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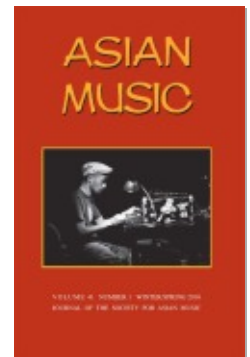
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Making Sense and Senses of Locale through Perceptions of Music and Dance in Malang, East Java¹

Christina Sunardi

A certain glow that tends to overtake musicians' and dancers' faces in the east Javanese regency of Malang, where I conducted fieldwork from 2005 to 2007, has taken over me (see Figure 1).² This certain glow frequently appears when performers identify aspects of gamelan music and dance that they associate with Malang and east Java. This certain glow, this pride, has inspired me to think more deeply about how and why performers make sense and senses of place through their perceptions of music and dance.

The 60 or so musicians and dancers with whom I worked—the “performers” of this essay—consistently situate the performing arts in terms of locale on several levels.³ Regionally, performers identify characteristics of music and dance as east Javanese by distinguishing them from those of central Java. Although a variety of styles exist in central Java and most performers in Malang recognize this, they often talk about central Javanese performing arts generically, usually implying the arts associated with and/or derived from the courts of Surakarta. They refer to the arts associated with the cities of Surabaya, Mojokerto, Jombang, Malang, and their surrounding areas categorically as east Javanese. Making distinctions intra-regionally, they compare styles associated with Malang (*malangan*) to styles associated with Surabaya (*surabayan*). More specific still are differences that performers recognize between eastern and southern areas within the regency of Malang. I learned eastern *malangan* styles because I resided in the village of Tulus Besar and studied primarily in the subdistricts of Tumpang and Poncokusuma with musicians and dancers who upheld local ways of performing (see Figure 2). To gain perspectives from performers in other parts of Malang, I also consulted individuals in the city, some of whom were associated with southern styles.

Two similar dances, *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremo Putri*, captivated my attention. Both are female style presentational dances (*putri* means female). Both are animated by a gamelan and danced by men or women. One or more dancers may perform, but unless they are children, generally the dancers are either all women or all men. A similar or identical costume may be used for both dances (Figure 3). *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremo Putri* often have the same function—an



Figure 1. Map of Java showing the regency (*kabupaten*) of Malang (University of Washington, 2008).



Figure 2. Map of the regency showing the city of Malang, two eastern subdistricts, and the village of Tulus Besar (University of Washington, 2008).

opening dance that usually precedes other performances and/or events that are held for a variety of occasions, including weddings, circumcisions, village purification ceremonies, birthdays, anniversaries, Indonesian Independence Day celebrations, festivals, and business inaugurations. Fascinating to me is that performers link similarities and differences they perceive in the performance practice of each dance and its accompanying music to multiple levels of place.

Complicating their locale-oriented generalizations, performers also distinguish the ways a dance is realized by different individuals, some of whom live in the same part of Malang. These differences may be related to the absence of



Figure 3. Wahyu Winarti (aka Yamti) models a costume typically used for *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremo Putri*.

an institutional center in Malang, such as a court or arts academy that might formally theorize, disseminate, and institutionalize *malangan* performing arts. However, the ethnomusicologist Marc Perlman shows that despite the presence of systematized and institutionalized music theory in central Java, some individual musicians there maintain their own ideas about concepts such as implicit melody (Perlman 1994, 2004).⁴ In Malang, I have found enough consistency to make generalizations about the senses of place performers produced through their perceptions of music and dance, but I am careful to recognize that individuals articulate such senses in diverse ways.⁵

Works by Martin Stokes, Zoila Mendoza, and R. Anderson Sutton have inspired my thinking about the construction and articulation of places and identities through performance. Stokes argues that “music and dance . . . provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed” (Stokes 1994, 4). He goes on to write that music (and dance, I add) are “socially meaningful not entirely but largely because [they provide] means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them” (1994, 5). Mendoza investigates dance troupes’ performances during patron saint festivals in Peru as a form of ritual dance that produces complex senses of identity in relation to notions of place, history, ethnicity/race (one complex category), gender, generation, and class (Mendoza 2000).

Likewise, Sutton focuses on multiple senses of identity produced through performance. In *Calling Back the Spirit: Music, Dance, and Cultural Politics in Lowland South Sulawesi*, he investigates South Sulawesi's presentations of themselves as belonging to a region, as a particular ethnicity, as modern, and as part of the Indonesian nation through dance and music (Sutton 2002). In earlier work on gamelan traditions in different regions of Java, he addresses expressions of place-specific identity through analysis of performance practice and institutions (1985, 1991). Building on his work in east Java as a region, I focus on *malangan* music and dance through the perspectives of individual performers to examine the complex senses of place-based identity they produce through hearing, seeing, and speaking.

Important ideological and economic components underlie musicians' and dancers' recurring articulations of locale through their comparisons of *malangan* styles to central Javanese and *surabayan* styles. These components relate to the promotion of central Javanese and *surabayan* arts in Java through national arts institutions and programs, and through government-censored (and therefore sanctioned) mass media since the 1950s and 1960s. The institutionalization of the performing arts through government cultural policies designed to promote ideals of the Indonesian nation has been a subject of interest for a number of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, including Judith Becker (1980), R. Anderson Sutton (1991, 2002), John Pemberton (1994), Amrih Widodo (1995), Philip Yampolsky (1995), Felicia Hughes-Freeland (1997), Nancy Cooper (2000), René Lysloff (2002), and Benjamin Brinner (2008).

These scholars show that the institutionalization of culture in Indonesia, among other factors, has contributed to the varying levels of prestige that most people in Java give the performing arts—music, dance, and theater—associated with different places. Most prestigious are the arts associated with the four central Javanese courts. Next are the arts that do not necessarily come from the court cities Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Arts associated with central or east Javanese noncourt cities rank lower still, and at the bottom are arts associated with towns and villages. This ranking order exists despite the fact that performers from all of these places have interacted with each other, in effect blurring the boundaries of these categories.

Further disrupting this ranking order is the general knowledge in Java that courts flourished in east Java from at least the 12th to the 15th centuries. Sutton writes, "Architectural ruins . . . are scattered throughout the east Javanese countryside and stand as reminders of the courtly culture that once existed there" (1991, 123). These courts fell prior to the establishment of the 16th to 18th century central Javanese court of Mataram, which in the mid-18th and early 19th centuries split into the four central Javanese courts that have continued to exist into current times. Many central and east Javanese performers and scholars

recognize the greatness of the medieval east Javanese courts of the past and trace aspects of central and east Javanese arts to them. However, because the east Javanese courts fell hundreds of years ago, most Javanese in central and east Java generally do not think of present-day east Javanese arts as court arts. Rather, east Javanese arts are considered products of city, town, and village cultures. Within this region, the arts from Surabaya, the capital city of the province of East Java, are generally given more institutionalized prestige than arts from Malang, which are usually associated with villages.

The higher status given to central Javanese and *surabayan* gamelan styles in conjunction with audiences' desires has material consequences for performers. Due in part to government cultural policy that promotes what it has defined as the most prestigious arts, the presence of central Javanese and *surabayan* styles has been reinforced in Malang. This has contributed to the dominance of these styles in currently performed repertoires.⁶ Because audiences in general prefer central Javanese and *surabayan* styles, they are more likely to hire musicians who play them.⁷ In addition, performers must compete with genres of popular music such as *dangdut* and *campur sari*. While these genres are not prestigious in official terms, they are highly in demand among the general population. Aware of these market factors, musicians and dancers consistently explain that they have to perform what audiences desire in order to "sell" (*supaya laku*) and "find money" (*biar cari uang*).

To earn a living, many performers believe that they must learn central Javanese and *surabayan* styles of gamelan and dance, and, in some cases, incorporate elements from *campur sari* and *dangdut* such as song repertoire and drum patterns. Sometimes learning these more popular styles comes at the expense of learning, relearning, or deepening knowledge of *malangan* arts.⁸ A young singer declined several invitations I extended to practice *malangan* gamelan music. She and her mother, a former performer herself, asked for my understanding. Explaining apologetically that they were not like me with lots of money, they implied that I had the time and luxury to study what I wished. Performers like them, they continued, have to think about what would sell.

I recognize, too, that musicians' and dancers' reasons for performing specific styles are complicated. In addition to economic necessity (real or perceived), the young woman and her mother referenced above may prefer the more popular styles for aesthetic and personal reasons, including life experience and heritage. One of my teachers appreciates and performs east Javanese arts, but also savors central Javanese music, dance, and theater. Tracing his ancestry to central Java, he identifies with and aspires to the refinement and eloquence associated with the culture of this region. Other performers, however, are invested in maintaining *malangan* music and dance, and for most in Tumpang and Poncokusuma, eastern *malangan* approaches in particular.

Performers in eastern Malang believe that of the regency's styles, those from southern Malang dominate. They point to the prevalence of southern styles on commercial recordings and in repertoires that are taught and performed in the city. I noticed that a strong resentment thickened the air when musicians from the city tried to explain how a piece should be played to my teachers. Many performers in the city, my teachers noted, do not know (or desire to know) eastern styles. Some of my teachers expressed their sense that publications on *malangan* arts tend to focus on the southern styles, making these better known outside the regency, too. Although I have yet to verify whether or not southern styles actually dominate, essential to my argument below is that, believing their styles to be marginalized regionally, intra-regionally, and within the regency, performers in eastern Malang worry about the disappearance of their approaches and actively respond to this concern with a proud resilience.

I contend that performers throughout Malang affect culture in several ways by naming, and through their conversations with me, writing about *malangan* arts for academic purposes. They are institutionalizing their arts, insisting that they be recognized with the same prestige as performing arts from central Java and Surabaya. Furthermore, they are ensuring that *malangan* arts are not completely replaced by dominant styles of gamelan and popular music—if not in contemporary performance contexts in their own communities, at least in foreign academic writing. They know such writing has the potential to carry some clout at Javanese performing arts academies. Motivating them, however, is more than a desire to preserve their music; they hope that if given the same kind of prestige as central Javanese and *surabayan* arts, *malangan* arts and the musicians and dancers who perform them will be valued both culturally and economically by audiences. My argument, in short, is that by articulating senses of locale, performers strategically place their arts—whether eastern or southern styles—as *malangan* arts in academic literature and institutionalized culture, with the ultimate goal of maintaining these arts in local repertoires.

