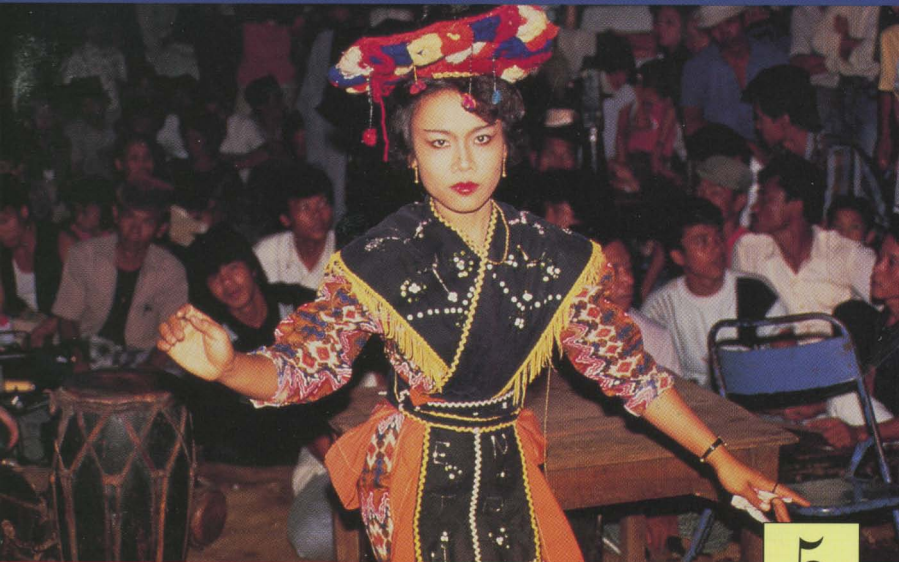


Betawi & Sundanese Music of the North Coast of Java

TOPENG BETAWI, TANJIDOR, AJENG



MUSIC OF INDONESIA

5

MUSIC OF INDONESIA 5

*Betawi and Sundanese Music of
the North Coast of Java:*

TOPENG BETAWI, TANJIDOR, AJENG

TOPENG BETAWI

Grup Topeng Betawi Panca Mekar, from Bekasi, directed by Itok

1. **Tetalu Pendek** 0:36
2. **Tetalu Panjang** 10:06
3. **Tetalu Tiga: Daun Iris/Panca Marga** 5:28

TANJIDOR

Tanji Modern Grup Marga Luyu, from Karawang, directed by Cibong

4. **Was Pepeko** 1:56
5. **Gaplek** 6:08
6. **Ucing Belek** 6:07

Grup Tanjidor Kembang Ros, from Tangerang, directed by Sarna

7. **Jali-jali Bunga Siantan** 6:33

AJENG

Group from Karawang, directed by Ican

8. **Welasan** 4:56
9. **Gandrung** 8:21
10. **Cara Bali** 22:42

*Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky**Produced in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts (MSPI)*

These 1990-1992 recordings from the coastal region near Jakarta reveal a splendid hybrid created by Batavian culture encountering that of the surrounding Sundanese.

Topeng Betawi is a theatre form whose accompanying ensemble is Sundanese; *tanjidor* is a Sundanese repertoire played on European brass instruments together with gongs and drums; and *ajeng* is a wild village gamelan very different from the better known restrained style of central Java.



**Smithsonian
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Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600
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Washington, DC 20560

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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 USA) 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.



BETAWI AND SUNDANESE MUSIC FROM NORTHWEST JAVA

The present album focuses on the music of one small but prominent area of Indonesia: a triangular section of the north coastal plain of western Java. In the middle of the triangle sits Indonesia's capital city, Jakarta. To the west, the triangle extends past Tangerang to Mauk; south it reaches almost to Bogor, and east to Karawang. Most of the area has been or is gradually becoming absorbed into Greater Jakarta, now often called *Jabotabek* (a syllabic acronym formed from the names of the component districts Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi), but our interest extends east beyond Bekasi to the next district, Karawang, which is not (yet) part of Greater Jakarta.

There are historical reasons, to do with the economy and demography of Jakarta, for seeing this area as a unit. There are also cultural reasons, but they are not the usual ones of cultural or linguistic homogeneity: what unites the region is the unusual variety of peoples who have settled there and the complex interweaving of their populations and customs over time. Europeans, Chinese, the indigenous Sundanese of West Java, and other Indonesians from all parts of the archipelago have contributed to the mix.

BETAWI, JAKARTA, SUNDANESE

Before Jakarta was Jakarta, it was Batavia. Founded in 1619 as a trading post of the Dutch East India Company (before which it had been a port controlled by the Sultanate of Banten, at the western end of Java), Batavia became over the next century the hub of the Company's vast Asian trading network. When the Company failed in 1799 and its territories, acquired through treaties or the might of its private army, were taken over by the Dutch government, Batavia became the capital of the new colony.

For the first 200 years of Batavia's history, the "native" or, in modern terms, *pribumi* population (that is, those who were not classed as European, Eurasian, Arab, or Chinese) descended mainly from people born in what is now eastern Indonesia. Although Batavia was situated in western Java, the Company initially prohibited "Javanese" (that is, people from any of the island's ethnic groups, principally Sundanese and Javanese) from living in the city, for fear that they might join forces with those outside and mount a rebellion. This stricture was relaxed near the end of the seventeenth century, but as late as 1815 only about 10 percent of Batavia's *pribumi* inhabitants were "Javanese," while ethnic groups from the eastern islands, particularly Bali and South Sulawesi, accounted for some 75 percent.

In 1815 observers could still distinguish

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Music of Indonesia 2 — Indonesian Popular Music: Kroncong, Dangdut, and Langgam Jawa (SF 40056)

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various ethnic groups among the permanently-settled *pribumi* in Batavia, but well before the end of the century this was no longer possible: the groups had blended into one, called *Batavianen* (Batavians) by the Dutch and *Betawi* by the *pribumi*. In general, only recent immigrants to the city held onto the language and customs of their homeland; with time, they or their children became established in Batavia and were absorbed into the Betawi. The language of the Betawi was a local dialect of Malay (now Indonesian), their religion Islam, and their customs an amalgam of elements from many parts of the Indonesian archipelago as well as from the non-*pribumi* groups in Batavia. Numerically dominant, the Betawi were socially and economically at the bottom of the scale, working at menial jobs in the city and as tenant farmers and agricultural laborers in the *ommelanden* ("surrounding regions") of Tangerang and Bekasi. Above them on the scale, in late-colonial Batavia, were the "Chinese" (actually mestizos, descended from unions between China-born men and *pribumi* women), the small circle of non-Betawi *pribumi* elite, the Eurasians (again mestizos, the descendants of European men and *pribumi* women), and, at the top, the full-blood Europeans.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the demographic picture changed: great waves of Sundanese and Javanese immigrants arrived in Batavia, so many that

by 1930 they made up half the *pribumi* population of the urban areas (though not of the *ommelanden*, which remained preponderantly Betawi). These immigrants, like those before them, became rooted in Batavia—or Jakarta, as the city has been called since Indonesia's independence was declared in 1945—and adopted Malay as their primary language, but they did not merge with the Betawi, as earlier immigrants had done. Instead, the Sundanese and Javanese, and the many others from all over Indonesia who have come to the city since the thirties, gradually developed into yet another group, one that at first had no name but now may logically be called "Jakartans." Some Betawi have been absorbed into the newer and stronger group; many of the rest have been literally marginalized, pushed by lack of economic opportunity out to join the Betawi of the *ommelanden*.

