Lombok, Kalimantan, Banyumas: Little-known Forms of Gamelan and Wayang
MUSIC OF INDONESIA 14
Lombok, Kalimantan, Banyumas: Little-known Forms of Gamelan and Wayang

The great gamelan orchestras and the wayang shadow-theater of Java and Bali are known everywhere as Indonesian cultural treasures. This album presents three lesser-known varieties of gamelan and wayang that contrast sharply with the standard forms. Wayang Sasak, from Lombok, mixes Javanese-style puppets, Islamic stories, and Balinese and Sasak musical idioms. The music of the gamelan Banjar, from South Kalimantan, is like a wild fantasia on the Javanese model; the album provides the half-hour-long overture to a wayang play, plus music for a masked dance. And jemblung, from Banyumas, in Central Java, using no instruments and no puppets—just four actor-singers—offers an irreverent, low-rent view of the classical tradition.

WAYANG SASAK (from Lombok)
Sekaha Sekar Karya, directed by Dalang Amak Puri
1. Overture and beginning of opening scene 11:51
2. Laju 1:40
3. Rangsang 1:51

JEMBLUNG (from Banyumas, Central Java)
Grup Jemblung Sari Budaya, directed by Mad Yusup
4. Sekar Gadung naik Cikboa 8:28
5. Dhandhanggula 2:07
6. Uler Kambang 6:44

WAYANG BANJAR (from South Kalimantan)
Kresna Group, directed by Ki Dalang Ronde
7. Memucukane [overture] 31:05

TOPENG BANJAR (from South Kalimantan)
Kesenian Wayang Kulit Asam Rimbun, directed by Ki Dalang Diman
8. Klana 10:25

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky.
Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI).
All selections recorded in Indonesia in 1996.
regard these great arts as worthy of inclusion. Balinese music and Central Javanese gamelan music are extraordinarily rich arts, and any complete discussion of "Indian" must consider them at length. But our series does not hope—cannot hope, in twenty volumes—to be complete. There are many fine recordins of Balinese and Central Javanese music available in Indonesia and abroad. Our aim is to bring other sorts of Indonesian music to people's attention, to stand beside those that have already achieved recognition. The present album is an example. We assume that many listeners already have some notion of gamelan music and music for wayang in Central Java and Bali. (For those who do not, we provide some listening and reading suggestions below.) This album we hope to expand their ideas of what gamelan sounds like and how wayang is accompanied in Indonesia.

Shadow-puppetry or wayang kulit may be indigenous to Java and Bali, or it may have come from India sometime in the first millennium A.D. It was well established in Javanese culture by the eleventh century, and possibly long before that. It is not clear what music accompanied wayang at that time, though there are twelfth-century references to singing and what is probably a keyed metallophone (of the gender type, with suspended, "floating" keys) or a bamboo xylophone.

It is sometimes assumed that during the time of the great East Java kingdom of Majapahit (ca. 1300-ca. 1520) large court gamelan emerged that resembled some of the powerful "archaic" gamelan still surviving today—the gamelan sachi of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, or the gamelan gong gede in Bali. The evidence, however, does not clearly support this assumption: the gamelan of that time could well have been a largely non-melodic processional ensemble (on the order of monggong or Balinese bekenangan), incapable of the long compositions played on gamelan sachi or gamelan gong gede. (In that case, these now-archaic ensembles must have developed later, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.) A gamelan that plays for the arrival of a princess at a gathering is mentioned in the Sunanangin, an Old Javanese poem written at the beginning of the thirteenth century (Zakiruddin 1974), judging from its function, this was probably one of the processional ensembles just mentioned, or possibly an archaic gamelan. The same poem mentions gamelan in another context, played by the princess's ladies-in-waiting. Again judging from its function, this is likely to have been an ensemble of softer sounds—strings, xylophones, flutes, singers, possibly gender-type (i.e., mellow-toned and comparatively quiet) metallophones.

We know that soft ensembles of this sort existed in Majapahit times. They are unlikely to have played together with the archaic gamelan or processional ensembles. The loud and soft ensembles are now combined in the modern Javanese gamelan and in some Balinese gamelan, but this combination is thought to have developed in the last 300 years.

Wayang and gamelan (of one variety or another, or of several varieties) are popularly thought to have first come to Bali, Kalimantan, and southern Sumatra during the Majapahit era. Subject, in their new environments, to disparate cultural influences and historical events, they began to develop along different paths. This is particularly true in Bali, which remained a Hindu society despite the ascendance of Majapahit, of Islam in Java. Balinese gamelan and wayang flourished and changed over some three or four hundred years, largely independent of and uninfluenced by the large changes going on in Javanese arts at the same time. In other regions, such as South Kalimantan, which remained in political and cultural contact with Java much longer, independent artistic development was probably mixed with sporadic influences of Javanese influence for centuries after Majapahit. In still other regions, such as Lombok, gamelan came not through Majapahit directly but from the line of wayang (while the wayang is said to have come either from the Balinese or from Javanese proclivities for Islam after Majapahit.

This album presents three diverse and geometrically dispersed manifestations of gamelan and wayang in Indonesia today. The point is not to reveal in the shadows behind them a Majapahit archetypal—impossible, given these particular examples, and hopeless anyway, given the gaps in our knowledge of the arts of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Java—but rather to show the divergent structures that culture and history can build on the same ideas in different places. In a sense, the album is a study in transplantation and regeneration.

Our examples come from the Banjar people of South Kalimantan, the Saskan people of Lombok, and the Javanese of Banyumas. Among the Banjar, an orchestra resembling an East or Central Javanese village gamelan accompanies wayang plays, and among the Sakan, there is a distinctive Devi style and a unique repertoire both of music and of plays. Wayang Sasak uses Javanese-style puppets and Islamic stories (not the Indic stories common in Javanese wayang); its music is Balinese in idiom, but it is not the music of Balinese wayang. Lombok and South Kalimantan are geographically distant from the historical centers of gamelan and wayang. They mark, in fact, the furthest outward reach of wayang to the east, and, depending on how one defines gamelan (see below), the Banjar form can also be seen as marking the furthest reach of full gamelan to the east. (In both cases we must except gamelan and wayang found in Javanese transmigrant villages, in provincial offices of the national government, and in study groups outside Indonesia.)

Banyumas, on the other hand, is a region in Central Java lying only three hours west of the court city of Yogyakarta, and it is by no means the furthest reach of these arts to the west. (Again depending on how gamelan is defined, and again making the exceptions for transmigrants, etc., that would probably bePalembang in South Sumatra.) The Banyumasan genre jembrung, which uses no instruments and no puppets, is instead a reach inward into gamelan and wayang, challenging their physical and social premises and pushing the idea of those arts as far as it can go.

What is a gamelan?

Gamelan is a term in danger of losing its teeth: it is increasingly used to designate many very different collections of instruments, and soon it may mean nothing more precise than "Indonesian ensemble." In hopes of preserving its analytic bite, we propose a restrictive definition that includes certain ensembles that anyone would call a gamelan, but excludes others that exhibit significantly different instrumentation, organiza-
The differences in musical organization, instrumentation, and overall texture are what we are trying to get at with our proposal for a precise definition of gamelan.

Wayang

To introduce wayang, we will describe briefly the major forms of wayang in Java and Bali only, as a background to our more detailed descriptions later on of the three varieties heard in this album.

In Bali and the Javanese-speaking portions of Java (that is, Central and East Java, where the dominant ethnic group is the Javanese; but not West Java, where the Sundanese are dominant), the pre-eminent variety of wayang uses flat leather puppets, wayang kulit, to represent characters and enact stories drawn from the Hindu epics Mahabharata and Ramayana, or locally-invented stories interpolated into the framework of those epics. A single puppeteer, called the dalang (dalang in Balinese spelling), manipulates all the puppets and gives them voice; he also recites passages of narration, sings, and, by means of verbal cues and percussive signals, directs the accompanying musicians; and it is the dalang who extemporaneously fleshes out into an evening's or a whole night's entertainment the bare bones of the story.

From this basic formal set up, and alongside it, many other kinds of wayang theater have developed. In Sunda (West Java), the round wooden rod-puppets called wayang golek are more popular than the leather wayang kulit; they are used for Mahabharata and Ramayana stories. In both Sundanese and Javanese areas, golek puppets have also been used for Islamic stories concern-
ing a hero named Amir Hamzah or Wong Menak; but this is now rare. (These "Menak stories," as they are known, are the same ones used in the Lombok wayang and the Banyumas jerambang heard in this album.) Another set of leather puppets, wayang gedog, depicting different characters, is used in Central and East Java for stories concerning the indigenous Panji.

All of the forms mentioned so far rely upon the dhalang as the play's sole actor. Other forms of wayang, found in Central Java, East Java, and Bali use human actors and dancers, who speak their own dialogue. One such form is wayang topeng, in which the dancer-actors wear masks and perform Panji stories; another, without masks, is wayang wong (or wayang orang), in which the stories come from the Javan epics. The dhalang in these genres functions as the narrator and director, cueing the actors and musicians with words and rhythmic signals.