To analyze how performers articulate locale, I examine their perceptions of music and dance through three types of discourse: verbal discourse, musical sounds, and dance movements. Through my attention to perception as a site of cultural work, I build on Deborah Wong's argument that "listening to music creates subjects and communities" (2001, 366). I scrutinize performers' perceptions of both music and dance separately and together because I investigate traditions in which movement and music intimately relate. Performers in Malang understand dance movement through its relationship to drumming patterns, colotomic structure, and basic melody. Likewise, musicians associate particular drumming patterns with particular movements, and certain compositions with certain dances. Consideration of music and movement is also necessary because the ways that musicians and dancers talk about them are neither systematically

theorized, nor always consistent with performance practice. At the same time, verbal discourse is critical to the analysis of performers' perceptions of sound and movement because music and dance do not have universal meanings in and of themselves. In Malang, performers' senses of history profoundly affect the ways they see and hear *Beskalan* and *Ngremo*.

Senses of History

Performers link *Beskalan*'s and *Ngremo*'s origins to particular places and times. I am most interested in the meanings that narratives have for the performers who tell them, rather than these narratives' historical veracity. Through origin stories, performers situate *Beskalan* as a centuries-old *malangan* dance. The historian Eric Hobsbawm argues that many traditions most people believe to be old are in fact fairly recent constructions. The belief in a tradition's antiquity legitimizes it (Hobsbawm 1983, 1–2). Exemplifying this value placed on antiquity, performers link *Beskalan Putri* to medieval east Javanese kingdoms located in the Malang area, in effect validating the dance as a *malangan* tradition. They also elevate its status by situating it as a product of court culture.

Two of my dance teachers, Djupri (b. 1939) and M. Soleh Adi Pramono (b. 1951), among others in eastern Malang, connected *Beskalan*'s history to Djupri's grandmother Muskayah (1890s?–1990s). This, too, was linked to time and place. As Djupri told the story, which he learned from Muskayah and older people in his community, she fell ill when she was a child. While in a dreamlike trance state, a spirit came to her, instructed her to become a dancer to heal people, and taught her the dance movement, the songs the dancer sings, and the musical accompaniment. After awakening, she could perform what Djupri believed to be the complete form of the original dance. Djupri explained that the spirit who visited Muskayah was Prabaretna, a member of a courtly family from the kingdom of Singasari, which existed around the time of the east Javanese Majapahit empire and was part of Malang.⁹ By connecting the dance to Singasari, and indirectly to Majapahit, Djupri linked the dance to places understood in the Javanese imagination as the centers of the great east Javanese medieval kingdoms. According to Djupri, *Beskalan Putri* was performed during these times, but then lost when Singasari and its neighboring kingdoms fell. Several hundred years later the spirit of Prabaretna gave this dance to Muskayah to revive (personal communication, January 2006).

M. Soleh Adi Pramono reinforced Djupri's history, but also told it in his own way. When I was still new to Malang, Soleh invited me to accompany him and his daughter to interview Djupri, explaining that it was important to meet Djupri because Djupri's grandmother created *Beskalan Putri*. By doing this, Soleh encouraged me to consult with Djupri as a principle source of information, which

I did. In an interview approximately eight months later, Soleh again referenced Djupri and Muskayah to tell me a history similar to Djupri's, also emphasizing that *Beskalan* is several hundred years old and tied to Malang. However, according to Soleh, Muskayah created *Beskalan Putri* by developing it over time as she performed as an itinerant dancer. Furthermore, while Soleh pointed to Prabaretna's connection to the kingdom of Malang, he referred to it as a 17th century kingdom.

Although Soleh qualified his narrative by admitting that he had forgotten some of the details and suggested that I confirm the story with Djupri, he also used his sense of history to insist that east Javanese arts be recognized as court arts—that is, with the same cultural value as central Javanese court arts. Soleh identified the influence of court etiquette in *Beskalan* by pointing to a movement used to pay obeisance to a king (*sembahan*). He went on to ask rhetorically whether it is “likely that that is merely folk dance” (“*Apakah mungkin bahwa itu hanya sekedar tarian rakyat?*”) (personal communication, July 27, 2006). While Soleh revealed his own assumptions about what constitutes court and folk arts, and that court arts merit higher status, he did not simply subscribe to institutionalized notions of central Javanese cultural superiority. He used the prestige given court culture to elevate the status of *Beskalan* as a *malangan* dance.

By identifying Malang as a 17th century kingdom, Soleh situated it as a post-Majapahit kingdom and a contemporary of Mataram. This is important because on previous occasions, he had frequently referred to historical connections between the performing arts of Malang and those of the central Javanese court city of Yogyakarta (an heir of Mataram). Soleh may have been implicitly reinforcing his case for a relationship between *malangan* traditions and those from central Javanese courts by placing the kingdom of Malang in the 17th century.

Soleh explicitly asserted that similarities between central Javanese and *malangan* dance resulted from east Javanese origins, the influence flowing from east to central Java rather than the reverse. Going back even further in history, he established that the ancient kingdoms of Turyanpada and Kanjuruhan in Malang predated central Javanese kingdoms. Speaking in the voice of history, Soleh proclaimed passionately that “anthropology-philosophy answer, ‘That is Malang. If that is in Solo, you all imitated Malang because you had not been born . . .’” (“*antropologi filsafat menjawab, ‘Itulah Malang. Kalau itu ada di Solo, kowé-kowé niro Malang, karena kamu belum lahir . . .’*”) (personal communication, July 27, 2006). Soleh stressed that while Malang has an older history of court traditions than central Java, scholars and teachers based in or influenced by institutions in central Java currently control knowledge about the performing arts. He reinforced his case for the westward flow of cultural influence by emphasizing that Solonese people came to Malang to study dance. The implication is that they returned to central Java with knowledge gained in east Java.

The ethnomusicologists Sarah Weiss (2006) and Sumarsam (2008) complicate understandings about flows of knowledge by recognizing that people in the central Javanese courts and in the regions mutually influenced each other at least since the times of Mataram. Writing about an “earlier Java,” Weiss notes:

one way in which regional rulers could pay homage and gain favor with the rulers of the Central Javanese realms was the presentation of women as wives or concubines. These women, usually familiar with court life and trained in the arts, brought their regional cultures into the center of the Central Javanese courts. The Dutch put an end to this kind of homage and cultural exchange after 1830. (Weiss 2006, 93 fn 27)

Furthermore, a puppet master (*dhalang*) she consulted acknowledged east Javanese influence on central Javanese puppet theater, referring to stories about a 17th century *dhalang*—a woman—said to have brought certain stories and the use of a clown character from east Java to Mataram (Weiss 2006, 92–4). In his historical research on *pesisir* gamelan traditions in the northeastern coastal town of Gresik, Sumarsam has shown that “Mataram found the sources for the development, and perhaps also emulated the *pesisir* performing arts . . . ” (2008).¹⁰ Whether the east Javanese influence that Weiss and Sumarsam identify includes influence from Malang is a question that remains to be researched.

The flows of knowledge in times prior to the medieval kingdoms that Soleh referenced, as well as his implications that performance practices have continued from ancient times into present-day east and central Java also require verification. Given the paucity of historical evidence (see Sumarsam 1995, 13–24), tracing the course of artistic influence from ancient times is difficult, if not impossible. Nonetheless, Soleh made a point to emphasize that knowledge has flowed from east to west, situating Malang as the place of origin, in order to resist the central Javanese cultural and intellectual hegemony he perceived.

Using some different kinds of sources from Djupri and Soleh, Chattam Amat Redjo (b. 1943), a respected dance expert who resides in the city of Malang, also positioned and legitimized *Beskalan Putri* as a *malangan* tradition by asserting its antiquity in the Malang area. Chattam asserted that *Beskalan Putri* is a centuries-old ceremonial dance that has existed since the medieval Singasari era. As evidence, he pointed to the costume of *Beskalan*, arguing that its materials were proof of the trade abroad that has characterized Javanese history from medieval to present times—the silver thread from China (personal communication, April 14, 2006). Although he believed that Muskayah was a very good dancer, he did not believe the accounts that credit her with creating or reviving the dance. Chattam argued that a more logical approach to history using evidence is necessary. Showing me a photograph of a *Beskalan Putri* dancer that he said was taken in the 1930s,¹¹ Chattam speculated that if the costume was

that elaborate, most likely the dance had emerged some years prior to the photo, before what he believed was Muskayah's time. He also cited his interview with Markunah, a woman who danced *Beskalan* in 1921 in southern Malang, to further establish its existence before Muskayah was active as a dancer. Through his telling, Chattam challenged Soleh's and Djupri's narratives that situate *Beskalan*'s "modern" origins in eastern Malang. He asserted the importance of performance practices associated with southern Malang, areas of the regency with which he is affiliated.

Despite differences in individuals' narratives, most performers' beliefs about *Beskalan*'s medieval origins in Malang and connections to the spiritual world contrast with their assumptions about *Ngremo*'s early 20th century origins in Surabaya or the city of Jombang (see Figure 1) and connections to the secular world.¹² They explained that the original *Ngremo* was in the male dance style, *Ngremo Lanang* (*lanang* means male), and developed in the context of popular theater forms.¹³ While dances that contributed to the creation of *Ngremo Lanang* were performed in Malang as early as the 1920s (Supriyanto 2001, 22–4), performers recalled that *Ngremo Lanang* began to replace *Beskalan Putri* in popularity in Malang in the 1950s (personal communication, Kusnadi, January 23, 2006; Djupri, July 6, 2006) and 1960s (personal communication, Achmad Suwarno, April 3, 2006; Panoto, May 16, 2006).

Ngremo Putri, which is basically the same dance as *Ngremo Lanang* but in a female style, began to replace *Beskalan* in popularity in the 1960s. While performers express differences of opinion about where *Ngremo Putri* originated—Surabaya, Jombang, or Malang—most identify influences from *Beskalan Putri* in terms of movements, drumming, and costume, in effect situating these aspects as influences from Malang.¹⁴ Given that both *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremo Lanang* were being performed from the 1930s to the 1960s (and both still are) and beliefs that *Beskalan* is the older dance, such senses of history are no surprise. Assumptions that *malangan* arts in general are older shape many performers' perception that similarities between *malangan* arts and those from Surabaya and central Java result from roots in Malang. While performers recognize similarities in this way, they also emphasize differences in terms of place.

Comparisons to Central Javanese Gamelan Music and Dance

In articulating regional locale by comparing *malangan* arts (a particular type of east Javanese arts) and east Javanese arts generically to central Javanese arts, performers in Malang are comparing a subset of a category to another category. While this may seem inconsistent, it is not atypical. As the linguist George Lakoff writes, categories are not inherent in the objects being categorized. Instead, people construct categories through language based on their experiences.

Categories reveal how people understand the world around them and are not always consistent (Lakoff 1990, 134). In other words, categorization is a process of perceiving—a process of creating social constructions and thus a process that affects culture.