What distinguishes the Jakartans from the Betawi is, it seems to me, essentially a difference in purview. Jakarta is the preeminent city of Indonesia, and even lower-class Jakartans can thus see themselves as performing on a national stage—indeed, an international one, since Jakarta's role is in part to interpret the commodities and technologies of the modern world for the rest of the country. By contrast, Batavia was a colonial city, whose affairs were directed from afar, and the Betawi, at the bottom of the ladder and out

of touch with their home regions, were villagers, even in the city. Their arena was (and is still) purely local. This is perhaps a reason why the Sundanese and Javanese immigrants became proto-Jakartans rather than Betawi: it was relatively easy for them to maintain contact with their nearby homelands, and thus to see themselves in a context larger than just Batavia.

The immediate context of Jakarta is West Java. By far the largest ethnic group in West Java (and the second largest in Indonesia) is the Sundanese, and the further out one goes from Jakarta proper, the more Sundanese language and Sundanese culture one encounters. No doubt there have been close contact and cultural mixing between Betawi and Sundanese ever since the late seventeenth century, and this interaction can only have increased in the twentieth century, as more and more Betawi have been squeezed out to the fringes of Jakarta.

The province of West Java consists of a northern coastal plain, often called the *pesisir*, and a mountainous region running east-west through the center and south of the province. While the highlands, inhabited almost exclusively by Sundanese (along with the Baduy, a small group in the far west), present a relatively unified cultural picture, the *pesisir* or coastal strip is linguistically and culturally more complex. Roughly in the center of the strip is the Jabotabek/Karawang region, with its hodge-

podge of Jakartans, Sundanese, Betawi, and “Chinese.” The main languages here are Indonesian, in Jakarta proper, and Betawi and Sundanese in the surrounding areas. Other parts of the strip are dominated by Javanese (in Banten, at the western end), or by the mixed Javanese/Sundanese culture of Cirebon. Sundanese are dominant in the area stretching east from Karawang to Kandanghaur or so.

BATAVIAN MUSIC AND THEATER

We can think of Batavian and Jakartan culture as geological or archeological strata covering the same terrain. Jakartan culture is based on the idea of a nation, Indonesia, while Batavian culture was based on Batavia’s particular geographical and political situation and its particular mix of peoples. Jakarta is, of course, the newer layer, and in the most urbanized areas it has pretty much buried Batavia; but on the fringes of the city, and in the surrounding rural and semi-rural regions (the old *ommelanden*), the Jakartan stratum is thinner, and Batavian culture often pokes through. The performing arts of the outlying regions still show many features of the Batavian stratum, but in urban Jakarta one sees only the national forms that have developed since Independence. (Some of these are discussed and presented in Volume 2 of this series.)

In the course of Batavia’s three hundred years, a number of performance genres emerged that were, in one respect or another, unique to the region of Batavia and its surroundings. Many were hybrids, combining elements drawn from the arts of both *pribumi* and half- or non-*pribumi* groups. *Kroncong*, for example, used European instruments to accompany the singing of *pantun* (a Malay verse-form) in Betawi dialect. *Gambang kromong* initially fitted Betawi lyrics to Chinese melodies and accompanied them on a mixed ensemble of Chinese and Sundanese instruments. (*Kroncong* and *gambang kromong* are treated in more detail in, respectively, Volumes 2 and 3 of this series.) *Tanjidor*, one of the genres heard in the present album, used the instruments of Dutch orchestras and military bands to play local Betawi tunes along with European marches and waltzes.

There were also genres that combined Betawi and Sundanese elements and were thus hybrids *within* the *pribumi* sphere. The theater form *topeng Betawi*, the gamelan orchestra called *ajeng*, and the shadow-puppet theater *wayang kulit Betawi* all seem to have evolved from Sundanese genres, taking on Betawi features, and, in the case of the theater forms, Betawi language. Some genres developed in the opposite direction: *tanjidor*, having first emerged as a Betawi genre, over time took on Sundanese traits, and another Betawi genre, *rebana biang*, is

said to have followed the same path.

This Betawi-Sundanese connection is the main topic of the present album, which explores the genres *ajeng*, *tanjidor*, and *topeng Betawi*. The album has been designed partly to complement Volume 3 of the series, which considers a different nexus of musical interaction in Batavia—among “Chinese,” Betawi, and Europeans/Eurasians. Inevitably, the two albums overlap: there are Sundanese elements in the music of Volume 3, and there is significant European presence in some of the music here. Little in Batavia stayed in its box for long.

Topeng Betawi

Dance-and-theater forms known as *topeng* (pronounced *topèng*, with *èng* as in the English word *length*) are found throughout Java and Bali, but they differ greatly one from another, in dance, in music, and in theatrical mode. While the best-known varieties, found in Cirebon, Bali, Central Java, and East Java, involve masked dance, the *topeng* characteristic of the western *pesisir* (that is, west of the Cirebon/Indramayu region) is performed without masks or dance. In this kind of *topeng*, the plays typically depict *pribumi* life in the region during colonial times. The dialogue is improvised by the actors. Dances—in some places masked, in others not—occur before the play proper, but after that they

have only an incidental relation to the play; they are not the primary mode of performance. Similarly, a closing section unrelated to the play and performed by actors of whom one wears a half-mask may be appended but is not essential. This western-*pesisir topeng* is performed in different languages—Javanese, Sundanese, and the Betawi dialect of Malay/Indonesian—depending on where along the coast it is found. There are many variations in performance practice from place to place (indeed, from troupe to troupe), but basically the genre is the same all across the region.

To its performers and audiences, this theater is generally known simply as *topeng*. (In Banten it is also called *ubrug*.) When people want to distinguish among local varieties, they add a qualifier: a place-name or the name of a troupe or star actor. Two more inclusive terms are also used: *topeng Betawi* for *topeng* performed in Jabotabek using Betawi dialect, and *topeng banjet* for the Sundanese-language *topeng* found in Karawang and points east. (No definitive explanation of the word *banjet* has been offered.)

Topeng Betawi and *topeng banjet* are folk theater forms. They are performed at family celebrations such as weddings or circumcisions, and at community festivals to honor local spirits or to ensure a successful harvest. Performances may also be

commissioned in fulfillment of a vow: for example, a child's parents might swear that if the child recovers from an illness they will sponsor a *topeng*. In earlier times (perhaps as late as the 1950s) brief *topeng* performances were also frequently given impromptu at markets and other busy places, and money was solicited from the audience, but one never sees this now.