Throughout Java, wayang performances of all types are accompanied by a gamelan (as defined above). In Bali, Mahabarata stories are accompanied by gender wayang, a quartet of keyed metallophones without drums or gongs, which, as we said above, is not, in our terms, a gamelan, though its music is in the Javan tuning and has some of the characteristics of gamelan music. When the stories are drawn from the Ramayana, hanging gongs, drums, and small percussion are added to the quartet of metallophones, and since the metallophones encompass both the basic melody and elaboration functions, the ensemble then becomes a true gamelan.

The narration and dialogue of wayang plays are in general not memorized. They are extemporized by the dhalang (or the actors), drawing on conventions that govern the speech of specific characters and the narration appropriate to specific types of scenes. Many details of the plot are also left up to the dhalang, who may work them out beforehand, or follow patterns he has learned from other performers, or make them up on the spot. Most plays follow conventional progressions of scenes. Many Javanese plays start, for example, with an audience meeting between a king and his ministers, switch to a scene in the women's quarters in the palace, progress to the departure of a company of soldiers to see some problem, and so forth.

Wayang plays in Central and East Java are organized into three divisions, roughly comparable to acts in Western theater; each division is associated with a particular paheet, or musical mode, which is most prominent during that division of the play. This partition into acts with associated musical modes is not found in Balinese or Sundanese wayang. In Java as a whole, most of the music heard during a wayang belongs to a wider repertoire of pieces shared among several genres; in Bali this is not the case, for much of the music of wayang kulit is closely associated with that genre.

WAYANG SASAK IN LOMBOK (tracks 1–3)

Lombok is the island directly east of Bali. In 1995 its population was estimated at 2.6 million. According to an estimate from the 1970s, about 95% of the population belongs to the Sasak ethnic group; there is also a small but prominent minority of Balinese (about 5%) living mainly in the western part of the island. Virtually all Sasak are Muslim, but there is a minority (called the Waktu Telu) that practices an old, "traditional" (that is, syncretized) form of Islam that historically has been opposed by the more orthodox majority (the Waktu Lima).

The anthropologist Judith Ecklund, who worked in Lombok in the 1970s, has written articles and a dissertation (1977, 1979a) on the social and political situation at that time. She has also written a useful paper (1979b), as yet unpublished, that brings together most of the (non-musical) information available on wayang Lombok, along with her own field observations from the 1970s. Our account here draws on this paper and Ecklund's other writings, on one source published since she wrote, and on information that we gathered during our recording trip in 1996.

"By sometime during the sixteenth century Lombok was nominally Moslem, and during the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth, Makassarese and Balinese kingdoms fought over who would have suzerainty over Lombok. The Balinese then dominated the Sasak from the mid-1700s until 1894, when the Dutch defeated the Balinese and established direct colonial rule that lasted until World War II" (Ecklund 1977). After the Dutch destroyed Balinese control over the island, there was a local power vacuum, since there had been no Sasak in positions of real power for centuries. The ensuing struggle was eventually (and eventually in a conflict between adat, or traditional Sasak customs, and what was understood as orthodox Islam.)

The perimenting arts of Lombok acquired political valences in the context of this struggle. For example, arts that were perceived as Balinese—in particular, some forms of gamelan music—were stigmatized as those of a defeated oppressor, and also as non-Islamic (since Bali is predominantly Hindu). The indigency of wayang Sasak, the Sasak-language shadow play, was apparently unquestioned, but after a period of great vitality in the 1920s, it came under attack from Islamists as well as from "traditional," too much imbued with syncretic, unorthodoxo.

To some extent, wayang still suffers from this image today. According to Sasak legend, the leather wayang kulit puppets were brought to Lombok from Java in the sixteenth century by a Muslim holy man proselytizing saint who used wayang stories as a means for converting the Sasak. The only reper- toire of stories now in use for wayang Sasak is the Menak tales, Islamic stories concerning Amir Hamzah, the uncle of Muhammad. These stories, of Persian and Arabic origin, apparently came to Java in the sixteenth century in Malay versions; the stories now in use are based on Javanese, Balinese, and Lombok versions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The puppets themselves usually have the shape and decoration of Javanese rather than Balinese puppets; more precisely, they resemble the puppets of the Javanese wayang gedog, which presents the pre-Islamic Panji stories.

The monopoly on wayang Sasak that the Menak stories enjoy may be the result of political developments in the twentieth century. According to the Dutch scholar R. Goris, it is likely that other stories besides the Menak tales were performed using these puppets prior to 1900. No record of this practice survives, though there is a mention of Ramayana (i.e., Hindu, not Islamic) stories performed in Lombok using a different kind of puppet (wayang klithik).
In this regard, we should mention that there is a curiously tangled Balinese association with wayang Sasak. In contrast to the Sasak legend that attributes the introduction of wayang to a Javanese Muslim saint, Balinese in Lombok say that it was brought by the Balinese rulers of Lombok in the period between 1740 and 1894. (Even so, the Balinese concede that the artform was brought from East Java; the disagreement simply concerns who brought it.) In 1976, the Balinese dalang performed Menak stories in the Sasak language for Balinese (Hindu) audiences (Hinzler 1981, Ecklund 1979b). In East Bali in that same period, Balinese Hindu, Balinese Muslim, and Sasak dalang performed for Balinese and Sasak audiences (Hinzler 1981).

Hinzler reports that in the 1930s, when wayang Sasak using Menak stories was very popular in the Karangasem (now Amlapura) region of East Bali, the most famous dalang was a Balinese Buddhist brahman, and it was he who taught all of the Muslim dalang who were performing in Amlapura in the 1970s. And Hinzler observed that in Lombok she found elderly Balinese dalangs of wayang Sasak but no elderly Sasak dalang; all of the Sasak dalang were young men. This seems to her possibly a corroboration of the claim she heard from Balinese dalangs that they had taught wayang to the Sasak. One further aspect to mention is that these performances are accompanied by the Balinese gamblung ensemble (though the two play different repertoires). Perhaps the main thing to conclude from all of this is that some of the distinctions that seem rigid and determinate today—between Balinese and Sasak, between Muslim and Hindu—were far more porous and negotiable sixty or a hundred years ago.

In the 1970s, when Ecklund worked in Lombok, wayang Sasak seemed to be in a serious decline; it was threatened by a string of historical events. First, the drastic disruptions of ordinary economic and social patterns during the Japanese occupation of 1942–1945; then, in the 1950s, attacks by conservative Muslims, who portrayed wayang as a frivolous distraction from the proper study of Islam, which they had taken over in a period of 1955–1966, when anything not clearly affiliated with mainstream religious practice ran the fatal risk of being seen as communist. “These factors,” Ecklund writes, “coupled with a tendency among the educated elite to neglect traditional practices, have resulted in two generations of Sasak having grown up without an active wayang tradition” (1979b).

Ecklund distinguished between two forms of wayang Sasak: “classical” wayang, which had a small and dwindling audience, and “modern” wayang, which was more popular, even though there was only one dalang who could perform it. This was Lalu Nasib of the village of Gerung in West Lombok. Ecklund describes the traditional world of wayang Sasak as a framework for non-traditional comic skits, mild social criticism, and, in performances commissioned by the local government, messages in support of government programs. In Lombok, wayang Sasak was nearly identical to the Balinese gamblung ensemble (though the two play different repertoires). Perhaps the main thing to conclude from all of this is that some of the distinctions that seem rigid and determinate today—between Balinese and Sasak, between Muslim and Hindu—were far more porous and negotiable sixty or a hundred years ago.

Ecklund worked with wayang Sasak in the 1970s as an art whose time had passed. It represented popular Islam of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but “with the gradual strengthening of the Islamic tide and the position of Islamic leadership in general on Lombok, wayang was no longer appropriate to someone trying to behave in an ‘orthodox Islamic’ manner.” It was better, people felt, to listen to reading of the Qur’an than to a performance of the “Javanized” Menak tales. Government attempts to “encourage new interest” in the art, which were being discussed at the time, failed to address the problem that wayang Sasak was simply not in tune with its intended public.

Wayang Sasak today. We can offer a postscript to Ecklund’s paper, based on what we saw in 1996. Wayang Sasak is holding on; in fact, it seems stronger than one would expect from Ecklund’s picture in the 1970s. Lalu Nasib, now a haji, is still the star; everywhere we went, when we asked who could perform wayang Sasak, his name was the first to be mentioned. We attended one of his wayang, along with perhaps five hundred other people, who squatted and stood in a wet field for hours, as enthusiastic an audience as one could wish. We noticed that the first extended dialogue characterized a defense of wayang against criticism from Islamic teachers (ulama): wayang is not forbidden (harum), one character explained. The performance, which was not government-commissioned but was instead a ritual cleansing of a village, in some cases (in West Lombok) was not as modernized as we had expected, though there was more comedy and less “classicism” than in the other wayang we saw.

This second wayang was performed by Amak Puri of Desa Alik Bukak in Central Lombok, who is heard in our recordings here. Amak Puri (a teken, meaning “father of Puri”) was born in 1931 in Alik Bukak. His father was not a dalang, but his grandfather was, and Amak Puri (then known by his “small name,” Kamarudin) used to follow him around to performances. He began performing as a dalang in 1958. He now performs five or six times a month, he says, more often in the harvest season. He does not now own a set of puppets; he used to, but they were wore out, so now he rents a set when he goes to perform. His group paid 100,000 rupiah (50,000 rupiah for a night-long performance from about 9:00 P.M. till 3:30 A.M.).

