. The Grup Mendu Sedanau has a strong core of older performers who were active in *mendu* when the form was still popular, plus a number of younger people who have recently become interested.

ROGGÈNG

Ronggèng is one of several names for a kind of dance-event that is found throughout the Melayu

culture area and in other parts of Indonesia as well. The basic format is the same everywhere: a professional female singer-dancer, accompanied by male musicians, invites men to dance with her. In Sumatra, island Riau, and other Melayu areas, the event is known as *ronggèng* or *jogèt*. *Ketuk tilu*, *jaipongan*, and *cokèkan* in West Java, *talèdhekan* or *tayuban* in Central and East Java, and *gandrung* in Banyuwangi are all versions of this same performance genre. In each region, the dance movements, the instrumental ensembles, and the music played are different, but the structure of the event is the same.

A dance of this type is described in a fourteenth-century Javanese poem, but the genre may well be older still. Its origins are possibly in rituals of fertility and renewal; nowadays it is generally a secular entertainment, with a reputation for getting out of hand. It is performed at night for weddings, circumcisions, and other domestic or community celebrations. There is often drinking and gambling at these events, and the unruly, night-time atmosphere can foster an insistent teasing of the female dancers that easily crosses over into harassment and groping. Since the women are in fact paid to perform, one hears the rumor, everywhere the genre is found, that they are prostitutes. No doubt in some cases this is true; in many cases it is not. This rumor, and the undeniable connection with drinking and gambling, have led religious authorities to oppose these genres, and have sometimes caused local governments to ban them.

In Sumatra and island Riau, *ronggèng* has largely disappeared in its older, raffish form, but

the repertoire of songs that accompanied it has detached itself and become free-standing. These songs, now known as *lagu Melayu asli*, "original [or "authentic"] Melayu songs," are recorded on cassette and performed on television, accompanying formal demonstrations of Melayu dance. *Ronggèng* groups may now also be invited to appear at precisely the same events they used to perform at, but now in a more formal and polite atmosphere, embodying a rather self-conscious idea of Melayu tradition. Recall, in this connection, that *Senang beru Ginting*, the female singer in tracks 16 and 17, is Karo, not Melayu. (The Karo homeland is in the highlands south of Medan.) In fact, she said, almost no *ronggèng* (the term for the singer-dancer as well as the genre) were Melayu—presumably because the profession had low social status. In North Sumatra, according to her, the first *ronggèng* were Banjarese women from Kalimantan; later, Karo women took over.

In the Melayu areas of North Sumatra, old-style *ronggèng* was popular everywhere: in villages, in towns and cities, and in the sultans' palaces of Deli and Serdang. A performance typically involved two or three *ronggèng*, a male master of ceremonies who also functioned as a comedian (*pelawak*), and a group of instrumentalists. The minimal ensemble, standard in the villages, was violin, one or two single-headed frame drums, and a medium-sized gong. Larger ensembles added a harmonium. In later years, the gong became rare, and since the 1950s the harmonium has been replaced by an accordion.

Male guests or onlookers volunteered or

were invited to dance with the *ronggèng*. Dancing was in couples; if not enough men came forward and one of the *ronggèng* had no partner, the *pelawak* would fill in. The men chose what songs they would dance to. Dances were paired: a slow dance was always followed by a quick one; then, after a pause, and perhaps a change of male dancers, the next slow dance would begin. Ibu Senang told us that when she was still dancing (probably in the 1950s) the men had to keep a distance of one meter between themselves and the *ronggèng*. But men did sometimes get drunk, she said, and break that rule, and then it helped if a *ronggèng* knew some *silat* (self-defense) moves: a swift jolt to the head would discourage an over-attentive partner.

During the dance, a *ronggèng* would sing a *pantun* (see the description of *pantun* above, in the *zapin* section); the man dancing with her would then answer by singing one of his own. (If the man was tongue-tied, the *pelawak* would sing for him.) Often the *pantun* were flirtatious or suggestive, and each singer tried to top the other's verses. The *pantun* were more important than the music, especially for the men: whether a man could sing well was irrelevant, if his *pantun* were clever.

In island Riau, in the vicinity of Bintan and Penyengat, the instrumentation was different: the harmonium or accordion was not used, and two other drums were substituted for the single-headed frame drums (*gendang Melayu*): for slow dances, a long drum (*gendang panjang*) held across the lap and played with bare hands, and for quick dances a European-style tenor drum (*tambur*),

standing on its side like a bass drum and played with sticks on both heads. This is the ensemble (heard in tracks 13 and 14) that played for *ronggèng* after a *mak yong* performance. Pak Atan maintained that the genre was called *ronggèng* in Bintan as in Medan, but we heard it called *jogèt dangkung* several times. A Suku Laut ("sea nomad") group now settled by the government on Pulau Buton (near Bintan) told us that they used to hire *jogèt dangkung* for celebrations and dance on the beach. (*Dangkung*, they said, was a name for the *tambur*.)

Jogèt is a more flexible term than *ronggèng*. Ibu Senang said that *jogèt* can be any sort of dancing, and any sort of music, while *ronggèng* can only be "true" (*asli*) Melayu music and dance. (Pak Atan's usage matched hers: what his group in Bintan played was traditional *lagu ronggèng*, "*ronggèng* songs," not *dangdut* or *pop*.) Furthermore, we gather, it is truly *ronggèng* only if the dancer sings. *Jogèt* is now used for various sorts of entertainment that have in some places replaced *ronggèng*. In one kind of *jogèt*, a band with singers makes the music, while non-singing women dance with the male guests; in another, the band and the women are hired by a dance-hall, and male customers buy tickets to dance. Among the Orang Asli, a Melayu Asli group living on Pulau Bengkalis, a *jogèt* event may simply involve playing commercial cassettes, while local girls dance with the guests; or, as here (track 15), the music is live but it is not the dancers who sing.

The repertoire of *ronggèng* songs is divided into several formal types. The slow songs that

began a dance-pair are called *senandung*; they are performed in a slow quadruple meter, with a comparatively long drum cycle. Faster songs are of the *mak inang* or *lagu dua* types: *mak inang* are in quadruple meter, played at a moderate tempo, while *lagu dua* are in a fast triple meter (track 17) or a duple meter with triple subdivisions (track 14). (Different terms are sometimes used: another name for *senandung* is *asli*, and another name for *lagu dua* is simply *jogèt*.) The Orang Asli song here (track 15), in a fast, "simple" duple meter, does not fit any of these categories, though in other respects it is a typical *lagu ronggèng*.