The troupe heard in the present recordings, Grup Topeng Betawi Panca Mekar, includes some seventeen actors and dancers and six musicians, many of them belonging to the extended family of the leader, Pa Itok. The performers are semi-professionals, in the sense that no one in the troupe lives solely from *topeng*: many work at making baskets and other objects out of rattan, selling fruit and prepared foods, sharecropping, coolie labor, and so on.

The troupe is based in Bekasi, near the eastern boundary of *topeng Betawi's* geographical range, and published accounts of other *topeng* troupes suggest that Topeng Panca Mekar is typical for this eastern region. Closer to Jakarta, *topeng* is performed on a stage and (sometimes) uses backdrops and scenery, but in the eastern region the atmosphere is quite informal: actors and dancers perform in bare feet on the ground, with only a string or ribbon to keep the audience out of the playing area; there are no backdrops, and no scenery beyond a table and chairs to indicate when

action is taking place indoors; the musicians sit on mats behind the playing area; performers put on makeup and change costume (under their sarongs) in plain view; spectators toss money, cigarettes, or food into the playing area in appreciation of the performance.

A performance begins around 8:00 or 9:00 p.m. and continues almost until dawn. The actual play to be presented is often determined only a short while before the show starts. Pa Itok chooses the play—or, more precisely, the plot—and assigns the actors their roles. Next he performs a brief ritual, with incense and mantras, to ensure success and protect the players against hostile forces.

The performance opens with a musical overture (*tetalu*) and several songs. (A complete *tetalu* is heard in tracks 1-3 here.) A young female dancer then appears, wearing an elaborate costume dominated by a horizontal headdress. (See cover photo). The members of Topeng Panca Mekar refer to her as the *kembang topeng* ("flower of the *topeng*")—or simply the *topeng*, as though she were (as in a sense she is) at the heart of the artform. She begins with a long fixed sequence, initially alternating dance passages with brief episodes in which she stands in place and sings in Betawi while holding a handkerchief in front of her face. After a few such alternations, the singing is taken over by a second singer (the *sinden*, who sits with

the musicians and does not dance), while the *kembang topeng* continues dancing. When the dance is finished, a clown comes into the acting area and begins a routine that eventually involves the *kembang topeng* and further clowns. The clowning is followed by the last preliminary event, a strenuous dance by four young girls in a line. At the end, drenched in sweat, the girls retire; new clowns come out, and the play begins.

As I said earlier, *topeng Betawi* plays are usually set among the Batavia *pribumi* in the colonial era. Typical characters are landlords and factory or plantation owners, their thugs and henchmen, peasants virtuous and comic, venal government or religious officials, and so on. Many opportunities are found for clowning and for displays of martial-arts dancing (*pencak silat*). Almost always, a scene set in a food-stall—where in real life itinerant musicians might stop to perform—provides an occasion for song and dance.

The music for Topeng Panca Mekar (and, with some exceptions, for western-*pesisir topeng* in general) is performed by a small ensemble of *rebab* (bowed lute), drums, other non-melodic percussion, and *sinden* (female singer). (The precise instrumentation is given below, in the commentary for tracks 1-3.) This ensemble is basically identical with the one that accompanies the Sundanese genre *ketuk tilu*, a rural entertainment in which a woman

sings while dancing with men from among the crowd of spectators. The only difference between the ensembles is in the singer's role: in *topeng* she is a *sinden*, singing but not dancing, while in *ketuk tilu* she is a *ronggeng*, doing both. Up until the 1920s or 1930s there was not even this difference. The *sinden* was originally a part of the ensemble for the *wayang golek* puppet theater, and she did not appear in other genres until well into the twentieth century. Before that time, the *kembang topeng* both sang and danced (as she still does, briefly, at the start of a performance).

The *sinden's* lyrics are always in Sundanese, except for the occasional line or verse in Indonesian. It is striking that in this Betawi-dialect theater the *sinden* does not sing in Betawi. (I attended one performance where a string of jokes was devoted to the absurdity of the notion that the *sinden* might sing in "Melayu"—i.e., in this context, Betawi or Indonesian.) The musical idiom of the ensemble, particularly the drumming, is also Sundanese. And so, finally, are the songs themselves, almost all of which are acknowledged to be Sundanese in origin. According to several writers, these songs are known in the western *pesisir* as *lagu Sunda gunung*, "melodies from the Sundanese mountains." "Mountains" here is not to be taken literally; it stands, I think, for "villages" or "rural areas." *Lagu Sunda gunung* are (or were) popular throughout

village Sunda, highland and low. Conversely, modern elite or urban songs such as those of the *tembang Sunda* genre, which are associated mainly with the mountain regions, would not be included in *lagu Sunda gunung*.

It seems, then, that the music for *topeng Betawi* is on the whole Sundanese. (In the eastern region, at least; some accounts state that nearer Jakarta more Betawi songs are used, though I suspect that there too most of the music is *lagu Sunda gunung*.) However, there is evidence to suggest that the Sundanese strain became dominant only in this century. An 1855 Dutch account of *topeng Betawi* describes as a prominent feature of the entertainment the *kembang topeng* trading sung quatrains (*pantun*) in Betawi with the clown. (If we assume that, then as now, Betawi *pantun* would not be sung to a Sundanese song, this implies that the songs too were Betawi.) And according to a 1978 interview with old *topeng banjet* musicians in Karawang, the repertoire of that Sundanese-language form consisted mainly of Betawi songs, with only a few Sundanese ones, until 1910 or so. If even the Sundanese form to the east of *topeng Betawi* used Betawi songs, we may assume that *topeng Betawi* itself did.

There are two sections of Topeng Panca Mekar's music in which something that seems to be Betawi is heard. One is the segment of the overture designated *Tetalu*

Panjang (track 2); the other is the song called *Aileu* (not recorded here) that begins the *kembang topeng's* dance. In both, there is a suspension of the strict patterns of gong-punctuation and melodic structure that characterize the rest of the repertoire. In fact, in *Tetalu Panjang* there is no pattern of gong-punctuation at all: a middle-sized gong keeps the beat, and the large gong is summoned by a drumming figure when the drummer feels like it. Another feature that marks the entire *tetalu* off from the rest of the music of *topeng Betawi* is a unique deployment of drums. (See the commentary on tracks 1-3.) Whether these traits (and some others), which are atypical for the clearly Sundanese music that makes up the rest of the *topeng* repertoire, are in fact Betawi in origin or should instead be traced to a source in archaic Sunda, is a topic requiring complex and detailed research; but Betawi is a plausible attribution.

Tanjidor

At heart, *tanjidor* is a European brass band, to which Indonesian and other European instruments may be added. It is usually considered a Batavian genre, but similar ensembles (perhaps imitations) have been reported from the vicinities of Palembang (in South Sumatra) and Pontianak (West Kalimantan). (Only the Batavian form is discussed here.)

The word *tanjidor* is thought to come from the Portuguese *tangedor*, "a player of a musical instrument," and thus to date from the time when Portuguese was spoken in Batavia (up until the early nineteenth century). The ensemble probably developed out of the slave orchestras that wealthy landowners maintained at their estates in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Batavia. In these orchestras, slaves from many parts of Indonesia (Bali and South Sulawesi in particular) entertained their masters with European marches and dance tunes, as well as Chinese and Indonesian music, all played on the appropriate instruments. The institution of slavery and the lavish estates both died away in the mid-nineteenth century, but bands of *pribumi* musicians who could play European instruments remained in demand for festivities, and for parades and other military occasions.