Including himself and Lalu Nasib, he could think of six active dalangs in what he considered his region of West and Central Lombok. They perform at weddings, circumpassions, thanksgiving celebrations, hajatan (ritual occasions such as the gamelan-cleansing in Penarukan), and selatamun (ritual meals). He told us of occasions when the two most important puppets, Jayengra (i.e., Hamzah) and his wife Muniragam, are washed and that water is then used to bathe a sick child or someone else in need. (A few other remarks about the dalangs: the character of the puppets has intrinsic power: the dalang must say certain prayers to protect himself from the power [wibawa] of the kings who appear on his screen, otherwise his eyes will hurt; and he needs special knowledge [ilmu] so that he will not suffer ill effects from the many puppets representing kings or prophets. On a less elevated plane, he also needs ilmu so that he will not get sleepy during the performance.)

Amak Puri has many strings to his bow: he runs a gandrung group, featuring one of his granddaughters as a dancer, accompanied by a gamelan; he performs cepung, a vocal genre resembling jembrung (tracks 4–6) but involving recitation of a poem rather than performance of a
play; he leads a zikir group that performs Muslim devotional songs; he is a pemambay, making traditional speeches in Arabic language at weddings, and if he isn’t making speeches at the weddings he may be cooking for them! By day he is a construction laborer. At construction sites, if he is tired, he asks children to carry the stones for him while he sings hadig (poems) to entertain the crew.

Amak Puri denies that Islam is opposed to wayang. Perhaps the religious leaders (guru, usatid) are, but the people themselves and their leaders (who include dalang, he pointed out) are not. (He said explicitly that he was speaking of Waktu Lima, the nominally orthodox Muslims, among whom he includes himself.) Besides what the religious teachers really hate is gamelan. (We wondered whether this was a holdover from the conflict between Muslim Sasak and Hindu Balinese.) Wayang was never such a problem—it’s not meritorious (pahala) to watch a wayang, but it’s not a sin either. After all, wayang was used to attract the “traditional,” syncretic Muslims (Waktu Telu) into adopting Waktu Lima practices. In his view, the only thing to object to in either gamelan or wayang is alcohol; but if the performers and the audience do not drink, there’s nothing wrong at all.

Music and stories. The music of wayang Sasak is played by an instrumental group of one long flute, two drums, a hanging gong, and three metal percussion instruments. (The instruments are described in more detail below, in the commentary for track 1.) The drums are of the Balinese type and play complementary patterns in the Balinese manner, such that both drums are needed to perform the complete drumming phrase. The small percussion instruments are also known in Bali, and indeed the whole ensemble closely resembles the Balinese gambuh, except that instead of one flute, gambuh uses four (usually plus a bowed lute (rehab), and a somewhat different complement of small percussion.

The Balinese gambuh ensemble accompanies a theater form, also called gambuh, in which actor-dancers enact Panji stories. Although the theater is now rare, its music using five-tone modes derived from a seven-tone tuning, has been very influential: the semar pegulingan and pelegongan gamelan derive much of their original repertoire from gambuh. In addition to the gambuh theater using actor-dancers, there is (or was) a rare form of wayang called wayang gambuh, in which leather puppets enact Panji stories to the accompaniment of the gambuh ensemble.

The similarity between the gambuh and the wayang Sasak ensembles cannot be coincidental. Wayang Sasak may always have been accompanied by the gambuh ensemble (this is not incompatible with the theory that the puppets were brought by Muslim proselytizers from Java, since they need not have brought the gambuh along as well), or the gambuh ensemble may have supplied a melody at a later date when wayang Sasak’s original accompaniment was lacking. In any case, the music of wayang Sasak differs in certain important respects from that of gambuh. The system of gambuh modes (teqep) is not known in Lombok, and the use in wayang Sasak of a single long flute instead of gambuh’s four makes for a much different sound texture. Sembas et al. speak of a “Sasak technique of drumming” as another difference from gambuh; we were not able to confirm this, but the small percussion instruments in wayang Sasak seem to play more complex and varied parts than they do in gambuh. Further research is needed to determine whether wayang Sasak compositions use the formal structures of gambuh.

Regarding the Menak tales, Amak Puri told us that there are two categories: Bel (pronounced like bell in English) are stories derived from the Serat Menak texts published in the 1930s in Javanese script by Balai Poestaka, one of the Dutch government’s official publishers. (Could bel really contain everything?) Takapan are stories taken from handwritten manuscripts (lontar) by Sasak authors. (These are presumably the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century “Lombok versions” of Menak tales mentioned earlier.) Takapan involve the standard Menak characters, but in further adventures not recounted in bel; they do not incorporate events from Lombok history. Lalu Nasib also spoke of bel and takapan, but he added a third category, kehawan, which includes stories created by the dalang himself.

JEMBLUNG IN BANYUMAS (tracks 4-6) Banyumas is a district of Central Java, to the west of Yogyakarta. The capital of the district, Purwokerto, is about four hours’ drive on the main road from Yogyakarta. Administratively, the district lies in Kabupaten Banyumas, which according to 1995 intercensus figures has a population of 1.38 million. Most of the inhabitants are Javanese, and the predominant language is a dialect of Javanese. Of the two court cities of Central Java, Yogyakarta is physically closer than Surakarta to Banyumas, but during the colonial era Banyumas was apportioned to the Susuhunan of Surakarta (one of the two rulers in that city).

Culturally, the region has been influenced by both Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and also by the Sundanese further to the west. Nevertheless, it is geographically rather remote from all of these, and it has developed distinctive traits in its performing arts. Both in wayang kultat and gamelan music one can speak of a “Banyumas style,” and there are at least two genres of performance that are within the Javanese ethnic group are found only in Banyumas: calung (a gamelan-like ensemble dominated by bamboo-tube xylophones) and jembang.

The genre. Jembang is theater, performed by a group of actor-singers without instruments, puppetts, sets, or masks. The performers—nowadays typically three men and one woman—sit around a table, wearing everyday dress. The leader of the troupe, who declaims narration when it is needed and at other times is simply one of the actors, is called the dalang. The accompaniment to the play is gamelan music, but it is imitated vocally instead of being played on instruments. Jembang is performed at weddings, circumcisions, fulfillments of vows (someone may vow that if a certain desire is granted, he will take someone he or she will sponsor an evening of jembang), and other domestic or religious occasions. The play usually runs from 9:00 or 10:00 at night until just before the pre-dawn prayers.

Other Javanese theater forms are conventionally limited by their physical apparatus to one or two narratives. Wayang kultat, for example, can only perform a single story from the Indian epic because the shapes of the puppets have become identified with the characters from those stories; it is unthinkable to take the puppet that audiences know as Bima, say, and declare that it represents
some other character from a different body of stories. The scenery and costumes of kethoprah, a theater form with live actors, are appropriate to the legends and historical tales that form its repertoire; audience expectations would be unacceptably violated if the characters of the Mahabharata appeared on the kethoprah stage.

Jembang has no such limitations, precisely because it has no physical apparatus aside from the actors themselves. Jembang stories are drawn from wayang golek, puppets are used, despite the wayang golek Menak. (As we mentioned earlier, Menak stories, which are performed in Lombok as wayang Sasak, are performed in Central and East Java using the round golek rod-puppets.) The group we recorded, Grup Jembang Sari Budaya, takes its repertoire mainly from kethoprah; it also does some Menak stories, such as the Labon Iman Sujono excerpted here, and one wayang kuntil play, which it performs only for the protective ritual known as ruwatan. (For a ruwatan, five puppets are set up in view of the audience, but they are not manipulated.)

When stories are drawn from wayang kuntil or wayang golek Menak, the format of the presentation is that of "ordinary" wayang (that is, wayang with puppets). The jembang introduces major scenes and characters, but their development and unfolding according to the standard progression of scenes; there is some observance of the pathet (i.e., musical mode) structure; certain pieces that are characteristic of ordinary wayang appear also in jembang, as do some of the dhalaq's songs (sukuh). We do not know whether jembang stories are also presented in this way format, but we were told that the same gending (musical compositions) are used for all stories, regardless of their source.

The idea of performing wayang without puppets is found in many places outside Banyumasan. Wayang song, for example, uses human actors in elaborate costumes; there is a version in the Tjimurang and Sukaruta used to stage extravagant performances that went on for days, and there was also (and still is, barely) a commercial form. But these are farcry from the minimalism of jembang. The idea of imitating gamelan with other means is also widespread. A wayang puppet story performed in Sukaruta, for example, dramatized by Jack Body and Yono Sukarso (Pan 2048) presents examples of vocal gamelan-imitations from Pekalongan (in northern Central Java) and Madura; vocal gamelan is also found in Lombok and East Bali, under the name cepung or cakapung. Limitation of gamelan on non-gamelan instruments is also common: we have already mentioned gong suling (flutes and percussion) and joged bumbung and joged (bamboo xylophones) in Bali, and we should add the surprising transfer of gamelan texture to tuned frame-drums (rebana) in Lombok, which can be heard on King KCC 5198.