Another seeming inconsistency is that performers often use terms imported from central Java to talk about east Javanese music, even though east Javanese terms exist. In using central Javanese terminology to name east Javanese practices, performers appropriate and localize them to articulate and produce senses of an east Javanese locale. At the same time, performers express their pride when explaining that east Javanese practices are neither standardized nor theorized, as they perceive is the case in central Java. The diversity, they believe, makes *malangan* music less predictable and formulaic, and therefore more difficult, than central Javanese music. Ironically, in talking about these differences, performers establish their own, *malangan* music theory.

Colotomic Structure

My principal gamelan teacher Kusnadi (b. 1944) identified differences between the colotomic structures (the *kempul*, *kenong*, and gong strokes) of central Javanese music and *malangan* music. Significantly, he made these points because I initiated conversations about form. Because my expectations about gamelan in Malang were formed by my prior experiences studying central Javanese music in Yogyakarta and California (1997–2004), I was surprised that colotomic structure was neither standardized nor foregrounded in Malang for *malangan* gamelan music. When I studied an east Javanese composition for gamelan (*gendhing*) with Kusnadi for the first time, or asked for notation at a rehearsal, he or another musician sang or wrote out the basic melody, but often did not indicate the colotomic structure. If they did indicate the structure, it was usually just the gong. The compositional structure was not implied in the title of the composition, either. I had to ask Kusnadi specifically for this information.

Once I initiated conversations about form with Kusnadi, he explained that musicians in Malang tend not to abstract the gong cycle from a particular composition as musicians do in central Java. Musicians in Malang, he noted, tend to know the colotomic structure of each composition individually, and central Javanese structures such as *ketawang* or *ladrang* do not exist in Malang. Despite differences in structure, all pieces are called *gendhing* in Malang.¹⁵ Important is that Kusnadi perceived these differences even though his generalizations do not necessarily represent how every musician in east and central Java thinks about form.¹⁶

Recognizing that central Javanese theoretical influence is increasingly present in Malang, Kusnadi said that musicians today think in terms of central

Javanese structures more than they used to. He clarified what he called “theory” of *malangan* compositional structure by adopting central Javanese terminology—and yet he did so to name and thereby articulate *malangan* structures and ways he heard Malangness, not central Javaneseness, in gamelan music. In the course of our lessons, Kusrnadi explained that there are four *kempul* and four *kenong* strokes per gong, identifying this as the “Malang way.” He outlined the three forms illustrated in Figure 4, which he named in relation to central Javanese structures, but do not necessarily map to them.¹⁷ I heard Kusrnadi frequently use these names when instructing drummers, *kenong*, and *kempul*/gong players at rehearsals, musicians who might need to abstract formal structures.

Key:
 . = rest p = *kempul*
 n = *kenong* g = *gong*

A. “Like a *lancaran*”

. p . n. . p . n. . p . n. . p . ng

Central Javanese *lancaran*

. . . n. . p . n. . p . n. . p . ng.

B. “Like a *ketawang*”

. . . p. . . . n. . . . p. . . . n.
 . . . p. . . . n. . . . p. . . . ng.

Central Javanese *ketawang*

. n. . . . p. . . . ng.

C. “Like a *ladrang*”

. p. n.
 p. n.
 p. n.
 p. ng.

Central Javanese *ladrang*

. n. . . . p. . . . n.
 . . . p. . . . n. . . . p. . . . ng.

Figure 4. *Malangan* compositional structures identified by Kusrnadi compared to standard central Javanese (Solonese) structures (after Brinner 2008).

Sometimes the colotomic structure that Kusnadi gave me for a particular *gendhing* was not consistent with what I heard performed. As he explained several times, many musicians do not play the colotomic instruments correctly: they play what they believe sounds good, either as a conscious decision or because of ignorance. Not unexpectedly, nonstandardization has contributed to different senses of correctness and beauty.

The forms of the compositions that accompany *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremo Putri* are audibly east Javanese for performers. The compositions accompanying *Beskalan Putri* are “like a *lancaran*” and “like a *ketawang*,” while the composition that accompanies *Ngremo* is “like a *lancaran*.” Furthermore, I never heard musicians refer to any of the pieces that accompany these dances as *lancaran*, for example, “*Lancaran Beskalan*,” “*Lancaran Ijo-Ijo*,” “*Lancaran Julia Juli*,” but simply as “*Gendhing Beskalan*,” “*Ijo-Ijo*,” and “*Julia Juli*,” indicating that performers thought about them as a repertoire distinct from central Javanese pieces despite similarities in form, and for some of these pieces, similarities in title and basic melody.¹⁸

While Kusnadi generalized that the pieces used to accompany *Beskalan Putri* are “like *lancaran*,” he also noted two possibilities for the colotomic structures of the composition “*Kembang Jeruk*”—“like a *lancaran*” or “like a *ketawang*.” Such variability in the colotomic structure of one *gendhing* is another characteristic of *malangan* gamelan music. Kusnadi explained that the particular structure used is the individual gong/*kempul* player’s choice. From my observations, my sense is that an individual’s decision is often strongly influenced by other senior musicians or dancers present. Kusnadi himself said that he prefers the second version of “*Kembang Jeruk*,” finding that it better fits the dance movement (personal communication, July 20, 2006), an opinion that reinforces the close relationship between music and dance in Malang.

Rhythm (Irama)

As in central Java, musicians in Malang use the term *irama* to refer to two aspects of rhythm: what Roger Vetter terms “surface tempo” and “structural tempo” (1981, 208–11). Surface tempo refers to speed while structural tempo refers to the density at which instruments play their melodies in relation to the basic beat.¹⁹ I use the term *irama* to refer to structural tempo, or what could be thought of as structural density.

Musicians assert local senses of identity in the ways they talk about *irama* in two related ways. They use what they identify as east Javanese terminology and they localize central Javanese terminology to describe specifically what happens in east Javanese music. For example, Kusnadi explained that in the past, older *malangan* musicians did not use central Javanese terminology (*irama I-IV*), but

referred to two kinds of *irama*: *lamba* and *rangkep*, literally single and double. If musicians were playing the elaborating parts at a particular density, and then doubled the density at which they were playing to the main beat, it was called *rangkep*. Doubling the density again was called double *rangkep* (*rangkep dhobel*). Halving the density was called *lamba*. In talking about *Ngremo*, Kusnadi explained that the east Javanese terms for *irama* are *pancer lamba* and *pancer rangkep*. *Pancer* is a *bonang* playing technique in which the *bonang* plays a single pitch, usually the pitch avoided for gong tones in a particular mode. *Lamba* and *rangkep* refer to the density at which it plays in relation to the beat (personal communication 2005).²⁰

Kusnadi and Sumantri (b. 1954) each offered their own theories of *irama* in east Javanese gamelan using different instruments as density referents, again pointing to multiple ways of talking about and hearing senses of an east Javanese locale (see Figures 5 and 6). While Sumantri, a musician based in the city of Malang, used the *bonang panerus*, Kusnadi used different instruments to determine *irama*. Sometimes Kusnadi used the drum. For example, he explained that the tempo of *rangkep dhobel kendho* has slowed so much that elaborating instruments doubled their parts. Musicians call this *irama IV* due to the influence of central Javanese music theory even though the drum does not actually double its part (personal communication, May 12 and July 31, 2006). At other times, Kusnadi used the *bonang* as a density referent, such as when he explained which sections of *Beskalan Putri's* music are *lamba* and which are *rangkep*.

According to Kusnadi, the influence of central Javanese terminology has affected the ways musicians in Malang currently talk about *irama*. In reference to *Ngremo*, Kusnadi pointed out that many musicians now use the central Javanese

Older generations' malangan terms, according to Kusnadi	Terms Kusnadi used	Terms Sumantri used	Other east Javanese terms	Standard central Javanese terms also used in Malang
<i>Lamba</i>	<i>Lamba</i>	<i>Lamba</i>	<i>Pancer lamba</i>	<i>Irama I</i>
<i>Rangkep</i>	<i>Rangkep</i>	<i>Rangkep I</i>	<i>Pancer rangkep</i>	<i>Irama II</i>
<i>Rangkep dhobel</i>	<i>Rangkep dhobel madya (faster)</i>	<i>Rangkep II</i>	None given	<i>Irama III</i>
None given	<i>Rangkep dhobel kendho (slower)</i>	None given	None given	<i>Irama IV</i>

Figure 5. Rough equivalency of east Javanese and central Javanese terms for *irama*.

Terms used by Kusnadi	Ratio of basic drum strokes to basic pulse (this may differ between compositions; one of Kusnadi's systems)	Ratio of <i>bonang panerus</i> subdivisions to basic pulse (Sumantri's system)	Ratio of <i>peking</i> subdivisions to basic pulse (standard central Javanese system)
<i>Lamba</i>	2:1 or 4:1	4:1	2:1
<i>Rangkep</i>	2:1 or 4:1	8:1	4:1
<i>Rangkep dhobel madya (faster)</i>	4:1	16:1	8:1
<i>Rangkep dhobel kendho (slower)</i>	4:1	Not discussed	16:1

Figure 6. Density referents using Kusnadi's, Sumantri's, and central Javanese systems.

terms for *irama*. Kusnadi often used these terms when teaching me, leading me to believe that *irama* levels were the same in east Javanese music when in fact they are not. Further suggesting central Javanese influence are the terms Sumantri used, *rangkep I* and *rangkep II*, which seem to be an east Javanese way of naming *irama I* and *irama II*. Sumantri did, however, note that central Javanese *irama* concepts do not always map to east Javanese practices (personal communication, April 23, 2006).

Despite *malangan* musicians' usage of central Javanese terminology, they maintain east Javanese concepts and practices. Whether named *irama I*, *rangkep*, or *pancer*, tempo and rhythmic density in east Java are often performed differently than in central Java. Kusnadi explained that, unlike in central Java, *irama* in east Java does not always change in spite of significant increases or decreases in tempo.²¹ Also unlike central Javanese *irama* concepts of particular levels that imply specific densities for each instrument, the east Javanese terms *lamba* and *rangkep* do not necessarily refer to specific densities, just to the principle of halving and doubling particular parts. Sometimes the density of the basic drum part does not change, but that of the elaborating instruments do, often making "changes" in *irama* a somewhat different concept and practice in the two regions. East Javanese and central Javanese musicians acknowledge the difficulties they frequently have with the feel of the other's music, and recognize that the other has difficulty with the feel of their music.²² The feel is also related to differences performers hear in the playing techniques, preferred timbres of the instruments, and in the case of the drum usually used for dance, construction of the instrument (see Sutton 1991, 150–67).