By early in the twentieth century, and possibly long before that, such groups routinely toured well-to-do neighborhoods of Batavia during both the Chinese and European new year celebrations, playing in front of residences for tips. This practice was abandoned in 1955 after the mayor of Jakarta declared that it displeased him to see *pribumi* musicians treated like beggars by "Chinese." Fearing police raids, the street musicians of Jakarta—not just the *tanjidor* groups, but everyone—ran for cover, and while other kinds of street music eventually

resurfaced, *tanjidor* never did.

It is not known when the bands began to play for *pribumi* occasions, though it seems likely that if they were sufficiently organized to work the wealthy urban districts at the new year they would also be playing for themselves. In any case, *tanjidor* had, by the 1950s (and, again, possibly long before that), become one of the standard choices for entertainment at *pribumi* weddings, circumcisions, *kaulan* (vow-fulfillments), and village agricultural festivals; it also played for rural "Chinese" temple festivals. It might perform alone, or in alternation with *ajeng* (see below), and often served as accompaniment for dancers (*ronggeng*).

Like the other genres on this album, *tanjidor* (or *tanji*, as it is often called), is today found in the rural and semirural regions surrounding Jakarta, but not in the urban areas, and is performed by semiprofessional musicians who also work as farmers, food sellers, etc. Though it has declined sharply in popularity, *tanjidor* still plays for *pribumi* celebrations, now accompanying *jaipongan* dance. It is now rarely used in temples, but it may play at "Chinese" weddings, usually in alternation with *gambang kromong*. There are also a few *topeng* and *lenong* theater troupes that use *tanjidor* for their musical accompaniment instead of the standard *topeng* (i.e., *ketuk tilu*) and *gambang kromong* ensembles.

At weddings and other celebrations, a

tanjidor performance opens with the genre's core repertoire, European marches and waltzes. But these are old-fashioned tunes with limited appeal in Indonesia today, and an hour or so is enough. After that, *tanjidor*, which has never generated its own repertoire, borrows the music of other genres. Most groups can play pieces from several repertoires: *gambang kromong*, Betawi and Sundanese melodies, and current popular songs (*pop* or *dangdut*). In eastern Bekasi and Karawang, out where Betawi culture shades into Sundanese, the repertoire is (like that of *topeng Betawi*) mostly *lagu Sunda gunung*. It is worth investigating to what extent the *slendro* and *pelog* tunings of Sundanese music, which use intervals unavailable in Western scales, are adjusted to the Western tuning of the *tanjidor* instruments, or vice versa.

A typical *tanjidor* instrumentation is clarinet, trumpet, trombone, tuba or other bass horn, and a percussion group of snare drum, bass drum, and small cymbals. Tenor horns, saxophones, and even a violin or Chinese fiddle (*tehyan*, associated with *gambang kromong*) may be added; the trumpet may be omitted. Female singers (*sinden*) have been fixtures in the ensemble since about 1960; before that time (according to Pa Cibong, the leader of one of the ensembles recorded here), the dancer (*ronggeng*) would sing a verse here and there, but her singing was not essential to

the music, as the *sinden*'s is today. For the marches and waltzes, the drums are played with sticks; for the other repertoires, they are played with hands, or a Sundanese drum-set and its attendant gongs and small percussion may be substituted. When *tanjidor* accompanies *jaipongan* dance, Sundanese drums and gongs are necessary, not optional, and keyed metallophones may be added as well.

Of the present recordings, three are from Kabupaten Karawang, played by performers whose principal language is Sundanese. The selections are a waltz (track 4) and two Sundanese pieces (tracks 5 and 6) of the kind that used to accompany *ronggeng*, here performed without vocal. The fourth selection (track 7) is a well-known Betawi song played by a Betawi group from Tangerang. (Recordings by the same group are heard in earlier volumes of the series: a *dangdut* song in Volume 2 and a Betawi song now associated with *gambang kromong* in Volume 3). With this group, based physically closer to Jakarta and in an area where there are many "Chinese," the musical idiom is not the nearly pure Sundanese of the Karawang group, but a startling mixture of Sundanese (in the drumming) with *gambang kromong* and touches of 1930s jazz.

Ajeng

Ajeng (pronounced *ajèng*, with *èng* as in *length*, just as for *topeng*) is a full-fledged gamelan orchestra, differing only in instrumental details from the palace gamelans of Central Java and the village gamelans of highland Sunda. Nevertheless, one of those details makes a considerable difference in the character of the ensemble: in place of the quiet *rebab* of Central Java and highland Sunda, *ajeng* uses a shawm or double-reed aerophone called (and a moment's listening will tell you why) a *tarompet*. Thanks partly to the *tarompet* and partly to the music's frequent accelerations and changes of tempo, *ajeng* has a brash, raucous energy that may come as a shock to listeners used to the more stately and contemplative sounds of other gamelan traditions.

The primary use of *ajeng* today is as accompaniment for *wayang kulit Betawi*, the shadow-puppet theater performed in Betawi dialect, whose music is Betawi songs and *lagu Sunda gunung*. This use of *ajeng* is reportedly rather recent, dating only from around 1925. (Before that time, *wayang kulit Betawi* is said to have been accompanied by an ensemble of bamboo instruments.) Formerly, *ajeng* could also perform on its own, without *wayang*, providing the music for domestic and village festivities, but this free-standing *ajeng*, which had its own repertoire, not shared with *wayang* or *topeng*,

is now extremely rare. The group heard here is one of the last to maintain this repertoire. *Ajeng* playing for *wayang*, on the other hand, are relatively common in the Jabotabek area.

It is not clear how widespread the free-standing *ajeng* was in the past. The ensemble in these recordings is based in a village of Sundanese farmers near the city of Karawang, and the leader, Pa Ican (who reckoned his age to be 82 in 1992 but who looks somewhat younger—in his early seventies, perhaps), recalls that there used to be *ajeng* like it in villages throughout the vicinity. (Incidentally, Pa Ican and his musicians refer to the genre as *ajeng*, not as *gamelan ajeng*.) A similar group is still active in the northern part of Kabupaten Bogor, south of Jakarta, and another was reported from Kabupaten Bekasi in the 1970s.

The *ajeng* gamelan itself, with the instrumentation heard here (described below, in the comments on tracks 8-10), may be unique to the western *pesisir*. Gamelans called *ajeng* were reported for villages in the eastern highlands in the 1930s, but these were small ensembles with a different instrumentation (most significantly: no *tarompet*, and a single long row of gong kettles, instead of the Karawang *ajeng*'s double row) and a limited repertoire of six or seven pieces. (Pa Ican claims there used to be at least forty-nine pieces in his group's repertoire.)