What is apparently unique to jembang in Banyumasan is, first of all, the combination of these elements, wayang without puppets and gamelan without instruments, and, secondly, the spirit of pathet, or "pathetic", performance. Robert Lytolf has written an entertaining article on this subject (Lytolf 1990), in which he describes the way performers "drop in and out of character with breath-taking suddenness and ease," deflating high-flown rhetoric in elegant Javanese with low-considered asides in Banyumasan dialect. Musical also, there is the subtle wave-like quality in the representation of gamelan sounds by way of nonsense syllables: the sound of the gong ageng ("great" or "majestic" gong) loses some of its majesty when it is turned into "krtrrt." But, as Lytolf acutely observes, the parody ("or perhaps more accurately," he writes, "the burlesque") is not directed at the gamelan repertoire or the Sulawesi form; these are all presented in jembang more or less as they would be in ordinary wayang (given certain basic alterations!). What is parodied is the performance of wayang and gamelan music: the seriousness and portentousness of some occasions, the orchestras, the puppet figures, the spectators, the audiences, and artists. Jembang gives us the high culture of the court cities as seen from the cheap seats, the Marx Brothers at the shadow-play.

Origins. There are several accounts of how Banyumasan jembang originated. Lytolf was told that it developed out of Nguyen, a tradition of poetry-reading during all-night celebrations of the birth of a child. The texts were historical chronicles (babad), written using the stanza patterns known as macapat. Macapat poetry is traditionally sung, not simply read aloud; each stanza pattern (or "macapat meter," as they are conventionally termed) has an associated melodic pattern. Eventually, Lytolf writes, the stories began to be enacted in wayang style, rather than narrated, and accompanied by vocal imitations of gamelan instruments, or sometimes by musical instruments, but not actual gamelan. Later the wayang kuntil stories were themselves taken into jembang. (In the 1920s, Jaap Kunst observed a wayang jembang in Banyumasan and Bagelen, just east of Banyumasan, accompanied by bamboo tube-xylophones. The story, from the Menak repertoire, was recited by a single dhalaq, without puppets, but also without actors [Kunst 1973].)

It is the step or steps between singing narratives in macapat verse and enacting them in wayang style that created jembang. The CD by Body and Sukarso suggests what one of the intermediaries might have been. It includes a collection of various traditions of narrative singing in villages of Central Java, East Java, and Madura include jembang from Banyumasan, and also some forms of ecstatically embellished macapat that include vocal gamelan imitation but not the actual action of the stories that we find in jembang. Body and Sukarso propose, plausibly, that jembang arose out of this kind of delicious macapat.

We can add to this that the dhalaq we recorded, Mad Yusup ("Mad" is short for Muhammad), believes that acted-out jembang emerged relatively recently, at least in the Tambak area where he lives. He told us that the first dhalaq "here" was named Karyana; he lived in Desa Prembun and was the older brother of another dhalaq, Asmawijaya, in whose group Mad Yusup performed earlier in his career. (Mad Yusup was born in 1930 and began performing jembang in 1962; he became a dhalaq himself in 1986.)

The music. Some of the gending (gamelan compositions) used in jembang come from the standard repertoire of Central Javanese gamelan music and are performed for ordinary or gong or gamelan performance in Central Java. Titles that were mentioned include Puspawarna, Kutu Manggung, Uler Kambang (track 6 here), Sri Slamet ("Wulunjang), Siba Kastawa, Pangkur, Ayun-ayun, Semarang Dana ("Asamradana), Sri Katon. On the other hand, are part of a more local Banyumasan repertoire, such as the emblematic Banyumasan gending, Sekar Gadung (track 4), or
are local variants of standard pieces: Kríck-kríck or Kríck-ričik Banyumasan, Eling-eling Banyumasan, Gunang Sari Banyumasan. Some of the salakan (dhaling's songs, accompanied by only a few instruments) composition in wayang are heard in jemblung (end of track 4). Free-standing macapat are more important in jemblung than in ordinary wayang. In jemblung they are often sung heterophonically by the whole group (track 5), something that is never done in standard wayang or gamelan performance but resembles the extravagant choral macapat recorded by Body and Sukarno in Pekalongan and Madura.

The manner of performing music in jemblung, though inherently comic, as we have said, is basically in accordance with standard gamelan practice. The comedy comes not from breaking the rules of gamelan music, but from applying them in the incongruous medium of vocalization. The female singer (sindhen or pesindhen), for whom the vocal medium of course not incongruous, sings just as she would in an ordinary wayang or kethoprak performance; except when she joins in the choral macapat, there is nothing peculiar to jemblung in her performance. (Her texts, by the way, are standard sindhenan verses, unrelated to the play being performed.)

The three male singers in this group have varied roles. The dhaling, who directs the spoken aspects of the performance, during the gamelan passages tends to the punctuating gongs and the balungan or balungan gong. The penggendang ("gendeng player") elaborates the melody, often in the manner of the gender; he also takes care of some of the gong punctuation. The penggendang ("drummer") devotes most of his attention to the drumming, but he frequently interrupts this to sing a snatch of gerongan, the male choral line that occurs sporadically during a gendhang. For the most part, the music is vocalized using the standard syllables and vocables commonly used by musicians in teaching and discussing gamelan music.

Some of the musical play in jemblung is visual: the performers mime playing their instruments, shivering rapidly like a vibrating gong, bobbing someone on the head as if he were a legong (a large horizontal bossed gong). They also make verbal jokes to point up the discrepancy between the instrumental character of the music and the four people sitting there producing it with nothing but their voices. At the very start of track 4 we hear one of the players tell another to tune up the gamelan; in track 6 the drummer tells the penggendang to mute the kening, which is still ringing. Also in track 7 they use a pun we heard several times: "gamelane kara-ton," they say, "heraketh ngir aro keton." (Kraton means "court" or "palace," so first they claim that theirs is a court gamelan. Then they justify the claim by a Javanese phrase meaning, roughly, "it's right here among us [glued to us] but invisible." The first two syllables of heraketh and the last of keton form the word kraton.

Performers and groups. According to Mad Yusup, the center of jemblung is the Tambaran region in eastern Banyumasan. Jemblung's heyday was in the 1970s, we were told; a group would perform every night in the wedding and celebration season. Now, there are only two active dhaling in Tambaran, with no young performers in line to take over. Still, the situation is better than in many places we have visited.

Once we got to Tambak (which we went to because Rabayu Supangkah remembered there was a good jemblung performer there, Pak Tembong—now deceased, it turned out), we took us less than a day to locate a functioning group, and that group itself needed no time to prepare: we talked to Mad Yusup around noon and recorded him that night.

By day, all the men in the group are rice farmers. As artists, the one woman and two of the men are or were active in other genres besides jemblung: Tumini performs as a pesindhen (female singer) in wayang kultik, kethoprak, calung, and legeng (a kind of dance party with gamelan), and Talim, the group's drummer, is also a drummer for wayang kultik and gamelan performances. Mad Wirana, the penggendang, used to play gendang for wayang kultik and gamelan, but he is now retired.

Mad Yusup's group gets Rp 150,000 (about $60) to perform in the villages, twice that if they have to travel far. For a village ruwatan (the protective ritual mentioned earlier), the group gets Rp 450,000 ($160); it is more expensive than ordinary performances because the dhalang must fast for three days beforehand.

WAYANG BANJAR AND TOPEG BANJAR IN KALIMANTAN SELATAN (tracks 7 and 8)

The Banjar are the dominant ethnic group in the province of South Kalimantan, which lies in the southeastern part of the island of Borneo. Indonesian census figures do not reflect ethnic affiliations, so we cannot give an estimate of the number of Banjar. Now, there are only two active dhaling in Tambaran, with no young performers in line to take over. Still, the situation is better than in many places we have visited.

Wajang Banjar and Topeh Banjar in Kalimantan Selatan (tracks 7 and 8)

The Banjar are the dominant ethnic group in the province of South Kalimantan, which lies in the southeastern part of the island of Borneo. According to the 1995 intercensuses, the population of the province as a whole, including Banjar Dayak, the Dayak of the Meratus mountains, Bugis, Makasar, Indonesian Chinese, and others as well as Banjar, is 2.9 million. The capital of the province is the city of Banjarmasin.

The language of the Banjar is a dialect of Melayu ( Malay), mixed with elements from the local Dayak languages and from Javanese. Malays from Sumatra are thought to have settled in southeastern Borneo in the time of the Srivijaya empire. Later, perhaps early in the Majapahit era or just before it (i.e., in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century), a Hindu kingdom called Nagara Dala arose in the region, which developed close cultural ties with Majapahit in Java. As a result of these ties, forms of wayang and gamelan came to Nagara Dala, and they became increasingly popular in that kingdom's successor, Nagara Daha. In the Hikayat Banjar, a court chronicle written (in part) in the second half of the sixteenth century, soon after the first Muslim settlements in the region was established, descriptions of life at the earlier Hindu courts mention performances of wayang kulit (using stories from Indic epics), wayang gedhog and rakat (both using Panji stories), topeng (masked plays), processional gamelan, and a solo gamelan with rebab, flute, zither, and singers. (All of this information in this paragraph is derived from Ras 1968.)