Ronggèng music and dance have an obviously hybrid character. The violin, of course, is European: it was probably brought to Southeast Asia by the Portuguese around the time of the conquest of Melaka (1511). The *tambur* in island Riau could also be Portuguese, or more likely English. The frame drums may be Middle Eastern or indigenous in origin; in any case they play in a repeating/embellishing (*melalu/meningkah*) fashion, mentioned earlier, that seems indigenous. The harmonium was Indian; the accordion is European. Hopping and one-legged steps in the dancing are almost certainly European (see the comment on track 14). The use of triple meter and compound duple meter might be seen as coming originally from Europe. Other elements in the dance, the role of the gong, the use of *pantun*, and the basic performance-context all seem indigenous.

The most interesting question concerns the songs themselves, their scales and melodic structures. Some scales match standard European

major or minor forms (track 16); some songs, on the other hand, use a five-tone scale that is clearly meant to sound "Chinese." The so-called "gypsy minor" (tracks 13, 17) is common in *lagu ronggèng* but exotic in Europe; it might be more economical to look for a source in the Middle East than in Europe. As for structure: the accordion was adopted into the ensemble to provide harmony—but the harmonic progressions are not always those of the European standard style. This is particularly true of *senandung* melodies, which are often tonally unstable. *Damak* (track 16), for example, is primarily in a major key, but its dominant keeps drifting into minor and being yanked back; during one of those excursions into the dominant minor the song just ends. Such melodies, it seems, can accept harmony, but they weren't built for it. As they stand, they are assuredly not European melodies; probably they should be seen as Melayu creations in a non-harmonic idiom, based on scales introduced from Europe or elsewhere.

FURTHER READING

A list of references, together with the Melayu-language texts of some of the songs in this album, can be found at the Smithsonian Folkways website: <http://www.si.edu/folkways>

COMMENTARY ON THE SELECTIONS

ZAPIN

I. Cari Hiburan

Orkès Gambus Al-Hidayah, based in Palembang. Fahmi Alwialhadi, gambus & vocal.

Zapin music, played by an *orkès gambus* in what they call an *asli* ("authentic") style. The lyrics express traditionalist criticism of the modern secular world: love songs are more popular than religious songs; women used to have long hair and wear feminine clothes, now they wear miniskirts and look like men. The refrain says: "This world is an arena of dreams; strange things happen." The verses are free-form, not *pantun*. The song was composed by a former member of the group who was known as "Ali Pakistan."

The key members of this *orkès* are of Arab ancestry. They sing a number of songs in Arabic, learned from recordings. (The recordings they mentioned were by other Indonesian *orkès gambus*, not by Middle Eastern groups.) Their instrumentation here is: a *gambus* (that is, an *ud*; see the cover photograph), two violins, and three *marawis* (also known by the Javanese term *ketipung*). They expressed the roles of the three drums as verbs: one holds the beat, *mopo'i* (they demonstrated vocally: *kapakapakapak*); one *menganaki*, which here must mean plays the basic pattern; the third "responds," *meningkah*. Their *ud* was made in Java; it has nine strings (three single strings for lower tones, three double courses for upper tones) and, unlike the modern Arabic *ud*, is fretted. In addition to *zapin*, the group plays music for two other dances, *syarah*

and *zahèfeh*, that are believed to come, like *zapin*, from the Hadramaut; and they play other genres of music, like *dangdut* and *qasidah*, that have Islamic associations. For these other genres, or when they are playing *zapin* music but not in the *asli* style, they may amplify their *ud* and add electronic keyboards, a flute, and other drums to the ensemble.

2. Dayung Duabelas

Gambus musicians based near Pekanbaru.
M. Sani Burhan, *gambus & vocal.*

This song has a marked Middle Eastern feel (thanks to two augmented seconds in the scale), but its lyrics are standard miscellaneous *pantun* with no religious content. The *gambus* is a skin-covered lute (not an *ud*), with seven strings (three double courses and a single bass string). The basic *marwas* part is here called *batang*; the decorative part is *tingkah*.

3. Lancang Kuning

Gambus musicians based on Pulau Bengkalis.
H. Zakaria M.A., *gambus & vocal.*

This is considered the basic, indispensable *gambus* song in mainland and island Riau; as we said above, its melody sounds strikingly European. The opening stanza of the text (technically a *syair* rather than a *pantun*) is virtually always the one heard here; it concerns a royal boat, presumably carrying the sultan, venturing into dangerous waters. After that, the choice of *pantun* (typically non-religious) is up to the singer. H. Zakaria's *gambus* has nine strings (four double courses and a single bass string). One *marwas*

plays the basic beat (*melalu*), the other two *meningkah*.

4. Ahmadi

Gambus musicians based on Pulau Bengkalis. Ismail, *gambus & vocal.*

A drummer in track 3 asked if he might record one song after H. Zakaria finished. He had learned it from his father, who had learned it from a man who came from Makasar. As usual, there is nothing religious about the text, which is an ordinary string of *pantun* about feeling lonely and misused.

THEATER FORMS: MAK YONG & MENDU

5. Peranta

Grup Mendu Sedanau, based on Pulau Sedanau.

Peranta is played as a preliminary to a *menu* performance and serves to notify the community that the show is about to begin. The instruments are: a two-headed drum, *gendang*, held horizontally in front of the player by a strap around his neck and played with bare hands; a single-headed cylindrical drum, *beduk*, played with sticks; and *blik*, any sort of metal can (here a rectangular cookie tin), again played with sticks.

6. Betabèk - 7. Cantèk Manis -

8. Timang Bunga

Mak Yong Pak Atan, based in Kijang, Pulau Bintan.

Three segments from *mak yong*. After *buka tanah*, the ritual "clearing the land" of hostile spirits, and *menghadap rebab*, a semi-ritual presentation of the actors to the instruments, *Betabèk* is a formal welcome to the audience and recitation of

some necessary mantras; it is here sung by the woman playing the Pak Yong. It is followed (still in track 6) by a subsection called *Waktu Baik*, a brief instrumental called *Jalan Jauh* (which in performance would involve dance and hence be much longer), and a return to *Waktu Baik*. *Cantèk Manis* (track 7) is a plot song (that is, one explaining a character's intentions or actions); it would be sung by the Mak Senik character. (The singer here is the same as the one in track 6, but that is because at the time of recording the Mak Senik singer was not in good voice.) *Timang Bunga* is sung by a Dayang or maid-servant, to amuse the queen or princess in the garden. *Cantèk Manis* and *Timang Bunga* use seven-tone major scales; *Betabèk*, interestingly, uses only four tones.