That *malangan* musicians talk about east Javanese colotomic structure and *irama* by contrasting it to central Javanese concepts underlines the significance of music theory as a site of cultural production. Music theorist Lawrence Zbikowski claims that music theories play active roles in people's understanding of music (2002, 19). More specifically, he applies George Lakoff's (and others') perspective about categorization to Western music theory to argue that people understand music in terms of how they categorize musical events (Zbikowski 2002, 58). In Malang, music theories about colotomic structure and *irama*—ways of categorizing what is happening in the music—play active roles in musicians' understanding (verbal and aural) of music as east Javanese.

The cultural importance of music theory is also evident in east Javanese arts academies in Surabaya. R. Anderson Sutton analyzes efforts since the 1970s to develop a system of terms for east Javanese formal structure at the high school for the arts in Surabaya Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri (SMKN) 9 Surabaya, which has previously gone by the names Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia (SMKI) Surabaya and Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia (KOKARI) Surabaya. He writes, "This system clearly represents a response to the standard established by central Java—a wish to lend greater prestige to east Javanese gamelan music by developing comparable, yet distinctly east Javanese technical terms" (Sutton 1991, 134). Sutton cites several publications that resulted from these efforts and points to publications from the private college for the arts in Surabaya, Sekolah Tinggi Kesenian Wilwatikta (STKW) Surabaya, that identify east Javanese theory and performance practice (1991, 194–5). However, as in central Java, such attempts to systematically identify and articulate music theory and practice has not resulted in standardization of either. Performers continue to make sense of an east Javanese locale in multiple ways.

Characteristics of Dance Movement

In the same way they do for music, performers identify characteristics of east Javanese dance (including *malangan* dance) by comparing it to central Javanese dance. They frequently invoke polarities: tighter/looser coordination with the drumming, greater/lesser degree of rhythmic complexity, and fluidity/brokenness of movement.

My dance teachers Djupri, M. Soleh Adi Pramono, and B. Supriono Hadi Prasetya (b. 1976) emphasized the rhythmic complexity of *malangan* dance, and the close relationship between movement and drumming that characterize it. Teaching me to articulate each movement to the sound of each drumming stroke, Djupri stressed rhythmic competence as a prerequisite to dancing gracefully and in good form: it was only after I could dance precisely with the

drumming that he taught me what he considered secrets, such as subtle neck movements and proper arm position.

In talking about the philosophy of *malangan* dance, M. Soleh Adi Pramono categorized the relationship between the rhythm of the dance and that of the music into three types: *mapag*, *mengkal*, and *mapan*. Supriono, one of Soleh's students, also used these terms. *Mapag* means that the dance movement anticipates the drumming. *Mengkal* indicates that the rhythm of the dance does not correspond to the beat of the musical accompaniment; some movements can be both *mapag* and *mengkal*. Soleh and Supriono noted that *mapag* and *mengkal* movements were very difficult; one had to use feeling to properly execute them rhythmically because they could not be counted. *Mapan* refers to the rhythm of the dance corresponding to the beat of the music (M. Soleh Adi Pramono and B. Supriono Hadi Prasetya, personal communication, November 8, 2005).

Other dancers recognized these same rhythmic relationships between the dance and the music, but did not name them. They explained how the dance went, or told me when my dancing was not precisely linked with the drumming. They also recognized that it was the rhythm that made the dances so difficult. Djupri and my dance teacher Budi Utomo (b. 1963) pointed to the nature of the rhythmic relationship between the movement and the musical accompaniment as a defining characteristic of east Javanese dance, often comparing the difficulty of east Javanese rhythm to the relative ease of central Javanese rhythm. While one could count beats to execute central Javanese dance, they said, for east Javanese dance one had to know the drumming.²³ Making a similar point as Supriono and Soleh, Djupri and Utomo explained that counting the beats to execute east Javanese dance was not possible, implying that "uncountable" rhythm was more difficult.²⁴ Speaking to the value performers place on movement's close coordination with the drumming, Suradi (b. 1945), a former dancer, asserted that most important to one's ability to dance *Ngremo* was one's ability to drum it (personal communication, May 2, 2006). Most performers believed that if a dancer could not play the drum, (s)he should at least know the patterns.

In addition to rhythmic complexity, dancers repeatedly compared the "brokenness" or "choppiness" of east Javanese dance to the smoothness of central Javanese dance. Several dancers used the Indonesian word for broken, *patah-patah*,²⁵ to characterize the execution of east Javanese dance movement as sharp, discreet, and clearly articulated. They used the Indonesian word *halus* or its Javanese equivalent, *alus*, to distinguish central Javanese dance as smooth, refined, and fluid. Terms of refinement and brokenness evoke the refined-coarse continuum that many people throughout Java invoke to evaluate the arts, use of language, and behavior.

In holding up brokenness as a preferred aesthetic for east Javanese dance in relation to central Javanese dance, performers were resisting ideologies that

privilege refinement—ideologies often associated with central Javanese court cultures. Budi Utomo indicated that very smooth dancing was characteristic of central Javanese dance and inappropriate for east Javanese dance. He instructed me to execute *Beskalan* with more “broken” movements so that it would be different from central Javanese dance (personal communication, December 2005). On another occasion, he critiqued a dancer’s style of performing *malangan* masked dance for having too much of a central Javanese feel (personal communication, January 2006).

An instructor at Mangun Dharma Art Center (Padepokan Seni Mangun Dharma (PSMD) in Tulus Besar also contrasted the brokenness of *malangan* dance with the fluidity of central Javanese dance. Talking to a group of students there, including me, after a masked dance lesson, he said that *malangan* dance was more difficult than central Javanese dance because it was *patah-patah*. However, during instruction in central Javanese dance another day, he said that it was the most difficult because of its refined movement, calm, and control. Although he seemed to contradict himself, he indicated that both east and central Javanese dance have their difficulties, and that such difficulties could be distinguished by the greater or lesser degree of refinement and brokenness characteristic of each style. R. Anderson Sutton observes, “in east Java one finds an ambivalent attitude toward the whole notion of courtly refinement and all that it encompasses. In some ways east Java has tried to partake of it, yet in many ways it rejects it as alien” (1991, 122–3). Similarly, I have found that performers accept and reject notions of refinement selectively and strategically. In the case of distinguishing east Javanese arts from those of central Java, they stand by the brokenness of their dance. However, as I discuss below, performers privilege refinement intra-regionally.

Also identifying east Javanese dance is the *gongseng* (ankle bells; see Figure 3). A number of performers said that the *gongseng* adds to the music and character of the dance to help give it life. Several, including Supriono, (personal communication, November 10, 2005), Sumi’anah (personal communication, March 3, 2006), and Sumantri (personal communication, April 23, 2006), said that the *gongseng* was a distinctive trait of east Javanese dance.

Performers’ verbal discourse differentiating the characteristics of east Javanese dance from central Javanese dance is important because there are many similarities in movement vocabulary. For example, of the 58 movements I have identified for *Beskalan Putri*, about 24 are similar to movements that occur in central Javanese dance.²⁶ Nonetheless, performers see differences in regional styles, a process affected by their beliefs about *Beskalan*’s origins. In other words, seeing (and hearing) their senses of history connect the dance to east Java just as much as (perhaps even more than) the quantity of distinct movements. Performers’ comparisons of *Beskalan* and *Ngremo*, two very similar dances from different parts of east Java, further exemplify their place-oriented perceptions.

Comparisons to *Surabayan* Gamelan Music and Dance

Musicians and dancers articulate intra-regional senses of locale by distinguishing *malangan* performing arts from those of Surabaya. Their senses of history reinforce most performers' tendencies to talk about *Beskalan* as Malang and *Ngremo* as Surabaya. Older performers even refer to *Ngremo* as "*surabayan*." Comparison of the two dances inevitably arises in conversations when one dance or the other is the subject of discussion. By juxtaposing the dances, performers in effect compare—and thereby produce—the places of Malang and Surabaya.²⁷

Dance Structure and Music

To identify specifically what performers hear and see as different between *Beskalan* and *Ngremo* despite their many similarities, I map dance movement to music. Considering movement and music together is important because performers rarely separate one from the other. During my lessons, dancers sang the drumming, the basic melody, and the colotomic parts as they demonstrated movement. Musicians enacted movements as they sang or played the basic melody and/or drumming patterns. Kusnadi taught me the drumming by referring to dance movements. During many of the rehearsals without dancers that I observed, usually at least one musician in the group mimicked portions of the dance as they played, delighting the others. Clearly, music and movement are closely linked in performers' minds.

Before analyzing correlations of specific movements and drumming patterns, I introduce these dances in more detail by charting their overall structures. Both dances have undergone many changes in the course of their histories. Here, I present generically what my teachers believed to be the structures of the complete dances. Although these versions are currently rarely performed, they are what my teachers imagined at the time of my fieldwork and taught me to understand.²⁸

Of my teachers, Djupri named *Beskalan Putri*'s structure in the most detail. As charted in Figure 7, he organized the dance into an introduction (*ada-ada*), five sections of dance (*golongan*), and two sections in which the dancer stops dancing to sing (*gandhangan*).²⁹ While my other teachers Utomo, Kusnadi, and Supriono did not use Djupri's terms, they did seem to conceive of the dance structure analogously because they made divisions similar to Djupri's in the course of lessons.

I have included information about the musical accompaniment I learned from Kusnadi. The basic melody is usually played on the *demung* and *saron*, one-octave metallophones, for these dances.³⁰ The melody for each composition repeats many times within each section of the dance.³¹

Dance Sections as Djupri Named		Dance Movements	Irama as Kusnadi Specified	Gendhing Title, Basic Melody, and Colotomic Structure as Kusnadi Taught
Ada-Ada	Aba-Aba	Dancer off stage	Rangkep	"Gendhing Beskalan" (Note: the first line is an introductory melody played once)
	Ada-Ada	Entrance		
Golongan Siji/ Pambuka		Dancing in place and walking	Lamba briefly, then rangkep	
Gandhangan I		Standing in place to sing	Rangkep (very slow)	
Golongan Loro/ Gendhewan		Mostly dancing in place; if able, the dancer continues to sing	Rangkep	
Golongan Telu		Dancing in place; if able, the dancer continues to sing		
Golongan Papat		Dancing in place and walking	Specified as rangkep on one occasion and lamba on another	<p>"Ijo-Ijo"</p> <p>6p56n1 3p21n6 4p56n1 2p16ng5 2p16ng5 5p65n4 2p16n5 3p13n2 2p62ng1</p> <p>"Ganggong"</p> <p>2p16n5 2p16n5 2p15n6 1p23ng2 3p12n3 5p65n3 5p67n6 5p42ng1 5p42n1 5p42n1 5p41n2 4p56ng5 6p35n6 7p65n6 5p42n4 2p16ng5</p> <p>"Janur Kuning"</p> <p>2p16n5 2p16n5 2p16n5 1p21ng6 1p21n6 1p21n6 1p21n6 2p16ng5</p>
Gandhangan II		Standing in place to sing	Not specified	<p>"Ricik-Ricik"</p> <p>p1n5 p1n5 p1n5 p2ng6 p2n6 p2n6 p2n6 p1ng5</p>
Gologan Lima/ Ricik-Ricik/ Bendrong		Dancing in place and walking	Not specified	<p>"Kembang Jeruk"</p> <p>p.n4 p.n2 p.n1 p.ng6 p.n2 p.n1 p.n6 p.gn5 --OR-- ...p4 ...n2 ...p1 ...n6 ...p2 ...n1 ...p6 ...gn5</p>
		Dancing in place	Not specified	
		Dancing in place and walking; exit	Not specified	"Ricik-Ricik"

Figure 7. Overall structure and musical accompaniment of *Beskalan Putri*.