Over the next three hundred years, cultural contact between the Banjar and the Malay-speaking and Javanese continued. Performing arts—wayang, gamelan, topeng, dance (tar ka-balo)—apparently flourished in the sultan's court. Bronze gamelan on the Javanese court model are reported, with full instrumentation (including rebab, gambang, high and low bonang, high and low gender, and saron in three octaves). In 1860, however, when the Dutch conquered and abolished the sultanate, the court forms of these arts went into decline, and they
were either taken over by village musicians or absorbed into already-existing village forms. Today the memory of the great bronze gamelan is still alive, but the only examples that can be found are in museums. What remains among the Banjar is a vital tradition of village shadow-puppetry (wayang kulit), and weaker traditions of masked dance (topeng) and wayang danced by actor-dancers (wayang gong, using Ramayana characters, and wayang кетут, using Mahabharata characters). All are accompanied by a stripped-down, easily portable iron gamelan.

Wayang Banjar. The most common form of wayang among the Banjar is wayang kulit, using leather puppets that are like Javanese puppets in design and coloring, but only about half-size (thus roughly the size of Balinese puppets). There are two types of wayang performance: wayang for entertainment, as at weddings, circumcisions, holiday celebrations, and official openings, and wayang that has ritual function, such as to protect someone from supernatural harm, to cleanse or protect a community (wayang sanggar), to cure physical or spiritual illness (wayang batatamper), or to fulfill a vow. This general category of wayang with ritual function is called wayang samprad. In an invaluable report by M. Idwar Saleh (1983/1984) the entertainment wayang are called wayang karazmin, but we did not hear this term used in 1996.

In former times, there were specialist dalang who did only wayang samprad. Nowadays these specialists are no longer found; the same dalang do wayang samprad and ordinary entertainment wayang. We were told in 1996 that there are about forty active dalang in the Banjar region, of which, some twenty-five perform regularly, and five are especially popular. We interviewed and recorded two of these five: Dalang Rojito, in Kabaipaten Japin, and Dalang Diman, in Kabaipaten Hulu Singag Tengah. Dalang Rojito is undoubtedly the most popular dalang in the province; he works nearly every night. (With certain exceptions: not on Thursday nights, since these are considered part of Friday, the Muslim day of prayer; and not in the fasting month, when it is improper to put on secular entertainment. In Muhrarram and Rajab he would perform if he were hired, but these are insensitive months for celebrations and festivals, so bookings are few.) Dalang Diman usually performs about fifteen times a month during the wayang season.

Dalang Rojito (born 1936), who is known for working government messages into his plays, frequently performs for government and military sponsors in cities and towns. He is paid about $200 (Rp 500,000); more if he has to travel far: other dalang get about half that. Dalang Diman (born 1950), who seems to have a faithful clientele that calls him every year to remote locations in the province, reports that wayang Banjar is enjoyed not only by the Banjar, but also by Dayak, Bugis, Javanese, and Madurese audiences.

Stories and performances. The characters of wayang kulit Banjar are drawn mainly from the Mahabharata. They may also be taken from the Ramayana, but figure are not mixed. While in Java the most popular wayang character is said to be Arjuna, among the Banjar it is Arjuna's elder brother Yudhisthira, there known as Darmakusuma. The stories are usually not from the epics; instead they are local creations, lakan pancar, using the standard characters. In general, the same stories may be used for entertainment and ritual wayang. (An exception is for wayang sanggar, the performance to cleanse or protect a community. For such a wayang, the story is drawn from the closing sections of the Mahabharata, known as the Bratauya.) According to Idwar Saleh, at the beginning of the twentieth century there were elderly dalang who performed stories drawn from Purok hikayat and syair; in the examples Saleh gives, the characters and locations in the Islamic stories are identified with counterparts in the Indo epics.

It is possible that a structure of conventional scenes and associated musical modes (Javanese pathet) was used in court wayang before the Dutch took over in 1860, but if so, it is lost now. Unlike traditional Javanese wayang plays, Banjar plays may begin with any set of characters in any kingdom. For example, we attended one performance by Dalang Rojito, on the anniversary of Indonesian Independence, which started right off (after the overture) with dialogue among the clown- servants of the hero, Semar and his sons. (The dialogue concerned the obligation of youth to honor national heroes and to participate in national development by going to school and getting a good education.) In Java, these figures never appear until the second act (pathet sanggar), which usually does not begin until sometime after mid-night, some three hours after the play's opening. A performance typically starts at 9:30 and finishes at 4:00 the next morning, before the pre-dawn prayer. Up until the 1970s, performances were longer, lasting until sunrise (6:00, so close to the equator). What happened in the 1970s was a technological revolution: microphones, amplifiers, and loudspeakers were introduced, both into wayang performance and into new forms of religious observance into conflict: the mosques were broadcasting the pre-dawn call to prayer at the same time that the wayang was blaring. Religious leaders took to criticizing the piety of wayang performers and audiences over the mosques' public address systems. Eventually, wayang gave in and shortened its running time, but Dalang Diman (who, as we said, travels to many remote places) told us that when he performs in villages without electricity and amplification, his plays last until sunrise.

Wayang is performed on a platform built for the occasion. The screen is strung between poles, with a banana-tree trunk horizontal beneath it, into which the puppets are stuck. The dalang's microphone is usually placed, inconveniently, under the banana trunk, so he must bend low for his voice to be picked up. Above his head is an oil lamp, balincang, which drops sparks on the dalang all night. (This, we were told, is why dalang do not wear traditional dress as in Java: their good clothes would get spots and burns on them. Instead, Banjar els wear short pants and polo shirts.) The dalang himself may jump up to fill the lamp when the oil runs low, or an assistant may do it; similarly the dalang or an assistant will reach up from time to time and give the lamp a push to set it rocking and the shadows flickering on the screen.

Music. Behind the dalang on the platform is the gamelan. The drum and "saron one," the higher-pitched of the two keyed metallophones, are the instruments that must be closest to him to ensure...
cooperation between the dolang and the music; if the connection among those three is tight, the other musicians will be able to stay together. (We heard from both Dalang Diman and Dalang Ronde that a dolang can perform with musicians he has not rehearsed with, provided the drummer and the "saron one" player are from his regular team; but if they are not, he is in trouble.) We will describe the instruments in some detail below, in the commentary for track 7.

The most varied and interesting music is heard in the overture to the play (track 7). After that, nowadays, the accompaniment is largely restricted to action pieces, resembling in function the ayah-ayahan, spepegan, and sampah heard over and over in Javanese wayang; but in wayang Banjar these action pieces are virtually all there after the overture, as there are only three short comic pieces, Stiro, Mandong, and Giro, which may be played for Semar and his sons.

Dalang Diman told us that there is in fact a larger repertoire of wayang music, but that it was a casualty of the loudspeaker battles of the 1970s. In formal audience scenes, specific gending (compositions) were played depending on the characters involved. If the audience was held in the court of Batara Guru, the gending should be Goniang-ganjing Tangan; if it was in the court of the Pandawa brothers, it should be Goniang-ganjing Babun; if it was in the court of the Kurawas, it should be Panggurung; and so forth. In each case, the piece would be played over and over as the characters were brought one by one onto the screen. But when the playing-time of the wayang was shortened, these leisurely introductions were eliminated, and with them their accompanying gending. When Dalang Diman is performing in villages where the plays run until sunrise, he still uses this old repertoire.

**Topeng.** The word topeng means "mask." In the context of performance it can designate a story narrated by a dalang and enacted by masked dancer-actors, or a set of masked character- dances, detached from a story line. It tends to have this latter meaning in Bali and in West Java, and also in South Kalimantan, whereas in Central and East Java it is more often a narrative form (sometimes called topeng dhading). Among the Banjar, topeng is performed in the same entertainment and ritual contexts as wayang, or both may be performed for the same occasion, topeng in the afternoon, wayang at night.

Dalang Diman's musicians accompany topeng as well as wayang, using the same gamelan (but with some small changes of instrumentation, detailed below). The dancers are two of his nieces, their teacher was Aliyah, an old woman who lives in Desa Barikin. A complete topeng performance consists of seven character-dances, which Dalang Diman named in the following order: Pamindo, Panji, Panambih, Gumungsari, Klana, Path, and Temanggung. Four dancers are needed to perform these seven, but his troupe has only two dancers and can only perform four dances: Pamindo, Gumungsari, Klana, and Path. Each dance has its own music. (The gending for Klana is heard in track 8.) There are also a number of non-dance pieces that are played while the dancer is getting into costume for the next mask: Terbang Gayam, Petepet, and Kancang, Gengser, Janglung Cepat. So far as we could determine, none of the topeng repertoire is shared by wayang.

**REFERENCES, FURTHER READING, AND OTHER RECORDINGS**

Listeners who want the texts (without translations) of the singing in tracks 5 and 7 can get them by sending their name and address, along with a check for $2.00 (for postage and handling) payable to the Smithsonian Institution, to: Indonesian Texts 14, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, Center for Folklore Programs & Cultural Studies, 925 E Street, Suite 2600, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560, USA. The documents will also be posted on our Website: www.si.edu/folkways/40452.htm.