The instruments in these recordings are: a pair of long, two-headed drums, *gendang*, one of which is the "mother" while the other is the "child"; a pair of shorter goblet drums, *gedombak*, heard only in the instrumental *Jalan Jauh* section; two hanging gongs; *mong*, a pair of small gongs mounted horizontally in a rack; *brèng-brèng*, a bossed gong struck on the face (not the boss) to produce a jangling sound; and several pairs of bamboo slats, *cerèk*, struck together. There should probably also be a melody instrument, either *serunai* (shawm) or *rebab* (bowed lute). We say "probably" because Pak Atan assured us that the ensemble was complete as it stood, with neither one. Playing without *rebab*, he said, was so common that there was a special word, *betani*, for it: "The *rebab* player isn't here; let's go ahead and *betani*." His justification for recording without *serunai* (non-essential instrument; recent addition

to the ensemble) was less convincing. In any case, the *serunai* player was ill and could not record.

9. Jalan Kunon - 10. Lagu Perang - 11. Air Mawar - 12. Bermas

Grup Mendu Sedanau.

Music from the middle and end of a *menu* play. *Jalan Kunon* is a plot song, announcing that the characters are travelling through a forest. The text is in straightforward couplets, not *pantun*. *Lagu Perang* is a "battle tune" that sounds thoroughly European. *Air Mawar* begins as a plot song—I'm tired, let's rest awhile—and then goes into apparently unconnected *pantun*. All of the singers are male, though one is portraying a female character.

Bermas (track 12) is the formal closing of a night of *menu*, and at least in the past it had ritual importance: the gods who had attended the performance were requested to go home and forgive any mistakes. The actors sang *Bermas* standing in a circle; as they sang they gradually sank into a crouch and bowed their heads. The song is unmetered, and the only accompanying instrument is the violin.

RONGGÈNG

13. Sri Mersing - 14. Serampang Laut

Ronggèng musicians, based in Kijang, Pulau Bintan. Aliah & Sarijah, *vocals* (track 13); Aliah & Nazam Hamid, *vocals* (track 14).

A pair of *lagu ronggèng*, played in the old island Riau style with different drums for slow and fast dances. Violin and gong play in both

tempos. *Sri Mersing* is a *senandung*; the drum is the horizontal *gendang panjang*; the scale is the "gypsy minor." *Serampang Laut* is a *lagu dua* in the major scale; the drum is a European tenor drum, here called *tambur*. At the end of *Serampang Laut*, the drumming speeds up into a rapid dance section, in which the two dancers face each other and, standing on their right legs, extend their left legs forward until their feet touch; then they switch legs. We were given two names for this dance: *Perancis bol* and *sèkèn kaki*. Neither of these phrases makes much sense in Melayu, but they could be imitations of foreign speech. The first seems to combine *Perancis*, the Melayu word for "France" or "French," with the English *ball* or French *bal*; the second joins the Melayu word *kaki*, "foot," with what could be the English *shaking*.

15. Serampang Laut

Jogèt musicians of the Orang Asli on Pulau Bengkalis. Abian binti A Sang, Guek binti Pacak, & Kimpoi binti Mei Lan, vocals.

The Orang Asli call their entertainment *jogèt* rather than *ronggèng*: the singers do not dance while singing. The instruments are: a large violin (*biola*), a gong (*tawak*), and two single-headed frame drums (*gendang*). The musicians describe one drum as "waiting" (*menanti*) while the other one "chases after" it (*mengajar*). The vocal melody uses six tones of the major scale; the violin supplies the seventh. There was confusion about the title of the song: we were told that it was *Serampang Pantai*, but the singer clearly states in her opening *pantun* that "the name of

this song is *Serampang Laut*." We decided to trust our artist.

The Orang Asli are a Melayu Asli group who acknowledge relation to the Akit of Pulau Rupa and the Sakai of mainland Riau. They are fishermen and wood-gatherers; they do not farm. One story we heard was that they descend from Chinese from Singapore who intermarried with Akit. There may be some truth to this: some of their personal names could be Chinese, and the leader of the musicians was able to write his name in Chinese characters but not in roman.

16. Damak - 17. Hitam Manis

Ronggèng musicians, based in Medan. Senang beru Ginting Suka & Syaiful Amri Nasution, vocals.

Another pair of *lagu ronggèng*—*senandung* followed by *lagu dua*—performed in the regional style known as Melayu Deli (after the Deli sultanate). The instruments are violin (*biola*), accordion (*arkodéon*), and two frame drums (*gendang*), "mother" and "child." The "child" *mengisi*, "fills in" the basic pattern played by the "mother." *Damak* uses the major scale plus one alteration; the song's tonal vagaries are discussed above. *Hitam Manis* uses the "gypsy minor."

The musicians said that they were performing at a slower tempo and more "carefully" than they would in an actual *ronggèng* event. As an example of extra care, they mentioned that in our session they made sure they had found a comfortable key before getting deeply into a song; in a real *ronggèng* performance, if the key was too high for the male singer they would just bump down until they found his range. They also wanted to deter-

mine in advance how many *pantun* each singer would sing and what the second song of the pair would be. They referred to this more careful practice as *gaya rekaman*, "recording style."

RECORDING AND PERFORMANCE DATA

Recorded using a Sony TCD-D10 Pro DAT recorder (backed up with a Denon DTR-80P DAT recorder) and a Sonosax SX-PR mixer (customized to eight in, two out). Microphones: Sennheiser MKH-40s, Neumann KM-184s, and Neumann KM-100s. All performances were commissioned for these recordings.

Track 1: Orkès Gambus Al-Hidayah, directed by Hasan Boften. Group based in Palembang, Prop. [Propinsi] Sumatera Selatan. Musicians: Fahmi Alwialhadi (*gambus* [=ud]/vocal), Abdullah Syahab (*piol* [=violin]), Hasan Boften (*piol*), Syahabuddin Syahab (*marwas*), Muhammad Syahab (*marwas*), Muhammad Alkab (*marwas*). Recorded in the studio of Palapa Record, Palembang, using MSPI equipment, 3 August 1994.

Track 2: Gambus musicians (members of Orkès Melayu Asli Riau, directed by M. Sani Burhan), based in Rumbai, near Pekanbaru, Prop. Riau. Musicians: M. Sani Burhan (*gambus*/vocal), Edi Senjaya (*marwas*), Dasrul (*marwas*), Alianar (*marwas*). Recorded outdoors in Pekanbaru, 21 May 1993.

Track 3: Gambus musicians based in Kota Bengkalis, Pulau Bengkalis, Kab. [Kabupaten] Bengkalis, Prop. Riau. Musicians: H. Zakaria M.A.