Celebrations in Karawang usually started

in the evening, went through that night and the following day and night and ended the second morning. The gamelan played throughout, with a few rest breaks. In the afternoon before the second night there was a procession around the village, accompanied by some of the *ajeng* instruments, but for most of the time the gamelan was set on a platform some two meters (six feet) off the ground, and the musicians played up in the air while guests relaxed down below. There was no dance, according to Pa Ican. (Closer to Jakarta, a type of dance called variously *tari belenggo*, *belenggo ajeng*, or *tari topeng gong*, can be accompanied by *ajeng*.)

The large *ajeng* repertoire was divided into groups according to musical mode and the formal structure of the compositions, and each group of pieces had a specified time-slot. The only composition normally heard more than once was *Cara Bali* (track 10), which was played to welcome guests at the start of both nights and also to begin the daytime session.

Pa Ican has answers for most questions, and when I asked him about the melodic modes of *ajeng* he launched without hesitation into a lecture-demonstration, which I summarize here. There are seven tones in the system: if, following convention, we name the lowest tone C, then the scale of Pa Ican's gamelan is (approximately) C Db Eb F G Ab Bb. (Since

there is no absolute tuning standard in any of the Javanese or Balinese gamelan traditions, it is quite likely that other *ajeng* gamelans would have somewhat different scales.) The melodic modes, called *patut*, are grouped in two modal categories, also called *patut*: *patut patbelas*, which uses all seven tones, and *patut sepuluh*, using only five. *Patbelas* means "fourteen," and *sepuluh* means "ten." These terms refer to one of the principal melodic instruments of *ajeng*, the *bonang*, which consists of two rows of small knobbed gong-kettles placed on a rack: fourteen kettles are needed to cover two octaves in *patut patbelas*, while ten kettles cover two octaves in *patut sepuluh*.

Patut patbelas and *patut sepuluh* each contain two principal modes. The two in *patut patbelas*, called *patut rancag* and *patut Betawi*, necessarily use the same tones, since both modes are heptatonic, but the "main tone" is G in *patut rancag* and Bb in *patut Betawi*. (This notion of the "main tone" needs to be approached with caution. I asked Pa Ican to name the main tone, *nada pokok*, primarily to see whether he had such a concept. Since he instantly responded by striking the appropriate kettle for each mode, I include the information here, but it may not hold for all pieces in the mode.) The *patut sepuluh* modes use five tones selected from the full set of seven: *patut tunggal* uses Db Eb G Ab Bb, with Ab the main tone, and *patut lempeng* uses Db Eb F

Ab Bb, with Eb the main tone. A third *patut sepuluh* mode, *patut langbong* (C Db F G Ab; main tone: C) occurs only in certain pieces that originate outside *ajeng*, in highland Sunda repertoires. (Iyon Supiyono, a Sundanese musicologist who was part of the research team in Karawang, says that *langbong* is what is known in the highlands as *madenda*.)

The repertoire of Pa Ican's gamelan falls into three categories: a large group of what are considered to be the basic *ajeng* pieces; a smaller category that Pa Ican at various times called *lagu Betawi*, *lagu Melayu*, and *kroncong*; and a miscellaneous group of pieces borrowed from other repertoires (including, but not limited to, those played in *patut langbong*). The *lagu Betawi* are, as their name states, associated with Batavia; played in their own seven-tone mode, *patut Betawi*, they include Betawi standards such as *Jali-jali*, *Persi*, and *Cik Mamat*. The first melody heard in track 9 is a *lagu Betawi*.

Most if not all of the titles of the basic *ajeng* pieces are in Sundanese. Research is needed to determine whether the melodies themselves (and the melodic modes) correspond to ones known in highland Sunda or in Cirebon, or are instead unique to *ajeng*. In either case, the instrumentation and playing style are unique. The playing style combines elements of Sundanese—and perhaps Cirebonese or Central Javanese—gamelan music with other features that are

not, to my knowledge, found in any of those traditions. The most noticeable of these distinctive features are frequent tempo shifts in certain pieces, long steady accelerations (longer and technically different from those found in Central Java), and a constant rippling accompaniment usually limited to four (sometimes six) tones. (This accompaniment is reminiscent of but not identical to Javanese and Sundanese accompaniment techniques known as *imbal*. The principal difference is that the pitches of the *ajeng* accompaniment do not seem to be coordinated with those of the main melody.)

How might this style have been formed? The *ajeng* piece *Cara Bali* (track 10) may offer a partial clue. The only item in the repertoire that must be performed at any festivity (and not just once, but three times), *Cara Bali* may be seen as central to the *ajeng* repertoire. The most likely interpretation of its title is "in Balinese style," and there are indeed certain traits found in this piece (but rare elsewhere in *ajeng*) that suggest Bali: the use of two drummers playing interlocking patterns, and the use of a muted bossed gong (*bende*) to double, at times, the main strokes of the drumming. Moreover, seen in this light, two of the distinctive features that are common in many *ajeng* pieces begin to look Balinese: the frequent tempo changes, and the rippling accompaniment (which recalls the four- or six-kettle *reyong* of gong *gede* ensembles).

These Balinese elements might have come into *ajeng* as a result of contact between *pesisir* Sundanese and the Balinese who made up a significant portion of the original Betawi stock. If this hypothesis is correct, we see in the freestanding *ajeng* of Karawang two kinds of interaction between Sundanese and Betawi music: the incorporation of Betawi melodies into the repertoire and the creation of a melodic mode to accommodate them; and the assimilation, via Betawi, of Balinese (and perhaps other non-Sundanese?) stylistic and instrumental features, some lodging in one crucial piece (*Cara Bali*) and others diffusing into the overall *ajeng* style.

FURTHER READING AND LISTENING

Two works in English that give useful overviews of Batavia/Jakarta and the social context of the arts there are:

Abeyasekera, Susan. *Jakarta, a history*. Rev. ed. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Grijns, C.D. "Distributional aspects of folk performances in the Jakarta Malay area." *Masyarakat Indonesia* 8(2):187-226, 1981.

Most of the published material on *topeng Betawi*, *tanjidor*, and *ajeng* has appeared in hard-to-find journals, and little of it is in English. Since space is limited here, I have

omitted the list of these titles, and also the footnotes attributing the various items of information I have drawn from them. Readers who want the references and bibliography (some seventy entries on Batavia and its performing arts)—together with the texts of tracks 3 and 7 in the original languages—can get them by sending their name and address, along with a check payable to the Smithsonian Institution for \$2.00 (for postage and handling), to: Indonesian Texts 5, Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560, USA.

No recordings of *topeng Betawi* or *ajeng* have been published outside Indonesia. One example each of *topeng banjet* and *tanjidor*,* recorded in 1968, were issued on Ernst Heins's fine anthology LP, *Musiques populaires d'Indonésie: Folk music from West Java* (Ocora 46), now out of print. Two more *tanjidor* pieces, recorded by Heins in 1973, are included on a Dutch CD, *Frozen brass: Asia* (Pan 2020CD).

NOTES ON THE SELECTIONS

TOPENG BETAWI

1. **Tetalu Pendek.**
2. **Tetalu Panjang.**
3. **Tetalu Tiga: Daun Iris/Panca Marga.**

Grup Topeng Betawi Panca Mekar, from Kec. [Kecamatan] Cibitung, Kab. [Kabupaten] Bekasi, directed by Itok. Singer in track 3: Rokiyah.