**Background: Gamelan and wayang in Java and Bali**


Lombok, South Kalimantan, Banyumas


**Recordings.** For a fine introduction to Javanese wayang, listen to Eigen Wijs EW 9523. (A transcription and translation, by Bernard Arps, of the entire play has been announced for publication by the Department of Languages and Cultures of South-East Asia and Oceania of the University of Leiden, in the series Semaisian, under the title Tall
COMMENTARY ON THE SELECTIONS

WAYANG SASAK

Sekaha Sekar Karya, directed by Dalang Amak Pari. The group is based in Kab. [Kabupaten] Lombok Timur (Central Lombok).

1. Overture and beginning of opening scene
This music is Dalang Amak Pari's standard overture, followed by a piece suited to the first scene of the play being performed. For our recording session, the play was Luhon Andaraja, concerning a conflict between Jayengrana and the king of Andaraja. The overture begins with Ranggung, one of the "action pieces" played recurrently throughout the wayang for battles, for travelling, and for the entrances and exits of characters. For the overture, Ranggung is played three times; during the third statement, at a signal from the dalang, who taps a wooden hammer (kerak) against the puppet box, the tempo slows (2.04) and the music changes to Tegata Mundang. (All the timings given in these notes are approximate.) The dalang's sung text asks the audience, the angels, and the prophets to pardon him for any mistakes he might make in his performance. At 7.58, Telaga Dandang ends, and the dalang and flutes continue alone; this passage is called Selukat. At 8:36, the percussion enters again, the play has now begun. The piece is Janggel, used for audience ensembles in a lung's court. This recording fades out after Janggel is interrupted for speech, in the performance, Janggel was later resumed, and again interrupted and resumed.

The instruments of the ensemble are: a long flute (suling) in a pligg tuning, two Balinese-type drums (kendang wadon and kendang lanang), a hanging gong (kempur), and three small clinking, clattering percussion instruments: a high-pitched, horizontal gong (hendek), two loose cymbals clanged against others mounted on a wooden base (rincik), and a horizontal gong (kajai) with a sunken boss that can be easily muted. The length of the flute has been increased by attaching the open tube of a metal flashlight; the flute itself is 3.5 cm in diameter and 74 cm long, to which the flashlight adds 13.5 cm making 87.5 cm in length altogether. With the flashlight, the flute is close in dimensions to the flutes used in the gamelan ensemble in Bali. The gong is apparently the lid of an oil drum, with no shoulder; a boss has been hammered in the center.

2. Laju — 3. Ranggung
Two of the "action pieces," here played without flute. Laju is typically played when characters travel without great urgency: it would be appropriate for characters walking through the forest, but not if they were flying or running to take part in a battle. Ranggung (the same piece that opens the overture) is used for battles, or for characters carrying out an urgent command. A third action piece, not heard here, is Kanduk, played for unhurried departures from a gathering.

JEMBLUNG

Group Jemblung Satri Budaya, directed by Mad Yuap. The group is based in Kab. Banyumas, Central Java.

4. Sekar Gading naik Cikou
This track and the next two come from a jemblung performance of a Menak story, Luhon Imam Supono, taken from the repertoire of wayang golek Menak. Because no one could think of a location in the performer's village where tracks would not roar past at all hours of the night, we recorded in a hotel room in a nearby town, tucking up blankets and standing mattresses against the walls for a makeshift studio.

The performers told us that, whatever the play, they always begin with chorals macapat verses praising Indonesia and its state ideology, Pancasila. After the dalang delivers an invocation, and there is some conversation among the performers. Then they sing their first gending, which is always Sekar Gading, a piece strongly associated with Banyumas. Sekar Gading is a piece in the ladung form, sung in the slendro tuning. Here the performers go through it twice, then slow down and at 2.49 change (naik, "rise") to a second piece, Cikou. Near the end of Cikou there is a pause (anugrah) in which the poetinden sings alone; then the singers resume and bring the piece to the final gong. There follows a suhuk, one of the dalangs' songs that are unique to wayang, with unmetered accompaniment from some of the instruments, including a flute (whistled by the drummer).

In our recordings, the dalang is heard to the left of center; for the most part he sings the basic melody of the piece, and contributes some gong punctuation. The pengendang, at far left, plays gender most of the time, and also does some of the gongs. (This group is not diligent about marking the punctuation, except for the large gongs. Kenong is often ignored, keluh is not present, and kempul is heard sporadically. Listen for "ji" in the pengendang's part—that's the kempul.) The drummer and male chorus (and sometime fluitist) is at far right.
5. Dhandhangula

A choral macapat, sung in srendro. The lyrics concern Dutch presence in Indonesia during the colonial era. The macapat, common in jembang and in some other village music of Java and Madura, have no counterpart in the standard wayang and gamelan music of Central Java.

6. Uler Kambang

A very popular gendhing (of the jinemat class) from the standard Central Javanese repertoire. The singers begin in srendro; at 3:07 they switch to pelog. (“Of course we do pelog,” they told us, “the gamelan is complete.”) During pauses in the music the players make some of their standard jokes about jembang, including the remark, “kerabat ing ora keten,” discussed earlier, and a proud claim that this music is “dadi Jogja dudu Sala,” neither Yogyakarta nor Solonese in style, but uniquely Banyumasan.

WAYANG BANJAR & TOPENG BANJAR

Wayang: Kreosota Group, directed by Ki Dalang Ronde. The group is based in Kab. Tapin, South Kalimantan.

Topeing: Keseruan Wayang Kaliut Asam Rimbon, directed by Ki Dalang Diman. The group is based in Kab. Hulu Sungai Tengah, South Kalimantan.

7. Memucukan [Overture]

This astonishing, half-hour-long piece is the regular overture to any wayang Banjar performance. Dalang Ronde’s musicians play it five or six nights a week, and they have it nailed down. Dalang Diman’s group plays it somewhat more raggedly, but in what appears to be essentially the same way. (We have not compared the two versions in detail, but in outline they are the same.) The name for the overture, Memucukan (roughly, “emergency”, “puah, the root of the word, is the tip or first shoot of a plant), comes from Dalang Ronde. Dalang Diman reserves that term for the opening scene, after the overture; he does not have a special name for the overture.

When the overture begins, the dalang is in place and three puppets are clumped together in the center of the stage. These are: the gunungan, or hayon, a leaf- or tree-shaped puppet that represents nature, or the world, and can serve as a mountain or another natural object when needed; the god Ismaya; and Semar, who is actually Ismaya in human form and is the clown-servant of the Pandawa brothers (the heroes of most plays). The Banjar do not have a separate puppet for Ismaya; instead, to represent him, they use the puppet that also represents Arjuna, one of the Pandawas. The Semar and Ismaya puppets represent Semar simultaneously in his divine inner (badiin) nature and his human outer (laih) form. During the wayang, the spirit of Ismaya will enter the dalang and give him energy to perform.

The overture begins with a frenzied tinling. This section—like nothing in Javanese gamelan—is called Lasan Sepuhul; we were told that it is a sort of testing of the instruments. (Sepuhul means “ten”, it was explained that the music sweeps from high to low ten times, but we can’t count it.) At 2:38 the music switches to Ayukan Mula-mulau, also called Ayukan Tiga Kalel (meaning that the piece is played three times; repeats at 4:34 and 6:19). At 7:36, Liyung begins, and at 15:25, another piece of the ayukan type, Ayukan Bisk, also called Ayukan Minir.

For all this time, there has been no move 

ment on the screen. A few minutes into Ayukan Bisk, however, the dalang suddenly extracts the Semar and Ismaya puppets and, holding them to his face, whispers (bisk) mantras to them. Eventually (during the piece called Ambung Gunung, “kissing the mountain [i.e., the gunungan],” which begins here at 21:42) he puts them aside and lifts the gunungan, which he begins to swing in circuits around the puppet box. After a while, the gunungan is planted again, and another version of Lasan Sepuhul is played (beginning 25:11); Dalang Ronde called it simply Lasan Sepuhul, but Dalang Diman called it Lasan Sepuhul Beringan Gung (“with gong”—presumably meaning that it has a fixed meter, marked by gongs, instead of the free-meter swirling of the earlier version). At 27:54 there is another lasan, called Lasan Tengah or Lasan Pindik (“short lasan”), and soon thereafter (we did not get a clear indication from Dalang Ronde, but we think starting at 28:38) the gunungan dances for the second and final time (Ambung Gunung Kedua, also called Udkak-uduk and Perang Cepat).

The instruments are those of the ordinary iron village gamelan of the Banjar, except that here the hanging gongs are made of bronze and come from Bali. There are two seven-keyed metallophones, another gongs, both pitched an octave higher than the other. The higher-pitched saron is called paking or saron sata (“saron one”); the lower-pitched is kadiuk or saron dua (“saron two”). For wayang music, each is played by two musicians facing each other across the instrument, in the two opposite playing manners that in Java is called imbal. The dowo corresponds in function to the Javanese bonang, but instead of the bonang’s bossed gongs the dowo has bossed keys, in two rows of five each. The dowo covers the same two octaves heard on the pair of saron. Kangong is a set of five bossed keys, pitched in the lower octave of the dowo. The player holds two hammers; the one in the right punctuates the melody with melodic tones, and thus corresponds to the henong in Java, while the hammer in the left hand plays a steady offbeat on one pitch, corresponding (more or less) to the kolot in Java. In addition to the melodic instruments, there are a two-headed drum (babun), small cymbals clashed against a metal plate mounted on a block (hangu), and the two Balinese hanging gongs, one of them the size of a Javanese gong suwukan and the other the size of a hempul. A single musician plays both gongs. Note that all of the melodic instruments are crowded into the range of two octaves. (In Central Java, the range of the melodic instruments, excluding gong and hempul, is typically three octaves.) The tuning is srendro.