(*gambus*/vocal), Nazaruddin (*marwas*), Hasan A.N. (*marwas*), Ismail (*marwas*). Recorded in a private home in Kota Bengkalis, 24 July 1994.

Track 4: as for track 3. Musicians: Ismail (*gambus*/vocal), Nazaruddin (*marwas*), Hasan A.N. (*marwas*), M. Amin (*marwas*). Recorded as for track 3.

Track 5: Grup Mendu Sedanau, directed by Ahmadiyah; Ajar Bintan, *khalfah*. Group based in Pulau Sedanau, Kec. [Kecamatan] Bunguran Barat, Kab. Kepulauan Riau, Prop. Riau. Players: Ahmadiyah (*bedug*), Ajar Bintan (*gendang*), Agus Santri (*blik*), Bujang Haini (*gong*). Recorded in a private home on Pulau Sedanau, 19 June 1993.

Tracks 6-8: Makyong Pak Atan, directed by M. Atan Rahman. Group based in Kp. [Kampung] Baru Keke, Kel. [Kelurahan] Kampung Kijang, Kec. Bintan Timur, Pulau Bintan, Kab. Kepulauan Riau, Prop. Riau. Players: M. Atan Rahman (*gendang pengibu*; *gedombak pengibu/penganak*), M. Muckhtar (*gendang penganak*), M. Azlan (*gong*), M. Raus (*mong*), Said Hamzah (*brèng-brèng*), Kamaruddin Latip (*cerèk*), Agus (*cerèk*), Kadariswanto (*cerèk*). Lead singers: Kadarusmiyani (tracks 6 and 7), Manah (track 8). Chorus: Kadarunhayati, Kadarnurliani, Kadarusmiati, Radiah, Rohayah, Rumiah, Salmah, Sarijah, Sunarti, Halim, Nazam Hamid. Recorded outdoors in Kijang, Pulau Bintan, 28-29 July 1994.

Tracks 9-12: as for track 5. Players: Nawawi (*gendang* in #9), Ajar Bintan (*gendang* in #10, #11), Sudin (*piol* [=violin] in all), Bujang Haini (*gong* in

#9, #10), Effendi Djamal (gong in #11). Singers in #9 and #11: Fatimah Syam, Holi, Bujang Haini (#11 only), Nawawi (#11 only). Chorus in #12: Abdul Gani, Agus Santri, Asil Syamsilfana, Baharuddin, Bahtiar, Bujang Haini, Fatimah Syam, Hardiman, Holi, Husin, Nawawi, M. Sidik S., Syarifuddin. Recorded as for track 5.

Track 13: Ronggèng musicians, directed by M. Atan Rahman. Musicians based as for tracks 6-8. Musicians: Nazam Hamid (*gendang*), Husin Usman (*biola* [=violin]), Liman (*gong*), Aliah (vocal), Sarijah (vocal). Recorded outdoors in Kijang, Pulau Bintan, 30-31 July 1994.

Track 14: as for track 13. Musicians: M. Atan Rahman (*tambur*), Husin Usman (*biola*), M. Muckhtar (*gong*), Aliah (female vocal), Nazam Hamid (male vocal). Recorded as for track 13.

Track 15: Joget musicians based in Kp. Anak Kempas, Ds. [Desa] Bantan Tengah, Kec. Bengkalis, Pulau Bengkalis, Kab. Bengkalis, Prop. Riau. Players: Abal binti Bawal (*biola* [=violin]), Si Bol binti Mei Lan (*gendang*), Kiong Alana binti Insan (*gendang*), A Sang binti Pek Jang (*tawak*). Singers: Abian binti A Sang, Guekd binti Pacak, Kimpoi binti Mei Lan. Recorded outdoors in Ds. Bantan Tengah, Pulau Bengkalis, 23 July 1994.

Tracks 16 & 17: Ronggèng musicians based in Medan, Prop. Sumatera Utara. Musicians: Senang beru Ginting Suka (female vocal), Syaiful Amri Nasution (male vocal), Datuk Abdurrahman Sembiring Pelawi (*biola* [=violin]), Zulfan Effendi Lubis (*arkodéon* [=accordion]), Edi Suheri (*gen-*

dang induk), Zulkifli (*gendang anak*). Recorded in the auditorium of Universitas Sumatera Utara in Medan, 18-19 July 1994.

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Photos: Asep Nata (Mak Yong, Zapin Bengkalís), Hanefi (O.G. Al-Hidayah, Joget Bengkalis)

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Design by Visual Dialogue, Boston, MA

Special thanks to Richard Kennedy and Sean Norton

ABOUT THE INDONESIAN PERFORMING ARTS SOCIETY

The Indonesian Performing Arts Society, or Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia, known as MSPI, is a non-profit association of scholars, artists, and others interested in studying, preserving, and disseminating knowledge of the performing arts of Indonesia. MSPI supports research and documentation and publishes an Indonesian-language journal, *Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia*, as well as the Indonesian edition of the *Music of Indonesia* recordings. It also holds scholarly meetings, usually in conjunction with performance festivals. For further information, write to: Sekretariat MSPI, Jl. Sangihe no. 12, Kepatih Wetan, Surakarta 57129, Indonesia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

These recordings could not exist without the art and patience of the performers, and our first thanks, as always, go to them. After that: thanks to Tenas Effendy for inspiration and direction; to Sabam Siregar of P.T. Aneka Tambang for accommodating the MSPI team and giving us a place to record in Kijang, Pulau Bintan; to the staff of the Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional in Tanjung Pinang, in particular Sindu Galba and Gatot Winoto, for much assistance in the Bintan recordings; to Fadlin, of the Jurusan Ethnomusikologi, USU, for arranging our recording in Medan; and to B. M. Syamsuddin, Yusman, M. Sidik S., and Ahmadiyah, for their help in Pulau Tujuh.

We are particularly indebted to the scholars who helped us decide on what and where and whom to record: Pudentia MPSS, Bisri Effendy, and Sutamat Arybowo, specialists in Melayu arts working with the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI); and Ashley Turner, a specialist in the music of mainland Riau with a wide knowledge of the whole of Melayu culture. Then there was the question of what to say afterwards: in writing the commentary, PY made extensive use of the writings and conversation of those scholars; he also consulted Henri Chambert-Loir in person (it was his idea that *bangsawan* may have inspired the transition of *menu* from narrative to theater) and Ashley Wee and Tenas Effendy in print.

The Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies of the Smithsonian Institution, the Southeast Asia Regional Office of the Ford Foun-

dation, and the Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia provided their usual excellent institutional, administrative, logistical, and clerical support, and Anthony Seeger and Richard Kennedy (CFPCS), Alan Feinstein (Ford), and Sal Murgiyanto (MSPI) gave personal guidance and assistance. Paul Blakemore, who designed the recording equipment package, answered many technical questions during the research and solved many problems in the mastering. In carrying out this project, PY has frequently had to impose on the friendship of Alan Feinstein and Jennifer Lindsay, and even more so, at every turn, on the support and forbearance of Tinuk Yampolsky. What if she had, one of these many times, said no?

Other titles in the *Music of Indonesia Series*:

Music of Indonesia, Vol. 1: Songs Before Dawn: Gandrung Banyuwangi SF40055 (CD, CS) 1991

Music of Indonesia, Vol. 2: Indonesian Popular Music: Kroncong, Dangdut, and Langgam Jawa SF40056 (CD, CS) 1991

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MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 11: Melayu Music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands

Liner note supplement 04/04/2008

Recorded and compiled by Philip Yampolsky. 75 minutes. SFW CD 40427 (1996)

Although most titles in this landmark 20-album series are accompanied by substantial documentary booklets, in some cases additional information, updates, and corrections were submitted only after the release of an individual album. These pages contain such post-release supplementary materials.

This page contains the following supplementary information: Track list and link to PDF file containing transcriptions of song lyrics; Link to Further Readings and Listening-A Selected Bibliography and Discography for Volumes 7 & 11; Updates; Photo Captions.

Track List for Volume 11

1. Cari Hiluran
2. Dayung Duabelas
3. Lancang Kuning (excerpt)
4. Ahmadi
5. (Mendu) Peranta
6. (Mak Yong) Betabek
7. (Mak Yong) Cantek Manis
8. (Mak Yong) Timanf Bunga
9. (Mendu) Jalan Kunon
10. (Mendu) Lagu Perang
11. (Mendu) Air Mawar
12. (Mendu) Bermas
13. Sri Mersing
14. Serampang Laut (Palau Bintan)
15. Serampang Laut (Orang Asli)
16. Damak
17. Hitam Manis

Updates by Philip Yampolsky (March 2000)

1. The form of the minor scale that is heard in *Sri Mersing* (track 13) and *Hitam Manis* (track 17) is not the gypsy minor but the harmonic minor.



2. The suggestion that there was a "rural tradition of lute-playing" (p.9, right column, top) needs to be worded more carefully. Here is a revised version: "...what rises like an unexpected genie is the possibility that the *zapin* dance and the strong Islamic aura of *gambus* music may have emerged comparatively recently, reflecting the recasting of an earlier rural tradition of *gambus*-playing linked to local beliefs and less exclusively associated with Islam."

Photo Captions for volumen 11:

Front: Musicians of the Orkes Gambus Al-Hidayah (Palembang). Husin Boften (*gambus* [=ud]), Hasan Boften (*piol* [=violin]).

Back (upper left): *Mak yong* drummers (Pulau Bintan). M. Atan Rahman at right.

Back (upper right): *Gambus* and *marawis* (Pulau Bengkalis). Haji Zakaria at left.

Back (lower left): *Mak yong* dancer (Pulau Bintan).

Back (lower right): *Biola* player (Abal binti Bawal) of the Orang Asli of Pulau Bengkalis.

MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 11: Melayu Music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands.
Recorded and compiled by Philip Yampolsky. 25-page booklet. 75 minutes. SFW 40427 (1996)

This file provides transcriptions of the texts sung in Bahasa Melayu or Bahasa Indonesia in Volume 11 of the 20-volume *Music of Indonesia* series published by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

The transcriptions were prepared by Philip Yampolsky. For tracks 6–9, 11, and 12, rudimentary texts were supplied by the performers; these frequently did not match the words sung. The other texts were transcribed after I had left the field and was unable to consult with the singers. They are thus in part conjectural. If I feel confident that I have caught the words and they make sense, I present them without brackets, in the normal manner. When I am pretty sure I have got the words, but don't know what they mean, I put them in brackets with a question mark. If I can't make out the words at all, I put an ellipsis in brackets. The aim of the transcriptions is to record all of the words sung, including repetitions, fillers, and non-lexical vocables.

After the transcriptions, we provide a selective bibliography for further reading and listening. There are also two revisions of the text signaled after the bibliography, plus photo captions that were omitted from the published commentary.

1. Cari Hiburan. *Composed by "Ali Pakistan."*

Cari hiburan pergi ke bulan
Berbulan madu di awan biru
Mode busana abad seribu

Sungguh dunia terbalik sudah, semua palsu
Lagu asmara yang digemari
Lagu agama tak disenangi
Dunia ini arena mimpi
Yang aneh-aneh bisa terjadi

Cari hiburan pergi ke bulan
Berbulan madu di awan biru
Mode busana abad seribu

Sungguh dunia terbalik sudah, semua palsu
Lagu asmara yang digemari
Lagu agama tak disenangi
Dunia ini arena mimpi
Yang aneh-aneh bisa terjadi

Dua wanita memang berbeda
Lain namanya lain sifatnya
Lain caranya dalam bercinta
Dua wanita pernah kujumpa
Sungguh serupa
Sama wajahnya sama cantiknya

Tingkah lakunya sama serupa
Dunia ini arena mimpi
Yang aneh-aneh bisa terjadi

Lain dahulu lain sekarang
Dulu wanita berambut panjang
Pakai kebaya pakai selendang
Tetapi kini sudah berganti dengan rok mini
Kaum wanita mirip lelaki
Membedakannya sulit sekali
Dunia ini arena mimpi
Yang aneh-aneh bisa terjadi

Wainai . . . ya salam
Wainai . . . ya salam
Wainai . . . ya salam

2. Dayung Duabelas

Buah lah [pernah dayung lah ke jati ?]
Buah lah [pernah dayung lah ke jati ?]
Allah ya nanana lai lai tuan [or: laillahi Tuhan ?]
[...] nenas maulana la ya kasih di dalam lah kebun
[...] nenas maulana la ya kasih di dalam lah kebun

Tindak lah [telah ?] memamah lah kami
Tindak lah [telah ?] memamah lah kami
Allah ya nanana lai lai tuan
Siang berpanas maulana la ya kasih malam lah berembun
Siang berpanas maulana la ya kasih malam lah berembun