These three tracks constitute the complete *tetalu* or overture to a *topeng* Betawi performance, according to the practice of the Panca Mekar group in 1990. The *tetalu* is performed before the female dancer (*kembang topeng*) first appears. *Tetalu Pendek* (the "short *tetalu*") consists of a brief *rebab*, (bowed lute) solo (*arang-arangan*) followed by three jangling bursts to get your attention. *Tetalu Panjang* (the "long *tetalu*") follows immediately. It is dominated by the lead drummer, who plays a steady stream of rhythmic patterns. A striking feature of this piece is that, unlike the third part of the *tetalu* and the rest of the music for *topeng Betawi* (and indeed most of the other ensemble music to be found in Java), it is not *cyclic*. There is no regular pattern of repetition, nor any recurring cycle of gong-punctuation to mark off the periods. Of the two hanging gongs in the ensemble, the higher-pitched one plays an unvarying beat, while the lower-pitched one sounds only

when the drummer closes out an ad lib string of patterns by playing the figure that calls it. *Tetalu Tiga* (the "third *tetalu*") consists of two songs sung in Sundanese. (Interestingly, the drummer does not switch to Sundanese-style drumming for these songs, though he does so immediately after the *tetalu* and continues in Sundanese style thereafter.) The first, *Daun Iris*, is a well-known popular song. The second, *Panca Marga*, contains references to the Indonesian state ideology, Pancasila, and may have been chosen by Pa Itok to please local government officials who might be in attendance.

The instruments of the ensemble are: *rebab* (bowed lute); *gendang*, a two-headed drum positioned horizontally; two smaller drums, *kentung*, positioned vertically; three small kettle-gongs, *kenong*, mounted horizontally in a rack; two hanging gongs, *kempul* (higher-pitched) and *goong*, played by one musician; and *kecrek*, clashing metal strips mounted on a block and struck with beaters. There is also a female singer, *sinden*. In the *tetalu*, the lead drummer plays only the *gendang*, holding a stick in each hand; the two smaller drums are farmed out to other players, who keep up a steady interlocking pattern on them. This distribution of drums is peculiar to the *tetalu*; in all other pieces, the lead drummer controls all of the drums himself, in typical Sundanese fashion.

TANJIDOR

4. Was Pepeko.
5. Gaplek.
6. Ucing Belek.

Tanji Modern Grup Marga Luyu, from Kec. Klari, Kab. Karawang, directed by Cibong.

Was (that is, waltz) *Pepeko* exemplifies the marches and European dance tunes that form the original repertoire of *Tanjidor*.

Gaplek and *Ucing Belek* are Sundanese village pieces (*lagu Sunda gunung*) that could be played for *topeng*, *ronggeng*, *wayang kulit Betawi*, and other western-*pesisir* entertainments, as well as for *tanjidor*. *Ucing belek* may be literally, though inelegantly, translated as "cat with white gunk in its eyes." The unhappy cat, who presumably has feline conjunctivitis, appears not only in the title but is also heard meowing in the clarinet melody. A *ronggeng* would do cat movements if dancing to this piece.

Grup Marga Luyu's European instruments are: an Albert-system clarinet (called *suling*); a trombone; a tenor (or possibly alto) horn (called *tenor*); an obsolete horn known in Europe as a helicon and in Karawang as a *strimbas* (from *string bass*?); and a snare drum and bass drum (both called *tambur*). The helicon and the tenor horn have locally-made mouthpiece extensions that push the fundamentals well below the European norms for these instruments. In marches and waltzes, the

two drums are played with sticks, in European fashion; in Sundanese pieces, however, the drummers play with bare hands and imitate Sundanese drumming. Three Sundanese percussion instruments are added for these pieces: *kecrek* (see above), a small hanging gong (*kenong*), and a gong-substitute (*gong angkog*, a bossed key suspended over a resonator).

7. Jali-jali Bunga Siantan.

Grup Tanjidor Kembang Ros, from Kec. Sepatan, Kab. Tangerang, directed by Sarna. Singers, in order: Linda, Welly, Sophia Welly, Linda.

The style of this *tanjidor*, from west of Jakarta, is considerably less Sundanese than that of Grup Marga Luyu; instead it has much in common with *gambang kromong*, and there is clearly also in it something of 1920s and 1930s jazz, which must have been absorbed through recordings and the live dance bands that played in Batavia before World War II. Here the ensemble plays a piece that is considered thoroughly Betawi. Like many such melodies (including the first one in track 9, and unlike the Sundanese melodies of tracks 5 and 6), it has a structure that could easily be fitted out with the chords of European harmony.

The instruments of Tanjidor Kembang Ros are: *klarinet* (Albert system); *piston* (trumpet); *trombon*; *sexipon tenor*; *bas tuba*;

an optional *tehyang* (Chinese fiddle), heard here but not always present; and Sundanese percussion—drums, hanging gongs, and *kecrek*. (Snare and bass drum replace the Sundanese percussion for marches and waltzes.) Singers may join the ensemble, as here. When they do, they sing *pantun* chosen more or less at random from their store of memorized verses; in this and other songs of the *Jali-jali* class they follow each *pantun* with a couplet including the word *jali-jali*.

AJENG

8. Welasan.
9. Gandrung.
10. Cara Bali.

Ajeng group (no group name) from Kec. Karawang, Kab. Karawang, directed by Ican.

Welasan belongs to a set of seven pieces called collectively *Rancag Panjang* and formerly played as a suite. Of these, four are now forgotten, at least among Pa Ican's musicians. The surviving pieces all have what appear to be highly irregular structures, with little or no cyclic repetition, and with the frequent tempo changes that I am suggesting might be Balinese in origin. The melodic mode is *patut rancag*. (For the structure of the mode, see the explanation given earlier. In this recording, the first pitch heard is the lowest tone of the seven-tone system, and it is therefore conventionally designated C; the first gong

falls on G.)

Gandrung was chosen by Pa Ican since I had requested a *lagu Betawi*. At the time of recording, I did not notice, and Pa Ican did not mention, that the musicians switched to a different piece about halfway through. When I asked him about it later, he said that the first melody was the Betawi *Gandrung*, and the second was a Sundanese piece with the same title. The two have the same structure: two phrases, with a gong at the end of each, are played in alternation. (Thus both pieces exemplify the cyclical construction that is *not* evident in *Welasan* or *Topeng Betawi's Tetalu Panjang*.) The Betawi *Gandrung* is played in *patut Betawi*, while the Sundanese *Gandrung* is in *patut lempeng*. (The first tone in the recording is C; the first gong is on Bb.) Here the tempo remains comparatively calm.

Cara Bali, in contrast, is virtually never calm: it is always either accelerating inexorably or slamming on the brakes. After a long, sporadically metered introduction, stated twice, and a transitional passage, a metered, repeating melody begins. Through many repetitions it reaches a very fast tempo and finally stops, to be replaced by a second melody following the same pattern; then a third, played only a few times; then a fourth. Finally the second repeating melody returns and after speeding up as usual closes the piece. The melodic mode is *patut singgul*. (The first tone heard is Db, and the first

gong is on Eb.)