Dance Sections as Kusrnadi and Sumi'anah Named	Dance Movements	Irama as Kusrnadi Specified	Gendhing Title, Basic Melody, and Colotomic Structure as Kusrnadi Taught
Beginning	Walking and dancing in place	Irama I	"Jula Juli" .p2.n1.p2.n6.p2.n1.p6.ng5 .p6.n5.p6.n2.p6.n5.p2.gn1
First <i>Kidungan</i>	Standing in place to sing	Irama II	
First Irama II Section/ First <i>Gendhéwan</i>	Mostly dancing in place; if able, the dancer continues to sing	Irama I briefly, Irama II	
	Dancing in place	Irama I	
Second Irama II Section/ Second <i>Gendhéwan</i>	Dancing in place; if able, the dancer continues to sing	Irama II	
	Walking	Irama I	
Second <i>Kidungan</i>	Walking while singing or standing in place to sing	Irama II	
	Walking	Irama I	
Third Irama II Section/ <i>Pogokan</i>	Dancing in place	Irama II	
	Dancing in place and walking	Irama I	
Third <i>Kidungan</i>	Standing in place to sing	Irama II	
	Walking	Irama I	
Last Section/ <i>Angkat Kaki-Bumi Langit</i>	Dancing in place	Irama I	

Figure 8. Overall structure and musical accompaniment of *Ngremo Putri*.

The structure of *Ngremo* is similar to the structure of the first four *golongan* of *Beskalan*. Like *Beskalan*, *Ngremo* features sections of walking, dancing in place, and singing. The singing sections for *Ngremo* are called *kidungan*.³² Kusrnadi, my *Ngremo* drum teacher, and Sumi'anah (b. 1955), my *Ngremo* dance teacher, referred to the sections of the dance as I have charted in Figure 8.³³ They referred to sections by *irama* level and by *kidungan* number. Kusrnadi also referred to some of the sections by the name of the dance movement that characterized them, such as *gendhéwan* or *pogokan*. However, neither Kusrnadi nor Sumi'anah named every section.

Musical Accompaniment

Choice in Compositions. Despite the similarities in the musical accompaniment of the two pieces, performers are sensitive to their differences. A series of *gendhing* accompanies *Beskalan Putri*: "Gendhing Beskalan," "Ijo-Ijo," "Ganggong," "Janur

Kuning,” “Ricik-Ricik,” and “Kembang Jeruk.” Unlike the suite that accompanies *Beskalan*, one composition accompanies *Ngremo*, “Jula Juli.” The melody of “Jula Juli” is almost identical to that of “Gendhing Beskalan.” One difference is the pitch of the sixth beat after the gong on pitch 5, which I have underlined in Figures 7 and 8.

Performers hear these pieces as different in part because “Gendhing Beskalan” has also been used in another context that they believe is characteristically *malangan*—masked dance. Budi Utomo (personal communication, December 26, 2006), Gimun (1924–2008; personal communication, December 26, 2006), and Kusnadi (personal communication, May 2006) explained the use of “Gendhing Beskalan” to accompany the masked dance *Bapang*. “Gendhing Beskalan” is thus part of a musical repertoire that performers perceive as *malangan*. In contrast, performers hear “Jula Juli” as part of a general east Javanese repertoire. Perhaps because “Gendhing Beskalan” and “Jula Juli” are so similar melodically, performers underscore other ways these compositions differ, such as characteristic tuning system.

Tuning System. Performers explain the basic differences between *Beskalan* and *Ngremo* by polarizing the dances in terms of tuning. They said repeatedly that *Beskalan Putri* is performed in *pélog* while *Ngremo* is performed in *sléndro*, indicating that they associate tuning systems with place. Articulating intra-regional senses of locale, they link *pélog*, *Beskalan*, and Malang and oppose these to *sléndro*, *Ngremo*, and Surabaya/Jombang.³⁴

Performers and researchers have emphasized the use of *pélog* in Malang. Jaap Kunst’s tabulations collected in the 1920s of *sléndro* and *pélog* sets in several areas of east Java confirm the prevalence of *pélog* gamelan ensembles in Malang historically. The predominance of *pélog* distinguished *malangan* music from that of neighboring areas, where there were significantly more *sléndro* sets (Kunst 1949, 566–7). Sixty years later, R. Anderson Sutton, collecting data over the course of several trips to east Java in the 1980s, also observed that *sléndro* was the predominant tuning in east Java with the exception of Malang. He takes the “preference for *pélog* in Malang [as] one of the strongest points in favor of positing a distinct Malang tradition” (Sutton 1991, 132).

Most musicians and dancers prefer and feel more comfortable with *Beskalan Putri* in *pélog*. Many, including M. Soleh Adi Pramono (personal communication, September 2005) and Timan (b. 1930; personal communication, July 4, 2006), claimed that in Malang gamelans were originally *pélog*. Furthermore, believing that the “original” *Beskalan* was performed in *pélog*, many associated more “authentic” performances with those in this tuning. After two recording sessions in which a *sléndro* gamelan was used because that was the only tuning available, the musicians and dancers indicated that *Beskalan* was more pleasing in *pélog*.

and should be in *pélog*. They told me that in *sléndro* it sounded odd, the feeling was not right, and they did not perform well, gently encouraging me to rerecord them using *pélog*. Utomo and Djupri were so affected that they said they could not dance *Beskalan* with the proper feeling in *sléndro* because the music was too similar to *Ngremo* (personal communication, February 2006).

Evidence from Kunst, Sutton, and the performers with whom I worked indicates that *Beskalan Putri* has shifted since the early 20th century from being performed primarily in *pélog* to primarily in *sléndro* and back to *pélog*. When I asked performers more specifically about what tuning they remembered being used in the past, they recalled performing and observing *Beskalan Putri* in *sléndro* as well as in *pélog*—striking details given that most had so clearly associated *pélog* with Malang and had insisted on its use for *Beskalan Putri*. Some musicians and dancers remembered performing more often in *sléndro* because most gamelans used to be *sléndro* sets.³⁵ In fact, Supeno (b. 1923), the oldest dancer I consulted, felt comfortable practicing only in *sléndro*. He said that he had never danced or drummed *Beskalan* in *pélog* when he was actively performing as a dancer in the early 1940s to the mid-1960s (personal communication, June 2006).

While bits of suggestive evidence appear to contrast with performers' senses of history, it is important that many associate the use of *pélog* with *malangan* performing arts traditions despite changes in tuning system in response to external influences. Djupri offered a convincing explanation of why the use of tuning system has shifted. Because purchasing a gamelan ensemble in both tunings was expensive, most individuals, villages, organizations, and/or institutions owned a set in *pélog* or *sléndro*. Up to the 1940s, *pélog* was more widespread, but from the 1940s to the 1980s, *sléndro* became more common due to the influence of the popular theater form *ludruk*. Coming from Surabaya, where *sléndro* prevailed, this tuning system was used to accompany *ludruk* in Malang, too. Since the 1980s, Djupri continued, there have been more sets with both *pélog* and *sléndro* tunings to accommodate audience requests for genres of popular central Javanese gamelan music called *langgam* and, since the 1990s, *campur sari*. With more *pélog* gamelan available, *pélog* was again becoming the preferred tuning for *malangan* pieces (personal communication, June 22, 2006).

Through this narrative, Djupri was doing important ideological work, even though much of his history requires further research. His narrative raises questions about what happened to the *pélog* gamelans from the 1940s to the 1980s, the economic factors that allowed for the purchasing of gamelan sets in both tunings, whether a shift in the kinds of materials used for gamelan instruments made purchase of sets in both tunings more affordable, and whether patronage changed. Djupri's history does, however, point to the profound impact that *surabayan* and central Javanese repertoires had on *malangan* music.

Significantly, despite this influence from outside Malang, Djupri told his narrative in a way that reinforced his sense of *malangan* practices rooted in Malang.

Commercial cassettes of two different versions of *Beskalan Putri's* musical accompaniment have further naturalized the use of *pélog* more recently. Released in about 1984 (Jayabaya) and 2001 (Studio LPK Tari Natya Lakshita and Joyoboyo Studio), both feature *pélog*—perhaps influenced by the belief that this dance was originally performed to the accompaniment of a *pélog* gamelan.

Rhythmic Features. As with the categorical statements performers make about tuning system, the categorical statements they make about the rhythmic features of *Beskalan* and *Ngremo* mask the complexities of performed practice. However, these statements do reveal important ways performers distinguish *Beskalan* from *Ngremo*—Malang from Surabaya. Kusnadi used different terminology when talking about *irama* for each dance. He consistently used the central Javanese terms *irama I* and *irama II* when talking about *Ngremo*, and the east Javanese terms *lamba* and *rangkep* when talking about *Beskalan*. Even though he used central Javanese terms in “east Javanese” ways for *Ngremo*, his usage of imported terms suggests that *Ngremo* is on some level not as closely tied to east Java as *Beskalan*. This may be because *Beskalan* is thought of as the older dance.

To more explicitly distinguish *Beskalan* from *Ngremo*, Kusnadi pointed to specific differences in *irama*. He initially generalized that *Beskalan's* music does not have *irama* changes like *Ngremo*. He likened *Beskalan* to other kinds of *malangan* dance by saying that the *irama* of *Beskalan* is steady like that of masked dance. Despite his categorical statements, when it came down to clarifying the details of performance practice, he recognized that the *irama* for *Beskalan* does change. Using the *bonang* as a reference, he explained that in the beginning of the dance, the *irama* changes from *rangkep* to *lamba* briefly and then returns to *rangkep* (see Figure 7; personal communication, May 22, 2006). On a separate occasion, he explained that the *irama* is *lamba* from “Ijo-Ijo” onward—seeming to refer to the pieces that comprise *Golongan Papat* (personal communication, February 26, 2007).