In contrast to the Javanese dalang, who sits calmly during the overture and has no involvement with the puppets or the music, the Banjar dalang is very active, singing, signalling transitions and tempo changes with a wooden hammer (kotarak), and, in the last third, manipulating the gunungan. His singing is a mixture of pantun verses, sung in a drone, and lines and phrases in archaic language, which, according to Dalang Diman, no one, including the dalang, now understands. The pantun are chosen by the dalang from his stock of memorized verses; they are not fixed to the particular gamelan composition, and in another performance different pantun might be sung. The dalang’s voice, Diman said, is always hoarse: the clear (kersih) voice of a pop artis does not sound right in wayang.


8. Klana
Music for a topeng or masked dance, performed by Dalang Diman’s group. The Klana dance, well known in Java, depicts a king who is beside himself with love for an absent princess. His mood swings violently from arrogance and boastful pride to tender longing for his beloved.
Dalang Diman’s gamelan is substantially the same as Dalang Ronde’s, except that instead of a single kanong with five bossed keys, Dalang Diman has three kanongs with four bossed keys each. He explains that this is for all of his players will have something to play. Topeng music uses two drums, played with sticks, instead of wayang music’s one hand-drum, and the saron are played by single players instead of two in imbal. The stop-and-start character of the first section of this music is rather unusual, as is the use in Dalang Diman’s vocal of no words, only vocables. The music ends with an ayahkan like the ones heard in the wayang overture; the players flub the ending, but would you give up this fine piece for that?

RECORDING AND PERFORMANCE DATA
Recorded using a Sony TCD-D10 Pro DAT recorder (backed up with a Denon DTR-805 DAT recorder) and a Sonesax SX-PR mixer (customized to eight in, two out). Microphones: Sennheiser MKH-18, Neumann KM-184S, and Neumann KM-130s. All performances were commissioned for these recordings.


Titles in the Music of Indonesia Series:
Music of Indonesia, Vol. 3: Music from the Outskirts of Jakarta: Gambang Kromog SF 40057 (CD, CS) 1991
Music of Indonesia, Vol. 4: Music of Nias and North Sumatra: Hoho, Gendang Kuru, Gendang Toba SF 40420 (CD, CS) 1992
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Music of Indonesia, Vol. 11: Melayu Music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands: Zapin, Mal Yong, Mentakab SF 40427 (CD) 1996
Music of Indonesia, Vol. 12: Gongs and Vocal Music from Sumatra SF 40428 (CD) 1996
Music of Indonesia, Vol. 13: Kalimantan Strings SF 40429 (CD) 1997
Music of Indonesia, Vol. 15: South Sulawesi Strings SF 40442 (CD) 1997

CREDITS
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For further information about all the labels distributed through the Center, please consult our internet site http://www.si.edu/folkways which includes information about recent releases, our catalogue, and a database of the approximately 35,000 tracks from the more than 2,300 avail-

able recordings (click on Database Search).

Or request a printed catalogue by writing to: Catalogue, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 955 L’Enfant Plaza, SW, Suite 2600, Smithsonian Institution MRC 914, Washington, DC 20560, USA. Or use our catalogue request phone: (202) 287-3262, or e-mail folkways@si.edu
MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 14:
Lombok, Kalimantan, Banyumas: Little-known Forms of Gamelan and Wayang

Liner note supplement 07/04/2008

Recorded, edited, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. 74 minutes. SWF 40441 (1997)

Track list
1. Overture and beginning of opening scene
2. Laju
3. Rangsang
4. Sekar Gadung naik Cikoa
5. Dhandhanggula
6. Uler Kambang
7. Memucukane [overture]
8. Klana

What is a gamelan? — by Philip Yampolsky (revised 1998)
Two problems with the definition of gamelan in volume 14 have become apparent since the album's publication. Here is the definition as it appears there:

Old version: Our proposed definition has two components: instrumentation and musical organization. Regarding instrumentation, we suggest that gamelan be reserved for ensembles that include (1) hanging gongs or substitutes for them, and (2) melodic metallophones, either in the form of keyed metallophones or a set of bossed gongs (whether played by a single musician or apportioned to several). Regarding musical organization, we suggest that for an ensemble to be called a gamelan its music must have three features, or, if you will, "strata": (1) a basic melody, (2) a recurring pattern of "gong punctuation" marking repetitions and internal segmentation (if any) of the basic melody, and (3) elaboration of the basic melody, usually moving at a faster pace (rhythmic density) than the melody it elaborates. Other instruments and musical principles may also be present, but without the ones just listed, the ensemble should not, we suggest, be called a gamelan.

The first problem concerns the second half of the instrumentation criterion. The melodic metallophones need not be either keyed metallophones or bossed gong-sets: many gamelan contain both forms.

I should also point out that there is an apparent (but not a real) lack of economy in this criterion. So far as I know, among Indonesian ensembles that meet the definition's requirements regarding musical organization and the presence of hanging gongs and melodic metallophones, there is none that does not contain melodic keyed metallophones. Melodic gong-chimes are often also present, but, strictly speaking, the definition doesn't need them. On the other hand, it is easy to imagine an ensemble that would meet the definition's other criteria but not contain keyed metallophones: a gong-row and a shawm playing contrasting versions of the same melody would do the trick (provided hanging gongs were also present). Moreover, to stipulate only keyed metallophones is to obscure, unnecessarily, the similarity of Indonesian gamelan to
mainland Southeast Asian ensembles that match gamelan in other respects but have no keyed metallophones (or had none until comparatively recently). It seems wiser to make our definition allow for the possibility of a gamelan with a gong-row but no keyed metallophones. The second problem with the published definition lies in the third sentence, which is too restrictive, applying nicely to Javanese and Balinese ensembles but less readily to the Banjar gamelan. In the music of gamelan Banjar—for example, in much of track 7 and the second half of track 8 in volume 14—it is sometimes difficult to distinguish basic melody from elaboration. Using terms from Java we might say that in such cases the music seems to involve rapid, Sundanese-style saron imbal over the kind of melodic abstraction (based on destination tones) that in Central Java is played by kenong in Srepegan or by bonang using the gembyang technique. This is still a stratified ensemble, but the stratification does not always follow the single model outlined in the published definition.

Here, then, is a revised version of the whole definition, intended to resolve both of the problems discussed above. The changes affect only the second and third sentences of the old version; the first and last sentences are the same in both versions.

New version--Our proposed definition has two components: instrumentation and musical organization. Regarding instrumentation, we suggest that gamelan be reserved for ensembles that include (1) hanging gongs or substitutes for them, and (2) melodic metallophones, in the form of keyed metallophones or a set of bossed gongs, or both. (The gong-chime may be played by a single musician or apportioned to several.) Regarding musical organization, we suggest that for an ensemble to be called a gamelan its music must typically (though not necessarily in every passage) contain (1) at least two simultaneous melodic lines, related in content but of contrasting musical character (for example: a "full" melody and its abstraction; or a comparatively simple melody and a more complex elaboration based on it), and (2) a recurring pattern of "gong punctuation" marking repetitions and internal segmentation (if any) of the melodic lines. Other instruments and musical principles may also be present, but without the ones just listed the ensemble should not, we suggest, be called a gamelan.

These revisions necessitate further changes in the next two paragraphs. In both there are references to a level or stratum of "melodic elaboration"; this level or stratum is what has been reformulated above as "simultaneous contrasting but related melodies."

Corrections to the Liner Notes
1. On page 25 of the printed booklet, right-hand column, we remark that the overall melodic range of the gamelan Banjar is only two octaves, whereas "in Central Java, the range of the melodic instruments, excluding gong and kempul, is typically three octaves." In fact, the range of the melodic instruments in the Central Javanese gamelan (from slenthem to saron panerus) is four octaves.

2. On page 6 of the printed booklet, right column, first complete paragraph, a word is omitted. The second parenthesis in the second sentence of that paragraph should read: "into Lombok and South Kalimantan, for example, or the transmigrant communities mentioned earlier." "Or" was omitted in the printed version.
MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 14: Lombok, Kalimantan, Banyumas: Little-known Forms of Gamelan and Wayang

Recorded and compiled by Philip Yampolsky. 29-page booklet. 74 minutes. SFW 40441 (1997)

This file provides transcriptions of the Banyumas and Banjar texts sung in Volume 14 of the 20-volume Music of Indonesia series published by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, as well as a revised and expanded selected Bibliography and Discography with suggestions for Further Reading and Listening.

We regret that there was not time during our fieldwork to transcribe the Sasak text of track 1.

JEMBLUNG
-- Texts of tracks 4–6 were transcribed by I. M. Harjito and Tinuk Yampolsky.

4. Sekar Gadung naik Cikoa

Pengendhang: ...Gamelan lagi dilaras, Mad, gamelan kraton ya, Yogyaning laras.
Penggendhing: Gamelan dilaras kok kaya sapi.
Pengendhang: Ya ngerti gamelan kraton.