Each of the *ajeng* tracks here has a slightly different instrumentation, but the basic ensemble is the same in all: *tarompet* (shawm); *bonang*; two keyed metallophones (*saron*), and a third (*demung*) pitched an octave lower; one or two hanging gongs (*goong* only in *Walasan*; *goong* and *kempul* in the other two pieces); a smaller, muffled gong (*bende*); *kecrek*; and drums. *Ketuk*, a set of four small gong-kettles, is used for *Cara Bali* but not the others. (One further instrument, the xylophone called *gambang*, is not heard in any of these recordings but is important in another group of *ajeng* pieces.) *Gandrung* and *Welasan* use one drummer, controlling three drums; *Cara Bali* has, in Balinese fashion, two drummers playing one drum each. *Demung* is usually played by a single musician, but in *Welasan* two players sit opposite each other. With one exception (the Betawi song *Persi Rusak*), and aside from spontaneous shouted or sung interjections (*alok*) by the instrumentalists, the repertoire played by Pa Ican's *ajeng* does not use singers.

Tarompet and *bonang* are the melodic leaders. (The *tarompet* player in these recordings took on that role in Pa Ican's group only recently. He has had more experience playing *tarompet* for *penca*, the Sundanese martial-arts dance, and there are probably some *penca* inflections in his playing here.) The rippling

accompaniment, apparently independent of melody, that was mentioned earlier is played by *demung*, or (in *Cara Bali*) by *demung* and *ketuk* together, and is audible at the far right of the stereo image. A more usual kind of accompaniment, melodically governed, is heard at the far left, played on the two *saron*.

RECORDING & PERFORMANCE DATA

Recorded using a Sony TCD-D10 Pro DAT recorder and a Sonosax SX-PR mixer (originally six in, two out; customized for the 1992 fieldtrip by Vark Audio of Cabin John, Maryland, to eight in, two out). Microphones: Sennheiser MKH-40 cardioids, AKG CK2 omni and CK8 shotgun capsules on C451E preamps, and Electro-Voice RE18 cardioids.

All performances were commissioned for this recording.

Tracks 1-3: Grup Topeng Betawi Panca Mekar, directed by Itok. Group based in Kp. [Kampung] Rawa Banteng, Ds. [Desa] Mekar Wangi, Kec. [Kecamatan] Cibitung, Kab. [Kabupaten] Bekasi. Musicians: Maswah (*rebab*); Warsun (*kendang gede*); Madun and Markim (*kentung*); Lasim (*kecrek*); Kuyang (*gong/kempul*); Mardi (*kenong*); Rokiyah (*sinden*). Recorded outdoors in Kab. Bekasi, 10 August 1990.

Tracks 4-6: Tanji Modern Grup Marga Luyu, directed by Cibong. Group based in Kp. Sembang, Ds. Belendung, Kec. Klari, Kab. Karawang. Musicians: Cibong (clarinet); Raidi (trombone); Endam (tenor [or alto?] horn); Iden (helicon); Encin (snare drum); Sala (bass drum); Bidun (*kecrek*); Olim (*kenong*); Emog (*gong angkog*). Recorded outdoors in Kab. Karawang, 8 August 1992.

Track 7: Grup Tanjidor Kembang Ros, directed by Sarna. Group based in Kp. Sulang, Kec. Sepatan, Kab. Tangerang. Musicians: Sarna (clarinet); Ibut (*tehyang*); Kwi Ap (*kendang*); Suryana (trombone); Cinang (trumpet); Siman (tuba); Misna (tenor saxophone); Asnan (*goong/kempul*); Kemas (*kecrek*); Sophia Welly and Linda (female vocal); Welly (male vocal). Recorded outdoors in Kab. Tangerang, 21 September 1990.

Track 8: *Ajeng* (no group name), directed by Ican. Group based in Kp. Buher, Kel. [Kelurahan] Karang Pawitan, Kec. Karawang, Kab. Karawang. Musicians: Ican (*bonang*); Bawon (*tarompet*); Iying (*gendang*); Mino and Sanin (*saron*); Anta (*goong*); Isman (*bende*); Janin (*kecrek*); Tarim and Wawan (*demung*). Recorded outdoors in Kab. Karawang, 23 August 1992.

Track 9: Same group as track 8. Musicians: Ican (*bonang*); Bawon (*tarompet*); Anta (*gendang*); Mino and Sanin (*saron*); Anisan (*goong/kempul*); Wawan (*bende*); Janin (*kecrek*); Tarim and Iying (*demung*). Same recording date and location as track 8.

Track 10: Same group as track 8. Musicians: Ican (*bonang*); Bawon (*tarompet*); Iying and Anisan (*gendang*); Karja and Sanin (*saron*); Isman (*goong/kempul*); Anta (*bende*); Cali (*kecrek*); Mino (*demung*); Tarim and Wawan (*ketuk*). Same recording location as track 8. Recorded 6 August 1992.

CREDITS

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Other photographs by Joko Kurnain
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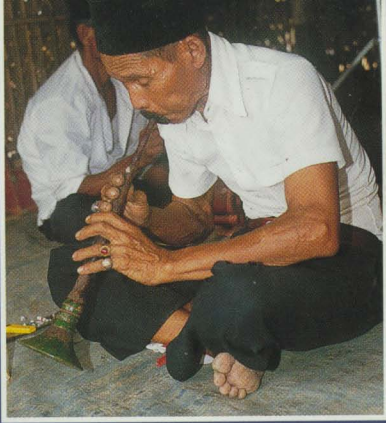
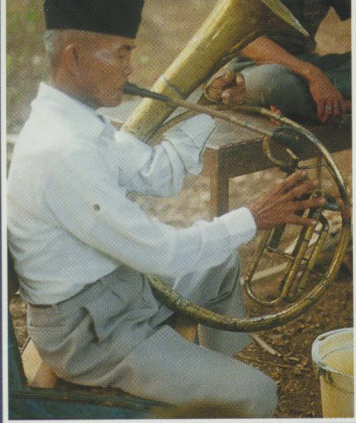
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Above: Tanjidor: strimbas (helicon).

Top right: Ajeng: tarompet (Bp. Ican).

Bottom right: Ajeng: bonang (Bp. Ican).

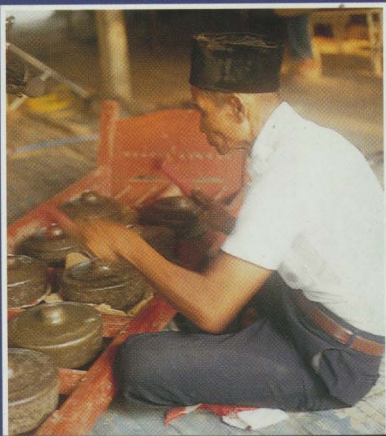
On the cover: Topeng Betawi: the *kembang topeng*.