Interestingly, the density of the *bonang* part in relation to the beat (2:1) does not actually change in *Golongan Papat*. Instead, the basic melody becomes twice as dense. For example, as I have notated below, Kusnadi taught me to play the transition from “Gendhing Beskalan” to “Ijo-Ijo” in two ways (the underlined pitches are played as octaves):

Bonang 2.2w2.216y656y61

or

2.2w2.216666

Basic Melody . 2 . g1 6 5 6 1

In either way of playing the *bonang*, Kusnadi seemed to have felt a “halving” of its density in relation to the basic melody, which does change from a ratio of 4:1 to 2:1 after the gong stroke. Regardless of what the *irama* is in certain sections of *Beskalan* (again, such concepts are not systematically theorized in Malang), Kusnadi perceived the *irama* as steadier in *Beskalan* than in *Ngremo*.

For *Ngremo*, Kusnadi consistently specified *irama*, using it to name particular sections. As seen in Figure 8, Kusnadi conceived of *Ngremo* as alternating between *irama I* and *II*. It is important that Kusnadi did not initially explicitly highlight the *irama* changes for *Beskalan* or specify the *irama* for each of its sections, but did so for *Ngremo*. Not only did he distinguish the dances, but he also articulated Malangness in contrast to Surabayaness because he linked the steadiness of *irama* for masked dance and *Beskalan* (*malangan* dances) and compared both to the changing *irama* of *Ngremo* (*surabayan* dance).

Performers further differentiate *Beskalan* from *Ngremo* by generalizing that *Beskalan* is the slower dance. While many of the movements that are used in both dances are performed at a slower surface tempo in *Beskalan*, considerable tempo fluctuations characterize both dances. Of the two, *Beskalan* has the larger range, and, strikingly, the fastest tempo of *Beskalan* significantly surpasses the fastest tempo of *Ngremo*. During one recording session in which Kusnadi drummed both dances, the tempo of *Beskalan* ranged from about 46 to 284 bpm while that of *Ngremo* ranged from about 60 to 160 bpm.³⁶ The extremely fast tempi of *Beskalan Putri* (those above 200 bpm) are used in *Golongan Lima*, commonly called *Ricik-Ricik*. It seems that when most performers compare *Beskalan* to *Ngremo* in terms of tempo, they are referring to the parts of *Beskalan* that precede *Ricik-Ricik*, sections in which the tempo ranges from about 46 to 126 bpm. Statements regarding the slow tempo of *Beskalan* may stem from the fact that the *Ricik-Ricik* is often not performed in current times; performers may not always think of it when they imagine *Beskalan*. Selectively imagining *Beskalan*, they compare what in their minds represents Malang to what they believe represents Surabaya.

Performers' perceptions have implications about dances as texts. V. Narayana Rao (referenced in Sears and Flueckiger 1991) makes a useful distinction between “recorded” and “received” texts in his work on South Asian literature. Recorded texts are those that have “been written down or recited” while received texts are those “which an audience or consumer of the text hears or *thinks* has been recorded” (emphasis in original) (Sears and Flueckiger 1991, 4). I am most drawn to Rao's idea of received texts because in Malang, performers receive (i.e., perceive) texts strategically and thereby affect culture. By talking about *Beskalan* as the slower dance, performers imply that it is the more refined. Implicit is their use of the refined-coarse continuum to elevate the cultural status of *malangan* dance in relation to *surabayan* dance.

Dance Movements

Djupri and Budi Utomo reinforced *Beskalan*'s links to Malang through their explanations of its movements.³⁷ According to Djupri, *Beskalan Putri* illustrates Prabaretna searching for her true love, Jaka Umbaran, alias Baswara.³⁸ Some movements illustrate a warrior's search, such as manipulating a bow and looking out into the distance.³⁹ Other movements link the dance to ritual functions, such as warding off evil spirits. Still other movements are connected to aspects of fertility in the form of nature and agriculture, such as stirring ingredients when cooking or washing rice grains. Robby Hidajat, an Indonesian dance scholar, also links *Beskalan*, Malangness, and fertility rituals. He argues that historically, fertility rituals (including those featuring *Beskalan*) have been important to people in Malang because their economy has been based on agriculture (Hidajat 2006, 199). I did not encounter such narratives about the meanings of *Ngremo Putri*'s movements—perhaps because I studied *Ngremo* with a different dance teacher who did not foreground such meanings, or perhaps because these kinds of narratives are not associated with this dance to the same degree.

The movements that comprise *Beskalan Putri* produce Malangness when performed or imagined, despite similarities with *Ngremo* in two additional ways: recognition of different articulations of movements that are shared with *Ngremo Putri*, and identification of movements that are found in *Beskalan Putri* and other *malangan* dances, but not in *Ngremo*. I roughly quantify a comparison in Figure 9 to provide a sense of how many movements *Beskalan Putri* shares with *Ngremo* (and central Javanese dance), and to highlight that the number of movements specific to *Beskalan* is quite small.⁴⁰ The proportion of distinctively *malangan* movements would probably be smaller if one were to compare *Beskalan*'s movements to those of other east Javanese dances.

This approximate quantification reinforces my point that *Beskalan*'s movements would not produce senses of a *malangan* locale without performers' perceptions that they do so—perceptions affected by their senses of history. Most

Same as <i>Ngremo</i>		Same as <i>Ngremo</i> but danced differently		Not in <i>Ngremo</i>		Similar to central Javanese movement		Not in <i>Ngremo</i> or central Javanese dance	
#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
14	24	19	33	25	43	24	41	14	24

Figure 9. Rough comparison of the number of movements used in *Beskalan Putri* and other dances.

performers recognize *Beskalan*'s similarities to *Ngremo Putri* (and to central Javanese dance). *Beskalan* is no less *malangan* in their eyes, however, because they attribute many of these similarities to origins in Malang.

Correlations between Dance Movement and Drumming Patterns

Despite shared and similar movement vocabulary, performers are attuned to differences, including the use of different drumming patterns to animate the same or similar movements (see Figure 10).

Djupri, Kusnadi, and Supriono pointed to aspects of the first *mat* drumming and movement that distinguish *Beskalan* from *Ngremo*. This is significant because *mat* is the first movement of both *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremo Putri* after the dancer's entrance. The articulation of this movement to the drumming reinforces the identity of each dance, which is established initially by the opening sections of music that usually precede the dancer's appearance. When Kusnadi taught me the *mat* pattern for *Ngremo* (Figure 11a), he pointed out that *Beskalan*'s drumming was like *Ngremo*'s, but reversed (Figure 11b) (personal communication, September 2005). He was referring to the placement of the drum strokes *dhet* and *tak*, both heavier sounding than *tok*, on the weak parts of the beat in *Ngremo*, and on the beat in *Beskalan* (see Table 1 in note 42, a key to the drum symbols).



Figure 10. Kusnadi playing the primary drum used for *Beskalan* and *Ngremo*.

A. <i>Ngrémo</i>	Drum:	VOIO
	Melody:	. 6
B. <i>Beskalan</i>	Drum:	OVOI
	Melody:	. 6

Figure 11. Comparison of basic *mat* drumming.

The placement of *dhet* and *tak* on the strong parts of the beat in *Beskalan*, in time with the *gongseng* and movement of the head/eyes up and down, gives the dance a calmness and steadiness. These aspects, along with the slower tempo, contribute to the refined feeling performers associate with *Beskalan*.⁴¹ This contrasts with the energy and tension of *Ngremono* created by *dhet* falling on the weak part of the beat, going against the *gongseng* and head/eye movements falling on the strong part of the beat (see Figure 12).⁴²

A. *Beskalan* (note that O is replaced by jKO)

mm - 96

Head/Eyes: [--down--][--up--]	[twist R][twist L]
Drum: I jKOV O I jKOj.PjPPI [repeat 2x more]	jPNj.PN D jPNj.PN D
Gongseng: d . . . d . . . d . . . d . . . d	
Bal: g5 . p6 . n5 [etc.] . p2 . ngl	

B. *Ngrémo*

mm - 120

Head/Eyes: [--down--][--up--]	[roll] R L R
Drum: OVOIOPOIO [repeat 2x more]	P.O.O.O.
Gongseng: d . . . d . . . d . . . d . . . d	
Bal: g5 . p6 . n5 [etc.] . p2 . ngl	

Figure 12. Similar dance movement, different drumming, first *mat*.

j.kBBjDkBBjNkBBjDPjPBjIPjVOjOOO

Figure 13. A drum pattern that occurs in *Beskalan*, but not in *Ngremo*.

I have boxed the head movements and corresponding drum patterns in Figure 12 to highlight other differences between the dances. The alternation of the medium stroke *dung* and low stroke *dong* in *Beskalan*'s pattern is calmer and less sharp than the high-pitched, sparse sounds of *Ngremo*'s *tok* strokes. Significantly, Supriono identified the pattern used in *Beskalan Putri* as a distinctive *malangan* trait because it is not found in dances from other parts of Java (personal communication, January 26, 2007).

Djupri recognized the similarities between the first *mat* used for *Beskalan Putri* and for *Ngremo Putri*, but emphasized their differences. He explained that *mat* is polite and beautiful. Rather than just beginning to dance, which would be too direct and therefore impolite according to Javanese etiquette, the dancer performs *mat*. Enhancing the politeness and beauty of this movement is the dancer's lowering and raising of the eyes in time to the drumming. *Ngremo* also has a *mat* in which the eyes are raised and lowered, Djupri said, but the dancer moves her or his head more, so the movement is less refined than in *Beskalan Putri* (personal communication, February 1, 2006).

Kusnadi identified movement vocabulary and corresponding drumming that should be used for *Beskalan*, but not for *Ngremo*. At a lesson, Kusnadi gave me the option of inserting the drumming for one of *Beskalan*'s movements into *Ngremo* (Figure 13).

However, as I tried to drum *Ngremo* using this pattern, he changed his mind, instructing me to use different patterns so that the dances would be distinguished (personal communication, July 25, 2006).

Areas of Malang

While my teachers stressed that *Beskalan* is found throughout Malang, they also identified differences between the dance as I was learning it in eastern Malang and a shorter version Chattam Amat Redjo began to arrange in the 1970s. When talking about Chattam's version, Kusnadi and Supriono often referred to it as "*Beskalan there*" (*Beskalan di sana*), referring to the city of Malang and the southern Malang styles from which Kusnadi and Supriono believed Chattam to have drawn.