Yada yadada din yadadan yadadin
Yadada yadada din yadadada yadadadin

Sungai lah Siak air lah yang dalam
Sungai lah Siak air lah yang dalam
Allah ya nanana lai lai tuan
Disanalah tempat maulana la ya kasih mandi lah yang lah bermandi
Disanalah tempat maulana la ya kasih mandi lah yang lah bermandi

Apa lah hati tak remuk lah redam
Apa lah hati tak remuk lah redam
Allah ya nanana lai lai tuan
Karena lah cik adik maulana la ya kasih tinggal lah yang lah sendiri
Karena lah cik adik maulana la ya kasih tinggal lah yang sendiri

Yada yadada din, yadadan yadadin
Yadada yadada din yadadada yadadadin

Kalau lah ada sumur lah di ladang
Kalau lah ada sumur lah di ladang
Allah ya danada lai lai tuan
Boleh lah kita maulana la ya kasih menumpang lah mandi
Boleh lah kita maulana la ya kasih menumpang lah mandi

Kalau lah ada umur lah yang panjang
Kalau lah ada umur lah yang panjang
Allah ya danada lai lai tuan
Boleh lah ya kita maulana la ya kasih bermain lah lagi
Boleh lah ya kita maulana la ya kasih bermain lah lagi

Yada yadada din yadadan yadadin
Yadada yada din yadadan yadadin

3. Lancang Kuning

Lancang kuning, lancang kuning berhanyut malam, berhanyut malam
Lancang kuning, lancang kuning berhanyut malam, berhanyut malam
Haluan menuju, haluan menuju ke laut dalam
Haluan menuju, haluan menuju lautan dalam

Lancang kuning berhanyut malam
Lancang kuning berhanyut malam

Kalau nakhoda kurang lah paham, kurang paham
Kalau nakhoda kurang lah paham, kurang paham
Alamat kapal, alamat kapal akan tenggelam
Alamat kapal, alamat kapal akan tenggelam

Lancang kuning berlayar malam
Lancang kuning berlayar malam

Lancang kuning lancang pusaka, lancang pusaka
Lancang kuning lancang pusaka, lancang pusaka
Nama tak boleh, nama tak boleh ditukar ganti
Nama tak boleh, nama tak boleh ditukar ganti

Lancang kuning berlayar malam
Lancang kuning berlayar malam

Kalau kering Selat Melaka, Selat Melaka
Kalau kering Selat Melaka, Selat Melaka
Baru lah kami, baru lah kami memungkirkan janji
Baru lah kami, baru lah kami mungkirkan janji

Lancang kuning berlayar malam

Lancang kuning berlayar malam

[the remainder of the song as performed is omitted from the published recording:]

Pukul lapan, pukul sembilan, pukul sembilan
Pukul lah lapan, pukul lapan, pukul sembilan, pukul sembilan
Pukul lah tabuh, pukul lah tabuh, keliling kota
Pukul lah tabuh, pukul lah tabuh, keliling kota

Lancang kuning berlayar malam
Lancang kuning berlayar malam

Kalau lah bertiup angin selatan, ai angin selatan
Kalau bertiup, kalau bertiup angin selatan, ai angin selatan
Angkat lah sauh, angkat lah sauh, berlayar kita
Angkat lah sauh, angkat lah sauh, berlayar kita

Lancang kuning berlayar malam
Lancang kuning berlayar malam

from here on the singer shuffles the above three pantun

4. Achmadi

Dari lah Jawa pergi ke Medan, pergi ke Medan
Singgah sebentar di Jakarta, singgah sebentar di Jakarta

Adik laksana bermata intan, bermata intan
Abang dimabuk cahayanya, abang dimabuk cahayanya

Sayang laksmana membelah papan, membelah papan
Papan dibelah tiga bersegi, papan dibelah tiga bersegi

Saya umpama ibarat umpan, ibarat umpan
Habis tak tinggal mengulang lagi, habis tak tinggal mengulang lagi

Ikan [dulama ?] si ikan pias, si ikan pias
[...] manis di dalam tulang, kayu lah manis di dalam tulang

Saya umpama tebu seruas, tebu seruas
Habis lah manis sepah dibuang, habis lah manis sepah dibuang

Ikan belanak hilir berenang, hilir berenang
Burung lah dara membuat sarang, durung lah dara membuat sarang

Bubur tak enak makan tak kenyang, makan tak kenyang
Hanya teringat adik seorang, hanya teringat adik seorang

Sudah kuikat ranting yang patah, ranting yang patah
Itu berlalu kampung Melayu, itu berlalu kampung Melayu

Setelah dapat gading bertuah, gading bertuah
Tandu lah lembu terbang lalu, tandu lah lembu terbang lalu

6. Betabèk

Betabèk

Wong eyoi, hilang wayat [...] timbul lah
Timbul tesebut ledang balai eloi, yong dede dede

Chorus repeats above verse

Wong eyoi, angkat tangan menjunjung sembah lah
Guru tua guru muda eloi, yong dede dede

Chorus repeats above verse

Wong eyoi, hilang kemana gaib kemana lah awang
Awang tidak bersama saya e awang oi, yong dede dede

Chorus repeats above verse

Wong eyoi, gerak bangun si goncang jaga lah
Di sini tempat nak manggil awang e awang oi, yong dede dede

Chorus repeats above verse

Waktu Baik

Walau waktu baik, eyoi waktu baik [...] lah yong dede dede

Choral refrain:

Awe eyoi, dendang dendang sidang dondang lah yong dede dede

Awe eyoi, hilang kemana gaib kemana
Awang tidak bersama saya lah awang, yong dede dede

Choral refrain

Acara awang awang we

Jalan Jauh; then return to Waktu Baik

Awe eyoi, di sini tempat nak manggil awang
Nak ngajak awang kira bicara lah awang yong dede dede

Choral refrain

Awe eyoi, hilang kemana gaib kemana
Awang tidak bersama saya lah awang, yong dede dede

Choral refrain

Awe eyoi, bangun lah awang dengan segera
Saya nak ngajak kira bicara lah awang, yong dede dede

Choral refrain

7. Cantèk Manis

Amboi Mak Inang saya semangat saya Mak Inang
Amboi Mak Inang semangat saya
Dengarlah dengar Mak Inang saya berkaba
Cantek manis duduk lalalale lalalale

Chorus repeats above verse, omitting "Mak Inang" at end of first line

Amboi Mak Inang saya semangat saya Mak Inang
Amboi Mak Inang semangat saya
Saya nak ngajak Mak Inang menghadap abang
Cantek manis duduk lalalale lalalale

Chorus repeats above verse, omitting "Mak Inang" at end of first line

Itulah saja Mak Inang saya berkaba
Itulah saja saya berkaba

Di sini tempat Mak Inang kira bicara
Cantek manis duduk lalalale lalalale

Chorus repeats above verse

8. Timang Bunga

Banyak lah bunga Mak Inang di dalam taman
Banyak lah bunga di dalam taman
Ada yang putih merah ada yang merah
Ada yang putih merah ada yang merah

Chorus repeats above verse

Bunga yang mana Mak Inang Mak Inang berkenan

Bunga yang mana Mak Inang berkenan
Petik sekaki Mak Inang saya nak sunting
Petik sekaki Mak Inang saya nak sunting

Chorus repeats above verse

Burung mekakah terbang merendah
Burung mekakah terbang merendah
Hinggap sa-ekor ranting di atas ranting
Hinggap sa-ekor ranting di atas ranting

Chorus repeats above verse but sings "Sayang mekakah" instead of "Burung mekakah" and adds "Mak Inang" after "mekakah" in first line.