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MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 5: Betawi & Sundanese Music of the North Coast of Java

Liner note supplement 04/04/2008

Recorded, edited, and annotated by Philip Yampolsky. 73 minutes. SWF 40421 (1994)

A splendid hybrid created by the encounter between the cultures of Batavia and the surrounding Sunda region. These recordings from 1990-1992 include wild village gamelan music and a Sundanese repertoire played on brass instruments, gongs, and drums.

Track List

1. Tetalu Pendek
2. Tetalu Panjang
3. Tetalu Tiga: Daun Iris/Panca Marga
4. Was Pepeko
5. Gapek
6. Ucing Belek
7. Jali-jali Bunga Siantan
8. Welasan
9. Gandrung
10. Cara Bali

Updates by Philip Yampolsky

Correction to passage on p.3 of album booklet that reads "*Betawi, Jakartans, Sundanese*"
The 1815 percentages come from Castles (1967:156–158) and are based on population figures for Batavia and its immediate surroundings given in Raffles's History of Java.

"I misinterpreted the 1815 figures with regard to the number of pribumi in Batavia who were originally from the eastern islands: 75% is too high. The figures clearly show that 37% of the non-slave pribumi population came from the eastern islands, but to get the overall proportion (slave and free) up to 75% we would have to assume that nearly the entire population of slaves (whose place of origin is not shown in Castles or Raffles) was from the east. There is no ground for this assumption.

.In the 1983 article listed in Part I of the bibliography below, Susan Abeyasekere studied an 1816 slave register covering the city of Batavia plus a wider surrounding area than that surveyed by Raffles. On the basis of a mechanical sample of every tenth entry in the register, Abeyasekere found that 76% of the slaves were from the eastern islands. If we apply that percentage to Raffles's figures, we get an estimate of 70% of the total pribumi population coming from the eastern islands. But there are some very speculative steps here: Abeyasekere's ten-percent sample is thin (for our purposes), and the area covered by the 1816 register was said at the time to have a population of some 332,000 people—seven times greater than the 47,200 in the area counted by Raffles. On the one hand, the other 90% of the entries in the register could contain many fewer (or many more) eastern Indonesian slaves; on the other, the proportions for the larger area may not hold for the smaller one.



Until further information becomes available, I must disavow the 75% figure published in the album commentary and say only that a majority of the pribumi in Batavia in 1815 appear to have come from the eastern islands.

Bibliography from Vol. 5
Assembled by Philip Yampolsky

A select bibliography of books and articles on the history and performing arts of this region, focussing on Batavia and Betawi (rather than Jakarta and Jakartans); references indicating the sources of some of the information in the album notes; and a correction regarding the demography of Jakarta in 1815.

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Since these references are probably of interest mainly to specialists, and space in the CD booklet is limited, I decided to omit them from the booklet/insert and provide them here. Consequently, the precise connection between the text and the reference is lost, since there are no footnote numbers in the text. To enable the reader to connect the reference to the text, I give here the page-number in the text (in the CD booklet's pagination, not the cassette insert's), plus (for readers using the cassette insert) the title of the section where the relevant text is found. — PY

p.3 ("Betawi, Jakartans, Sundanese")

The 1815 percentages come from Castles (1966:156–158) and are based on Raffles's History of Java.

p.5 [same]

That new Sundanese and Javanese immigrants made up half of the pribumi population in 1930 comes from the *Volkstelling 1930* (Departement van Landbouw, Nijverheid, en Handel 1933–1936, I:36 and 164–165).

p.6 ("Batavian Music and Theater")

For rebana biang, see the *Serial informasi kesenian* ([Sispardjo] 1983:22–27 [first pagination]).

p.10 ("Topeng Betawi")

The Dutch account is Hardouin & Ritter (1855). The interview with topeng banjet performers is in Martasasmita ([1978/ 1979]).

p.11 ("Tanjidor")

For tanjidor playing in new year celebrations, see Huug (1969). For the mayor's objections to tanjidor, see "'Tradisi' tandjidor" (1955).

p.13 ("Ajeng")

The statements that *ajeng* has only played for *wayang kulit Betawi* since ca. 1925 and that before that time the *wayang* was accompanied by bamboo instruments both come from the *Serial informasi kesenian* ([Sispardjo] 1983:33 [fourth pagination]). The report of an *ajeng* in Bekasi is found in Gandamihardja (1981:26), and the 1930s *ajeng* gamelans in the eastern highlands are reported in Kunst (1973:386–387).

Transcriptions

3. Tetalu Tiga: Daun Iris — Panca Marga

Daun Iris

Teuteup deudeuh moal burung dipisono



Hate kuring moal beunang dibobodo
Daun iris saksina nu ngemploh hejo
Duh panutan diantosan ti bareto

Daun iris kembangna umyang karoneng
[Rarindang ?] ayana di sisi empang
Panutan emut basa kuring nganteng nyawang
Duh laku mitineung hate teh weleh ihtiar

Ngabibita daun iris sisi gawir
Aduh ampun takdir teu beunang dipungkir
Beurang peuting hate teh weleh ihtiar
Geuningan sulaya panutan tamelar

Panca Marga

Nyebarkeun ari unggal desa
Sakumna Indonesia
Diwangun sadayana
Pikeun Pancasila

Segala sedia
Segala merupa
Gotong royong di desa
Pikeun Pancasila

Nyebarkeun ari unggal desa
Sakumna Indonesia
Diwangun sadayana
Pikeun panca marga

6. Jali-jali Bunga Siantan

[Linda:]

Ai sini Tunjang Semarang
Sini Tunjang Semarang
Ambil kisah di Kampung Duri

Kalau badan terselip di kampung orang, sayang
Badan terselip di kampung orang
Biar bisa membawa diri

Jali-jali ini lagunya, sayang
Jali-jali ini lagunya
Kalau saya menyanyi apa maunya



[Welly:]

Satu dua nona si kuda lari
Sayang di sayang
Tidaklah sama si kuda belang

Ya satu dua nona si kuda lari
Sayang di sayang
Tidaklah sama nona si kuda belang

Ya satu dua nona memang gampang dicari, sayang
Satu dua gampang dicari
Tidaklah sama nona Adek seorang, sayang

Ya Jali-jali nona ada memang ini lagunya
Jali-jali ini lagunya
Yang matanya jeli apa maunya

[Sophia Welly]

Dari mana mau ke mana
Dari mana mau ke mana
Kalau tinggi rumput terama-rama

Ya dari mana mau ke mana
Dari mana mau ke mana
Kalau tinggi rumput terama-rama

Ya bulan mana di tahun mana, sayang
Bulan mana di tahun mana
Kalau mau bertemu bersama-sama

Jali-jali roja melati
Jali-jali roja melati
Lagu Jali-jali memang senang di hati

[Linda:]

Bunga mawar dari Kayangan
Bunga mawar dari Kayangan
Bunga rampai jatuh di tanah

Ai bunga mawar dari Kayangan
Sayang di sayang
Ya bunga rampai jatuh di tanah

Belajar kenal tidak halangan, sayang



Smithsonian Folkways

Belajar kenal tidak halangan
Jangan sampai ada yang punya

Jali-jali roja melati, sayang
Jali-jali roja melati
Kalau lagu Jali-jali mohon berhenti