Kusnadi emphasized that the drumming in *Beskalan* as performed in eastern Malang and in the city/southern Malang is the same, but that there are differences in the music. For example, he highlighted that a different introductory

	561	5256	.2.1	.6.g5
A.	.p6.n5	.p3.n2	.p6.n5	.p2.ng1
	.p2.n1	.p2.n6	.p2.n1	.p6.ng5
B.	.p6.n2	.p3.n5	.p6.n1	.p2.ng3
	.p5.n6	.p1.n6	.p2.n1	.p6.ng5

Figure 14. Basic melody of “Gendhing Beskalan” associated with the city/southern Malang, as taught by Kusnadi. (The first line is an introductory melody played one time only.)

melody to “Gendhing Beskalan” is used (compare Figure 14 to Figure 7). Moreover, the version associated with the city/south begins on gong 5 rather than gong 1, and features a second melody, labeled B in Figure 14.

Performers are also sensitive to subtle differences in movement and body position. For example, I learned to repeat a particular hand movement at stomach level from my teacher Budi Utomo. Practicing at my home with Supriono, I tried to vary this movement by changing the level of my hands up and then down, as I had seen dancers do in the city. He teased me that I had been influenced by Chattam’s *Beskalan*. With less humor in their voices, my other teachers grumbled when they saw such influences in the dancing of performers from Tumpang, believing that eastern *malangan* styles should be maintained, not combined with the already dominant styles from the south.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this article, I have addressed some of the ways in which musicians and dancers in Malang articulate senses of locale on different levels through their perceptions of music and dance in the early 2000s. Perceiving strategically, what performers talk about seeing and hearing may or may not be consistent with performed practice. I have emphasized that as performers perceive music and dance to make sense and senses of place, they insert east Javanese arts in general and *malangan* arts in particular into institutionalized discourses—even if only in the foreign academic writing that they have helped me to produce. It remains to be seen whether their efforts (and mine) will result in increased prestige for *malangan* arts—specifically eastern *malangan* styles—and whether younger musicians and dancers will choose to include them in performed repertoires.

The institutionalization process in which I am partaking opens the door to a host of other issues. On the one hand, through my writing as a foreign researcher, I may shape ideas about *malangan* gamelan and dance theory. The conversations I initiated were informed by my prior experiences studying central Javanese gamelan and dance—either directly by asking or indirectly by

my confusion. Through a central Javanese frame of reference then, I shaped the ways my teachers talked about *malangan* music and dance, even though it was not my intention to do so. Disturbingly, through my own process of research and writing, I may be reinforcing hegemonic Indonesian notions of art and tradition that have been shaped by central Javanese logics and aesthetics, even as I am attempting to give voice to alternative understandings. On the other hand, as yet another attempt to write about Javanese gamelan theory and practice, this article also underlines the resilience of diverse ideas and practices in Java despite institutionalization—as R. Anderson Sutton (1991) and Marc Perlman (2004) have also shown.

Performers' insistence on using terms in their own ways also raises questions about refinement and coarseness in Javanese culture. Performers in Malang use the refined-coarse continuum to their own advantage. They proudly characterize east Javanese arts as less refined than central Javanese arts, and many proclaim their music and dance to be more difficult because of this. However, the refinement of *Beskalan* is a source of pride when compared to *Ngremo*. I wonder to what extent performers in different parts of Malang perceive different *malangan* styles as more or less refined, and to what extent they value refinement if it is used as a standard of evaluation. In Java and in other places, continuing to examine the ways in which people perceive performance offers a means to complicate existing frameworks and yield alternatives through which scholars may investigate how and why individuals affect culture every day.

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Notes

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² Malang is also the name of a city. Unless I specify the city of Malang, I am referring to the regency.

³ R. Anderson Sutton points out that cultural regions of Java do not necessarily correlate to national political divisions (1985, 1991). Using his approach, I use lower case letters to refer to cultural regions (i.e., east Java, central Java) and upper case letters to refer to names of provinces (i.e., East Java, Central Java). I use lower case letters to refer to intra-regional styles, too (i.e., *malangan*, *surabayan*).

⁴ There are schools for the arts at the college and high school levels in Surabaya. This may be one of the reasons why *surabayan* gamelan is classified in more detail than *malangan* gamelan. Arts organizations and institutions in Malang do offer music courses, but seem to focus their efforts on performing rather than systematically theorizing and institutionalizing *malangan* performance practices. The teaching of central Javanese performance practice and theory in arts institutions in Malang did seem to be much more systematically organized. For more on arts institutions and regional performance practices, see Sutton (1991, 173–91).

⁵ I acknowledge Bonnie C. Wade for directing my attention to the usefulness of the phrase “senses of,” a phrase I apply to locale, identity, and history to indicate multiple ways individuals produce and perceive these constructs.

⁶ I do not mean to imply that central Javanese and *surabayan* styles began to be present in Malang in the mid-20th century with the birth of the Indonesian nation. Evidence of traveling performers since at least the 19th century points to the crucial roles performers themselves have played historically in disseminating performing arts inter- and intra-regionally. Sutton provides historical evidence from the 19th century onward of central Javanese music in the Surabaya area (1991, 170). Some of the performers I consulted pointed to cultural exchange between central and east Java since medieval times. No less important to the importation of outside styles has been audience demand in Malang.

⁷ For more on patrons and contexts of gamelan and dance performance, see Brinner (2008, 1–22).

⁸ Performing arts associated with Surabaya (and Jombang) have been present in Malang at least since the 1920s with the importation of popular theater forms *lérok*, *lérok besutan*, and *ludruk* (Supriyanto 2001, 22–3). From Kusnadi’s (b. 1944) recollection, central Javanese gamelan styles have been strongly present in Malang at least since the 1960s (personal communication, 2006). Old and new pieces from central Java and Surabaya continue to come in and out of popularity in Malang as performed repertoires are quite dynamic.

⁹ Singasari was a 13th century kingdom located in the Malang area (Kunst 1968).

¹⁰ I thank Sumarsam for generously allowing me to refer to his research and to quote from the conclusion of his keynote address. I use the citation with his permission.

¹¹ This photograph is reproduced in Henri Supriyanto’s books on *ludruk* history (1992, 21; 2001, 16). He writes that the photo was taken during the Japanese Occupation (1942–1945).

¹² For example, this was expressed in conversations with Kusnadi (June 24, 2006), Lestari (April 30, 2006), Panoto (May 16, 2006), Timan (July 4, 2006), and Achmad Suwarno (February 12, 2006). An exception was Sutrisno (d. 2009), a former manager of a *ludruk* group. He claimed that *Ngremo Lanang* was originally from Malang, but developed in Surabaya (personal communication, April 14, 2006).

¹³ The performers who explained this included Sumi'anah, (personal communication, February 24, 2006), Djupri (personal communication, February 25, 2006), Chattam Amat Redjo (personal communication, April 9 and 14, 2006), Sumantri (personal communication, April 23, 2006), Subari (personal communication, June 29, 2006), and M. Soleh Adi Pramono (personal communication, July 27, 2006).

¹⁴ This perspective was articulated in the course of personal communication with, for example, Sumi'anah and Sutrisno (March 3 and April 3, 2006), Chattam Amat Redjo (April 14, 2006), Sumantri (April 20, 2006), Marsam Hidayat (April 20, 2006), and Subari and Supriono (June 29, 2006).

¹⁵ In central Java, the word *gendhing* has two meanings: one generic—gamelan composition and one specific—the largest forms of gamelan compositions. For more on central Javanese structures, see Becker (1980, 105–44) and Brinner (2008, 25–47).

¹⁶ Institutionalization may be responsible for the abstraction of form in central Javanese court cities; however, not every musician has this knowledge. Midiyanto, a musician and puppet master from central Java, reported that musicians in central Javanese villages also do not necessarily abstract the colotomic structure from a composition and do not always know the names of specific forms (personal communication, 2006). For more on differences in Javanese musicians' competencies, see Brinner (1995).

¹⁷ Not all *malangan gendhing* conform to these structures.

¹⁸ I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that "Ganggong's" melody is the same as the central Javanese *lancaran mlaku* "Tropongan," and that compositions named "Ricik-Ricik" also exist in central Javanese repertoires as a Yogyanese *ladrang* and a Solonese *lancaran*. The central Javanese compositions named "Ricik-Ricik," the reviewer noted, bear no resemblance to the "Ricik-Ricik" used for *Beskalan Putri*.

¹⁹ Roger Vetter (1981, 208–11) and Benjamin Brinner (2008, 40–7) provide more complete explanations of *irama*.

²⁰ For more on *pancer* as a *bonang* technique in east Javanese gamelan music, see Sutton (1991, 153–4).

²¹ On one recording of Kusnadi drumming *Ngremo Putri*, the tempo for sections he described as *irama I* ranged from 100 to 160 bpm (*MFR-17*, January 31, 2006).

²² Sutton also describes the range of tempi that can be found within one *irama* level in east Java and the difficulties that many central Javanese musicians often have with east Javanese rhythm (1991, 166–7).

²³ In my own studies of central and east Javanese dance, I found this also to be the case because the articulations of central Javanese movement are more loosely tied to the drumming than in east Javanese dance. However, knowledge of central Javanese dance drumming significantly aids a dancer's ability to dance in time to the music. Furthermore, central Javanese performers have told me that in the past, counting was not used to dance, rather the dancers relied on drumming, melody, colotomic structure, and/or feeling.

²⁴ The connection I am stressing between rhythmic complexity and place-oriented identity is similar to the point that the musicologist Kate van Orden makes in her analysis of dance rhythm as performative. Particularly relevant here is her point that competence in the rhythmic complexity of 16th century court dancing contributed to the production of French noble male identities (van Orden 2005).

²⁵ In spoken Indonesian and Javanese, adjectives may be doubled to indicate that the noun being described is plural.

²⁶ I thank B. Supriono Hadi Prasetya for his help in identifying movements that occur in *Beskalan* and in central Javanese dance. He has studied and performed east Javanese and central Javanese dances in central Java and east Java.

²⁷ Performers also explained how *Ngremo* has come to be performed differently in Malang than in Surabaya—that is, how it has come to be associated with Malang—through the insertion of drumming patterns and dance movements drawn from *malangan* dances. See Sunardi (2007, 316–99).

²⁸ How and why these dances and their music have changed is the subject of several chapters in my dissertation. See Sunardi (2007).

²⁹ *Gandhangan* refers to the singing of songs for *Beskalan* called *gandhang* or *gandhangan*. The dancer usually sings two types of poetic texts: texts that welcome the audience and/or guests, and *parikan*, which contain a variety of messages, such as references to nature and food and comment on life experience.

³⁰ See Brinner (2008) for instruments' roles within the gamelan ensemble and how these roles are categorized. See Sutton (1991, 150–3) for a description of *balungan* instruments' playing techniques in east Javanese gamelan.