Pesindhen and gerong [stanza form: Salisir]:
Parabe sang mara bangun
Sepat domba kali Oya
Aja dolan lan wong priya
Gurameh nora prasaja

Garwa sang sindura prabu
Wicara mawa karuna [standard text: karana]
Aja dolan lan wanita
Tan nyata asring katarka

Pesindhen [text type: Wangsalan]:
Rujak nangka rujake para sarjana
Aja nguya dimen restari widada
[standard text: aja ngaya dimen lestari widada]
Ya mas
[...] raras tejamaya

Pesindhen and gerong [stanza form: Kinanthi]:
Nalikanira ing dalu
Wong agung mangsah semedi
Sirep kang bala wanara
Sadaya wus sami gulung
Nadyan ari sudarsana
Pengendhang: [...] yalah
Penggendhing: Gamelan diwaregi ya [...] 
Pengendhang: iyalah, gamelan gamelan urip

Pesindhen [form: Andhegan (musical interruption or interjection)]:
Ya bapak

Pengendhang: [...] 
Dhalang: [...] 

Pesindhen [still in the andhegan]:
Bapakku dhave

Pesindhen [continuing with the last line of the Kinanthi stanza]:
Wus dangu nggenira guling 

Dhalang [song/text type: Suluk]:
Lengleng ramyaning kang
Sasongka kumenyar, ooo
Mangrengga rukming puri, ooo
Mangkin tanpa siring
Aleb niking omah
Mas sing urubing langit, ooo [standard text: Mas lir murubing langit]
Takwan sarwa manik, ooo

Dhalang: Elho, lali sapandurat kados penjenenganipun kakang patih Abu Sadat.
Penggendhing: Ingghi, ingghi....

5. Dhandhanggula

Note: the standard pattern for the dhandhanggula stanza form is: 10i 10a 8e 7u 9i 7a 6u 8a 12i 7a (that is: the first line has ten syllables, and the final vowel is i; the second line has ten syllables, and the final vowel is a; and so forth). The verse sung here fits the form exactly, aside from choral interjections and the semantically insignificant addition of a preliminary vowel in the last line.

Duk samana kita wus ngalami
Urip aning jaman penjajahan
Abot banget sesanggane
Bongso kita sadarum
Suma wana para pamimpin
Samiya mbudidaya
Tanapi anggayuh
Waluyaning nuswantara
Uwal sangking cengkramanining bongso Landi
(A)ngesti mring kamardikan

Dhalang: Kacarita bidal maut saking ngarsanipun Sri Sultan Said ngablas parta....
6. Uler Kambang

Dhalang: …Alon-alonan rampai ta wau.

Pesindhen:
Sun pepuji dadya satria sejati
Isa gawe tata raharjaneng nagri
Aja lali lho kowe elinga karu suci bapak
Rina wengi rina wengi
den pepetri

Pengendhang: Dipithet kenonge ya Mad.
Penggendhing: Dipithet ya mbijig.
Dhalang: Ana kenong-kenong mbijig.
Penggendhing: Kenong urip dipithet.

Pesindhen:
Mrir lestari amayu suka basuki

Kinclong alah kinclong kinclong guayane
Moblong mas mas, dasar moblong
Mencorong ketok cahyane
Rama, dasar dadi senopati

Dadya senopati suka trangginas mrantasi
Bisa gawe tata tentreming sasami

[change to pelog]

Gerong [=pengendhang]:
Mrantas mila [lenteng?]  

Pesindhen [overlapping gerong at start]:
Ora pati ayu
Nanging migunani
Lha wong agung […] mawa bapak
Bapak sunthut ambesengut gandes luwes wicarane

Pengendhang: […] rong pangkon ya dithuthuk kabehe ning gentenan ya mung anu gamelane
kraton ya.
Dhalang: Lha iya lah.
Pengendhang: Keraket ning ora keton, e piye Mad?
Penggendhing: Kraton Jogja.
Dhalang: Dudu Jogja dudu Sala.
Pengendhang: Dudu Jogja dudu Sala iya, anu, keraket ora keton.

Pesindhen:
Raru mangsa

Pengendhang: Jan bejane sing kagungan [...] 
Dhalang: Lha iya lah.

Pesindhen:
   Panusule

Dhalang: Siter apa kuwi Mad?
Pengendhang: [...] nembang meneng-meneng.

Pesindhen:
   Magut yada

Pengendhang: Jan olehe nembang methethek kaya tumpeng [...] 

Pesindhen:
   Raru raru mangsa
   Manungsa ing magut yuda

   Brambang sak sen lima berjuang mbela nagara
   Brambang sak sen telu berjuang dimen bersatu
   Rama
   [...] 

   Lampu tintirane wus bacut manjing tresnane
   Ora butuh godong kayu, butuhku slamet rahayu

Dhalang: Kacarita ta rekiyana Patih Abu Sadat kersa andhawhaken dhateng sadaya....

WAYANG BANJAR
-- Texts transcribed by Philip Yampolsky in consultation with Dalang Ronde.

7. Memucukane

Lasam Sepuluh

Mayar kambang sinambaran
Pudung maraping bandrangan

Saya wiratan dewe loro rikma panjang

Tarabang burung malipir gunung
Pudung maraping bandrangan

Mambu ganggongan manis rikma panjang
Mantap pilis rikma panjang
Ganggong manis rikma panjang
Dewe loro rikma panjang
Mantap pilis sinambaran
Radin

**Liyung**

Pipilis bagus sariku dana wiman
Sampai hati jua nang herang manis lawan badanku

**Ayakan Miring**

Sampai hati jua nang herang manis lawan badanku
Pipilis bagus sariku dana wiman
Kumbang waning tawang dewe loro rikma panjang

**Ambung Gunung**

Tinggilahnya malam purun lanya banar tinggi malam
Bulan jua semurup tampaknya bagus bintang tinggalam
Parnah kucoba melupa diriku tak mau lupa
Lupa jua sabantar kurasa bauntungae di waktu tidur

**Lasam Sepuluh**

Pudung maraping bandrangan
Saya wiratan dewe loro rikma panjang
Saya wiratan

Tarabang burung malipir gunung
Pudung maraping bandrangan
Mambu ganggongan manis rikma panjang
Mantap pilis sinambaran
Ganggong manis rikma panjang
Dewe loro rikma panjang
Mantap pilis sinambaran
Lasam Tangah [ = Lasam Pindik]

Sigratan balatan paningal lalambungan tata
Gilang-gilang sampil yoda
Putus perang sijaga-jaga
[not sung, but understood: Burung merpati] terbang sakawan
Terbang sakawan tampaknya bagus kian kamari

Ambung Gunung Kedua

Andaikata teman balahan jiwa hilang di nagri
Saputar alam kurasa bauntungae susah pang diganti

REFERENCES AND FURTHER LISTENING
This listing incorporates and expands upon the references published in the U.S. edition of the booklet for this recording. Bibliography and discography compiled by series editor Philip Yampolsky.

Background: Gamelan and wayang in Java and Bali; other gong ensembles


Lombok, South Kalimantan, Banyumas


Contains a ten-page untitled essay by the Sasak dalang H. Lalu Nasib, and a two-page contribution by the Banjar dalang Aini, "Seni budaya wayang kulit Banjar."


Chapter 3 on Banyumas.

**Further Listening**

For a fine introduction to Javanese *wayang*, listen to Eigen Wijs EW 9523. (A transcription and translation, by Bernard Arps, of the entire play has been announced for publication by the Department of Languages and Cultures of South-East Asia and Oceania of the University of Leiden, in the series *Semaian*, under the title *Tall tree, nest of the wind.*) For Balinese *wayang* music: King KICC 5156 and Buda 92603-2 (which also has *gambuh*). An excellent new *gambuh* CD, issued after the first edition of the present album was published and hence not discussed in the commentary, has been published by Wayne Vitale (Vital Records 501).

Listeners interested in *jemblung* should not miss Pan 2048, which contains *jemblung* from Tambak, recorded in 1983; the man Rahayu Supanggah recommended to us, the late Pak Tembong, is heard in this album. One gets a clearer idea of the language and acting of *jemblung* from Pan 2048 than from our recordings here. The album also includes fascinating examples of other village traditions that are related to *jemblung*. Another example of one of those traditions, Madurese *memaca*, is on Ode 1381. When our album was issued in 1997, the only other published *wayang* Sasak recordings were on Bärenreiter BM30SL 2560, an out-of-print LP. Since then, two CDs that include *wayang* Sasak music have been issued: Auvidis/Unesco D 8272, and IAS 6. Other genres from Lombok may be heard on King KICC 5198 (including an imitation *gamelan* using tuned drums) and King KICC 5178 (a genre of popular music).

*Panji in Lombok I & II*. 2 LP. Bärenreiter-Musicaphon BM30SL 2560 and 2564.

*Anthologie de la musique de Bali IV: traditions savantes*. 2 CD. Buda 92603-2.

Gender Wayang of Sukawati Village. CD. King KICC 5156.
Cilokaq music of Lombok. CD. King KICC 5178.
The music of Lombok. CD. King KICC 5198.
Music of Madura. CD. Ode 1381.
Jemblung and related narrative traditions of Java. CD. Pan 2048 CD.
Balinese music of Lombok. CD. Auvidis/Unesco D 8272.