Bunga cempaka Mak Inang bau yang indah
Bunga cempaka bau yang indah
Petikkan saya Inang saya nak sunting
Petikkan saya Mak Inang saya nak sunting

Chorus repeats above verse but last two lines begin "Petik setangkai Mak Inang"

Sayalah sudah Mak Inang menimang bunga
Sayalah sudah menimang bunga
Sila Mak Inang pula menimang pula
Sila Mak Inang pula menimang pula

Chorus repeats above verse

9. Jalan Kunon

Suatulah peri berjalan kunon
Suatulah peri
Berjalan lah membawa ya ilahi nasib badan sendiri
Berjalan lah membawa ya ilahi nasib badan sendiri

Sesatlah melarat dalam hutan dan duri
Ai sesat melarat dalam hutan dan duri
Berjalan lah menurut ya ilahi kehendak lah hati
Berjalan lah menurut ya ilahi kehendak lah hati

Tak usah kan makan minum jauh sekali
Tak usah kan makan minum jauh sekali
Sekarang lah baik ya ilahi kami langsung sekali
Sekarang lah yang baik ya ilahi kami langsung sekali

11. Air Mawar

Pucuk lah melelai
Pucuk lah melelai

Air lah surut saya menanam padi
Letih lah badan terasa lah badan
Karena menurut hati kehendak lah hati

Hendak lah mandi sayang kenapa tak mandi
Antara lah belum puasa bulan puasa
Hendak lah jadi mengapa tak jadi
Antara lah belum rusak rusak binasa

Burung jelatik sayang burung jeladan
Burung tekukur terbang tinggi
Sama lah cantik sama lah padan
Mari diukur sama lah tinggi

12. Bermas

Pucuk pauh delima lah batu [2x]
Anak sembilan tangan di tapak lah tangan [2x]

Tuan lah jauh negeri yang satu [2x]
Hilang di mata di hati lah jangan [2x]

Lepas bermas bermas lah pula [2x]
Emas sekupang dibagi lah lima [2x]

Lepas bermaaf bermaaf lah pula [2x]
Maaf lah seorang bermaaf lah semuanya [2x]

13. Sri Mersing

Kalau lah tuan ke Indragiri
Bawa lah bunga kembang melati
Kalau lah tuan ke Indragiri
Bawa lah bunga kembang melati

Kami menyanyi lagu lah ini
Pendengar budiman silahkan saja maaf diberi
Kami menyanyi lagu lah ini
Pendengar budiman silahkan saja maaf diberi

Kalau lah tidak selendang lah Bali
Serindit lah makan di lada lah muda
Kalau lah tidak selendang lah Bali

Serindit makan di lada lah muda

Kalau tidak kenang lah sekali
Kenang sedikit kenang sedikit adapun juga
Kalau tidak kenang sekali
Kenang sedikit adoh e sayang adapun juga

14. Serampang Laut (Bintan)

Ini lagu Serampang Laut
Pulau Sambu jauh [Cempadang?]
Rasa hati hendak mengikut, hendak mengikut
Apa kan daya di tangan orang, alah sayang tangan orang

Ikan-ikan [cebaran?] ikan-ikan
di laut berduri-duri, ikan di laut berduri-duri
Saudara bukan kakak lah bukan, saudara bukan
Ati lah tersangkut budi kerana budi, hati tersangkut kerna budi

Teluk embun mengkalang juda, mengkalang juda
Tebang buluh penyampai kain, alah sayang penyampai kain

Sungguh belum terasa sudah, terasa sudah
Hati tidak pada yang lain, hati tidak pada yang lain

[... liat ?] mengkalang tua, mengkalang tua
Tiga lah dengan kacang panjang, tiga dengan kacang panjang
Sudah tahu kita berdua, kita berdua
Bermain pantun sa-orang satu, sa-orang satu

15. Serampang Laut (Bengkalis)

Ini lagu Selampang Laut, Selampang Laut
[...] dipasang layar dipaut, ala sayang layar dipaut
Kalau (ng)abang berkata patut, berkata patut
Ke mana pergi kami kan ikut, ala sayang kami kan ikut

[...]
[...] si madu lebah
Tujuh lapis lah angin meni pah, angin meni pah
La mula kasi tidak berubah, ala sayang tidak berubah

Kain pekat si panjang tujuh, si panjang tujuh
Sama lah tengah dimakan(g) api, ala saya dimakan(g) api
Kalau nggak ada berkata sungguh, berkata sungguh
Barulah senang rasa di hati, ala sayang rasa di hati

Kain pelekat kepala dua, kepala dua
Bawah lah burung terebang [dikit?], bawah burung terbang [dikit?]
[Nanti?] terikat cabang berdua, cabang berdua
Rasa lah tidak tenang di hati, rasa tidak tenang di hati

16. Damak

Lautan lah tenang, laut tenang gempa digoyang gempa sayang
[...] bertalu lah talu
ahai damak damak sayang
Lautan tenang, laut tenang digoyang gempa sayang
[...] bertalu pula talu
ahai damak lah damak sayang
Kalaulah tuan, kalau tuan jumpa ingin berjumpa
Ai pesankan saja di angin yang lalu
Kalaulah tuan, kalau tuan jumpa ingin berjumpa
Pesankan saja di angin yang lalu

Kiri pun jalan, di kiri jalan kanan pun jalan sayang
Di tengah-tengah pohon kenari
ahai damak damak sayang
Di kiri jalan, di kiri jalan kanan pun jalan sayang
Di tengah-tengah pohon kenari
ahai damak damak sayang
Berkirim jangan, berkirim jangan ai pesan jangan
Kalau lah rindu ai datang sendiri
Berikirim jangan, berkirim jangan berpesan pun jangan
Kalau lah rindu ai datang sendiri