³¹ I have notated musical examples in the *kepatihan* system, a standard system used in Java in which numbers are used to represent pitches, a period is used to designate a rest, symbols are used to indicate colotomic instruments, and letters are used to represent drum syllables. A horizontal line above a number, rest, or drum syllable indicates a rhythmic subdivision. One way to approximately equate Western pitches to the Javanese pitches used in the two tuning systems of *sléndro* and *pélog* is:

<i>Sléndro</i>	<i>Pélog</i>
1 = d-flat	1 = d
2 = e-flat	2 = e
	3 = f
3 = g-flat	
5 = a-flat	4 = a-flat
	5 = a
6 = b-flat	6 = b-flat

³² The terms used to name the singing sections in *Ngremo* and in *Beskalan* are also a means to distinguish the dances. Sometimes performers did refer to the singing sections in *Ngremo* as *gandhangan*, which leads me to speculate that *gandhangan* is a *malangan* term while *kidungan* is a *surabayan* one.

³³ To more clearly show the large-scale structure, I have simplified my descriptions of the dance movements in each section by not including transitional movements that are danced in place and precede or follow walking movements.

³⁴ For explanations of *sléndro* and *pélog* tuning systems, see Kunst (1949); Lindsay (1992); and Brinner (2008).

³⁵ These performers included Kusnadi (personal communication, February 4 and 28, 2006; June 24, 2006), Djupri (personal communication, February 5 and June 22, 2006), Subari (personal communication, June 2006), Timan (personal communication, July 4, 2006), and Satupah (personal communication, July 7, 2006).

³⁶ Kusnadi was recorded on *MFR-17*, January 31, 2006. Because performers seemed to be referring to sections of dance when they made these generalizations, I have not included the tempi for the sections in which the dancer stops dancing to sing.

³⁷ Individual movements are named; however, sometimes the names used by one individual differed from lesson to lesson, although the meanings were fairly consistent. If another researcher studied with the same performers as I did, (s)he might encounter other movement names, so fluid is the terminology.

³⁸ In another version of this story, *Beskalan Putri* illustrates Jaka Umbaran dressed as a woman searching for Prabaretna (B. Supriono Hadi Prasetya, personal communication 2006; March 30, 2007).

³⁹ Kusnadi once told me that there is no story that *Beskalan* illustrates; it is just an opening dance.

⁴⁰ These numbers are an approximation because of movement variations dancers used and different ways the same movement overlapped between dances.

⁴¹ I am indebted to Dennis Suwarno (b. 1957), a drummer, for directing my attention to the impact of drumming patterns' timbre and density on the feeling of the drumming and the dance.

⁴² One of my goals in this article has been to develop a system of notating music and dance together, a difficult challenge of music and dance studies. One aspect of the music that I have notated is drumming, specifically the basic drumming patterns that Kusnadi taught me in lessons. In performance, most drummers vary these patterns in different ways by adding filler strokes, omitting basic strokes, and anticipating or lagging behind the beat.

To notate the drumming, I have chosen to use the *kepatihan* system. This system was designed to notate central Javanese drumming, but I have found it useful in this case as well. Letters are used to represent drum strokes made by striking one or both of the two skin heads of the primary east Javanese drum (*kendhang*) used for *Beskalan Putri* and *Ngremono Putri*. (Other drums can be used, and are, performers say, recent additions.) The sounds and their symbols are as follows:

Table 1. Key to drum symbols.

I	<i>tak</i> , closed sound made by the right hand hitting the right head of the drum; the right hand remains on the right head, dampening it, while the left hand dampens the left head
O	<i>tok</i> , open sound made by the right hand hitting the rim of the right head; the left hand dampens the left head, allowing the right head to ring
P	<i>dung</i> , open sound made by the right or left hand hitting the middle of the right or left head
B	<i>dhe</i> , open sound made by the left hand hitting the lower part of the left head
V	<i>dhet</i> , closed sound made by the left hand hitting the lower part of the left head and keeping it dampened; the right hand dampens the right head

- D *dang*, open sound made by playing *dhe* and *tak*, but not dampening the left head
- i *dak*, closed sound made by playing *dhet* and *tak*
- N *dong*, open sound made by playing *dhe* and *tok* but not dampening the left head. Tempo indications are approximate as in practice the tempo is very flexible, sometimes increasing or decreasing as often as every beat. I have taken the tempo markings from my field recordings of Djupri drumming *Beskalan* (MFR-17, March 31, 2006) and Sutanu (1935–2008) drumming *Ngremo* (MFR-13, June 13, 2006).

I have also included the basic melody and the gong structure, but it should be kept in mind that these are not the only possible alignments of movement and melody.

For the dance movements, I have only indicated the parts of the body pertinent to the discussion. I have used movements for *Beskalan* as learned from Djupri and movements for *Ngremo* as learned from Sumi'anah.

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Errata, *Asian Music* 41:1

An unfortunate error occurred in reproducing several of the figures contained in Christina Sunardi's "Making Sense and Senses of Locale through Perceptions of Music and Dance in Malang, East Java," which appeared in *Asian Music* 41:1. The corrected figures are included here.

Key:

.	=	rest	˘	=	kempul
˘	=	kenong	0	=	gong

A. "Like a lancaran"

Central Javanese lancaran

B. "Like a ketawang"

Central Javanese ketawang

C. "Like a ladrang"

Central Javanese ladrang

Figure 4. *Malangan* compositional structures identified by Kusnadi compared to standard central Javanese (Solonese) structures (after Brinner 2008).

Dance Sections as Djupri Named		Dance Movements	Irama as Kusrnadi Specified	Gendhing Title, Basic Melody, and Colotomic Structure as Kusrnadi Taught
Ada-Ada	Aba-Aba	Dancer off stage	Rangkep	"Gendhing Beskalan" (Note: the first line is an introductory melody played once)
	Ada-Ada	Entrance		
Golongan Siji/Pambuka		Dancing in place and walking	Lamba briefly, then rangkep	
Gandhangan I		Standing in place to sing	Rangkep (very slow)	561̇2̇ .6.5̇ .2.1̇ .2.1̇ .2.6̇ .2.1̇ .6.5̇ .6.5̇ .4.2̇ .6.5̇ .2.1̇
Golongan Loro/Gendhéwan		Mostly dancing in place; if able, the dancer continues to sing	Rangkep	
Golongan Telu		Dancing in place; if able, the dancer continues to sing		
Golongan Papat		Dancing in place and walking	Specified as rangkep on one occasion and lamba on another	"Ijo-Ijo" 6561̇ 3216̇ 4561̇ 2165̇ 2165̇ 3132̇ 5654̇ 2621̇ "Ganggong" 2165̇ 2165̇ 2156̇ 1232̇ 3123̇ 5653̇ 5676̇ 5421̇ 5421̇ 5421̇ 5412̇ 4565̇ 6356̇ 7656̇ 5424̇ 2165̇ "Janur Kuning" 2165̇ 2165̇ 2165̇ 1216̇ 1216̇ 1216̇ 1216̇ 2165̇
Gandhangan II		Standing in place to sing	Not specified	"Ricik-Ricik" .1.5̇ .1.5̇ .1.5̇ .2.6̇ .2.6̇ .2.6̇ .2.6̇ .1.5̇
Gologan Lima/Ricik-Ricik/Bendrong		Dancing in place and walking	Not specified	
		Dancing in place	Not specified	"Kembang Jeruk" ...4̇ ...2̇ ...1̇ ...6̇ ...2̇ ...1̇ ...6̇ ...5̇ --OR-- ...4̇ ...2̇ ...1̇ ...6̇ ...2̇ ...1̇ ...6̇ ...5̇
		Dancing in place and walking; exit	Not specified	"Ricik-Ricik"

Figure 7. Overall structure and musical accompaniment of *Beskalan Putri*.

Melody: . 6

Melody: . 6

Figure 11. Comparison of basic *mat* drumming.

A. *Beskalan* (note that \circ is replaced by $\overline{k\circ}$)

mm ~ 96

Head/Eyes: [--down--][--up--]

Drum: t k°b ° t k° . p p p t [repeat 2x more]

Gongseng: ♦ . . . ♦ . . . ♦

Bal: (5) . 6 . 5 [etc.]

```
[twist R][twist L]
```

$$\overline{P\bar{B}}.\overline{P\bar{B}} \quad d \quad \overline{P\bar{B}}.\overline{P\bar{B}} \quad d$$

• • • ♦ • • • ♦

• 2 • (1)

B. Ngremo

mm ~ 150

Head/Eyes: [--down--] [--up--]

Drum: o b o t o p o t o [repeat 2x more]

Gongseng: ♢ . . . ♢ . . . ♢

Bal: (5) 6 5 [etc.]

```
[roll] R    L    R
```

ρ

• • • • •

 $\cdot \quad \tilde{2} \quad \cdot \quad (\hat{1})$

Figure 12. Similar dance movement, different drumming, first *mat*.

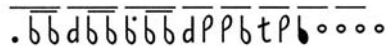


Figure 13. A drum pattern that occurs in *Beskalan*, but not in *Ngremo*.

561 5256 .2.1 .6.⑤

A. .[˘]6.^ˆ5 .[˘]3.^ˆ2 .[˘]6.^ˆ5 .[˘]2.①

 .[˘]2.^ˆ1 .[˘]2.^ˆ6 .[˘]2.^ˆ1 .[˘]6.⑤

B. .[˘]6.^ˆ2 .[˘]3.^ˆ5 .[˘]6.^ˆ1 .[˘]2.③

 .[˘]5.^ˆ6 .[˘]1.^ˆ6 .[˘]2.^ˆ1 .[˘]6.⑤

Figure 14. Basic melody of “Gendhing Beskalan” associated with the city/southern Malang, as taught by Kusnadi. (The first line is an introductory melody played one time only.)

Table 1. Key to drum symbols.

t	<i>tak</i> , closed sound made by the right hand hitting the right head of the drum while the left hand dampens the left head
°	<i>tok</i> , open sound made by the right hand hitting the rim of the right head; the left hand dampens the left head, allowing the right head to ring
p	<i>dung</i> or <i>dhung</i> , open sound made by the right or left hand hitting the middle of the right or left head
b	<i>dhe</i> , open sound made by the left hand hitting the lower part of the left head
ᵇ	<i>dhet</i> , closed sound made by the left hand hitting the lower part of the left head and keeping it dampened; the right hand dampens the right head
d	<i>dang</i> , open sound made by playing <i>dhe</i> and <i>tak</i> , but not dampening either head
∅	<i>dak</i> , closed sound made by playing <i>dhet</i> and <i>tak</i>
ᵇ	<i>dong</i> , open sound made by playing <i>dhe</i> and <i>tok</i>