Rondang-randing bawa kutandang sayang
Sayur bayam saya kan ruruti
ahai damak damak sayang
Rondang lah randing, rondang-randing bawa kutandang sayang
Sayur lah bayam ruruti saya ruruti
ahai damak damak sayang
Rindu lah siang, rindu siang tandang hai ku bawa bertandang
Rindu lah malam [...] tangisi
Rindu lah siang, rindu siang tandang bawa bertandang
Ai rindu lah malam [...bantal?] tangisi

Pergi ke ladang, pergi ke ladang menabur lah benih sayang
Dengan harapan berbuah lah lebat
ahai damak damak sayang
Pergi ke ladang, menabur lah benih sayang
Dengan harapan berbuah lah lebat
ahai damak damak sayang
Bagai lah mana, bagai lah mana sedih hati tak sedih

Jiwaku panen orang tak ingat
Bagai lah mana, bagai lah mana sedih hati tak sedih
Masalah panen orang tak ingat

17. Hitam Manis

Kerap-kerap kelapa puan
Kalau tak puan berapa [bali?]
Kerap-kerap kelapa puan
Kalau tak puan berapa [bali?]

Saya harap padamu tuan
Kalau tak buang lagi siapa lagi
Saya harap padamu tuan
Kalau tak buang lagi siapa lagi

Cincang-cincang kubikin rujak
Mata memandang hatiku rusak
Rujak-rujak kelapa puan
hatiku rusak padamu tuan

Sungguh hitam sebuah manggis
Manis pula rasa isinya sayang
Sungguh hitam sebuah manggis
Manis pula rasa isinya

Puan hitam kupandang manis
Manis pula budi bahasanya
Puan hitam kupandang manis
Manis pula budi bahasanya

Hitam lah hitam si tampuk manggis
Walaupun hitam kupandang manis
Hitam hitam burung merpati sayang
Walaupun hitam menawan hati

Sentral pasar Tebing Tinggi
Sebelah barat menjual makan
Sentral pasar Tebing Tinggi
Sebelah barat menjual makan

Jangan diangkat terlalu tinggi tuan
Masakan batu intan menjadi intan
Jangan diangkat terlalu tinggi
Tak mungkin batu intan menjadi intan

[Dak kuluruk bukur?] bunganya
Mau kuturut orang yang punya

Hitam-hitam buah manggis
Walaupun hitam kupandang manis

Pasar sentral di Tebing Tinggi
Anak dara menjual pandan
Pasar sentral di Tebing Tinggi
Anak dara menjual pandan

Bukan mengangkat terlalu tinggi
Ini lagunya hanya mainan
Bukan mengangkat terlalu tinggi sayang
Ini lah lagu hanya mainan

Sirsak sirsak nangka Belanda sayang
Hatiku rusak dia karena lah dia

Hitam-hitam si gula Jawa sayang
Walaupun hitam manis tertawa

Kalau malam malam Jum'at
Bakar kemenyan tujuh keramat
Kalau malam malam Jum'at
Bakar kemenyan tujuh keramat

Jangan tuan memuji sangat
Saya mendengar semangat lemah semangat
Jangan tuan memuji sangat
Saya mendengar semangat lemah semangat

Cincang-cincang bikin rujak
Mata memandang rusak hati yang rusak
Rujak-rujak kelapa puan
Hatiku rusak tuan padamu tuan

Sayang Cik Amat [centeng setapat?]
Kerja malas makannya kuat sayang
Sayang Cik Amat [centeng setapat?]
Kerja malas makannya kuat sayang

Sudah banyak dukun mengobat
Namun penyakit semangking kuat
Sudah banyak dukun mengobat
Namun penyakit semangking kuat

Buah manggis buah durian
Hitam manis jadi rebutan
Hitam-hitam burung merpati sayang
Walaupun hitam menawan hati

FURTHER READING AND LISTENING

Selected Bibliography and Discography for Volumes 7 & 11

This listing provides an initial, selective guide to published material regarding the genres of performance represented in Volumes 7 and 11 of the *Music of Indonesia* series, some related genres, and the topics addressed in the introductory commentaries. Further references can be found in the bibliographies of these works. Although our albums concentrate on Melayu music as it is found in Indonesia, this listing reflects the fact that much of the scholarship on Melayu history and culture has been written with a focus on Malaysia rather than Indonesia.

—*bibliography and discography assembled by Philip Yampolsky
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RECORDINGS

Note: all of the recordings listed here come from what is now Malaysia. Apart from the *Music of Indonesia* series, no recordings of Melayu music from Sumatra or the Riau Islands have as yet been published outside Indonesia.

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- La Malaisie: musique traditionnelle*. (Musiques et traditions du monde.) 12" LP. CBS 80934. 1975.
Recordings by Ngac Him and Jacques Brunet; commentary by Jacques Brunet. Includes some selections of mak yong music; no joget, zapin, or mendu.
- Malaisie*. (Musiques de l'Asie traditionnelle, 13.) 12" LP. Playa Sound PS 33517.
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- Festival mondial du folklore: Malaisie*. 12" LP. Société Française de Productions Phonographiques SFP 7.2510.
Recordings of a troupe from a university in Kuala Lumpur, performing at a folklore festival in France. The program includes some examples of joget and zapin.

Music of forest peoples of Malaysia

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Recorded 1941. This recording is now available on cassette and CD by special order from Smithsonian Folkways.
- Dream songs and healing sounds. In the rainforests of Malaysia*. CD. Smithsonian Folkways SF 40417. 1995.

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Later Additions (March 2000)

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Anthony Reid. “Understanding Melayu (Malay) as a source of diverse modern identities,” pp. 295-313.

Leonard Y. Andaya. “The search for the ‘origins’ of Melayu,” pp. 315-330

Timothy P. Barnard. “Texts, Raja Ismail and violence: Siak and the transformation of Malay identity in the eighteenth century,” pp. 331-342

Jan van der Putten. “A Malay of Bugis ancestry: Haji Ibrahim’s strategies of survival,” pp. 343-354
= raja ali haji; haji ibrahim; riau; tuhfah al-nafis; bintang, penyengat; tanjung pinang; lingga

Shamsul A. B. “A history of an identity, an identity of a history: the idea and practice of ‘Malayness’ in malaysia reconsidered,” pp. 355-366

James T. Collins. “Contesting Straits-Malayness: the fact of Borneo,” pp. 385-395

Heather Sutherland. “The Makassar Malays: adaptation and identity, c.1660-1790,” pp. 397-421