Bali 1928 – Volume I – *Gamelan Gong Kebyar*
Music from Belaluan, Pangkung, Busungbiu

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Introduction

These historic recordings were made in 1928 as part of a collection of the first and only commercially-released recordings of music made in Bali prior to World War II. This diverse sampling of new and older Balinese styles appeared on 78 rpm discs in 1929 with subsequent releases for international distribution. The records were sold worldwide (or not sold, as it happened) and quickly went out of print. It was a crucial time in the island’s musical history as Bali was in the midst of an artistic revolution with kebyar as the new dominant style of music. Gamelan groups were having their older ceremonial orchestras melted down and reforged in the new style. Intense competition between villages and regions stimulated young composers to develop impressive innovations and techniques. Andrew Toth has written of these landmark recordings:

Representatives from these companies [Odeon & Beka] were sent in August of 1928 to extend their coverage to Bali. Five of the ninety-eight existing matrices (sides) made at that time were included by the well-known scholar Erich M. von Hornbostel in an early anthology of non-Western traditions, *Music of the Orient*; this collection was the first exposure to Indonesian music for many people, the public as well as potential ethnomusicologists.

A third of the Odeon/Beka recordings appeared in Europe and America, but the majority had been intended originally for local sale in Bali. For this reason the information on the labels was printed in Malay, the lingua franca of the archipelago, and in some cases even in Balinese script. The ambitious plan to develop an indigenous market was a complete failure, however, since few Balinese were interested in this new and expensive technology—especially when there was a world of live performances happening daily in the thousands of temples and households throughout the island. McPhee was the only customer to purchase these 78 rpm discs in an entire year from one frustrated dealer; his collection contains most of the copies that are still preserved to this day, for the agent later smashed the remaining stock in a fit of rage (McPhee 1946:72). Fortunately the recordings were made under the guidance of
Walter Spies, the painter, musician and long–time resident whose intimate knowledge of Balinese culture was so freely given and so often benefited the work of others (Rhodius 1964:265; Kunst 1974:24). Although limited by the medium to being three–minute excerpts, they consequently are remarkable examples of a broad range of musical genres—vocal as well as instrumental—and many outstanding composers, performers and ensembles of the period who are now famous teachers of legendary clubs—I Wayan Lotring, I Nyoman Kaler, and the gamelan gong of Pangkung, Belaluan, and Busungbiu. These invaluable sound documents of the musical and family heritage of the Balinese include styles of vocal chant rarely heard today; Kebyar Ding, a historically important composition that has been relearned from the recordings by the present generation of musicians, whose fathers and grandfathers made the original discs; and records of renowned singers that are considered even sacred by their descendants, who keep tape copies in the family shrine.

No new material was released in the West during the ensuing depression and war, while only reprints of the old 78’s were issued on different labels and in several anthologies.\(^2\)

Much has come to light in the way of discs and information since Toth’s account. During the 1980s and 1990s Philip Yampolsky was able to locate 101 matrices (sides of the 78 rpm discs) at various archives in Indonesia, the U.S. and Holland. Yampolsky shared this information with Arbiter and myself, facilitating our worldwide effort to access and reissue each and every 78 disc. The process of gaining permission from each archive and visiting most of the collections has taken us eight years. While seeking out private collections we found another Odeon disc from the original set, unlisted by both Toth and Yampolsky, on an auction list from a rural Texas town. And a search through the shelves of the UCLA collection yielded an unpublished disc listed by Toth. This brings our collection to 104 sides of three minutes each to be released on five CDs. Although it seems clear, judging from a 1932 Beka catalogue, that Odeon and Beka recorded a considerable amount of music in addition to these, a decision may have been made not to publish

\(^2\) Toth 1980:16–17
any more once they realized the lack of a market. The recording masters were aluminum plates, most likely stored at the Carl Lindstrom factory in Berlin (the parent company), which was bombed during World War II. According to McPhee many were destroyed “during the Hitler regime,” possibly melted down for the war effort. However, another perspective precedes the war. In 1937 Béla Bartók wrote:

“It is well known that these companies are also busy recording the folk music of exotic countries; these records are bought by the natives, hence the expected profit is there. However, as soon as sales diminish for any reasons, the companies withdraw the records from circulation and the matrices are most likely melted down. This happened with one of the highly valuable Javanese record series of Odeon, as quoted in the bibliography of Musique et chansons populaires of the League of Nations. If matrices of this kind actually are destroyed, it represents vandalism of such nature that the different countries ought to enact laws to prevent it, just as there are laws in certain countries prohibiting destruction or marring of historic monuments.”

Eighty years after the recording sessions, as we acquired the records and transferred them to CD, our research team visited the oldest knowledgeable artists—many in their 80s or 90s and one at the age of 100—in villages whose musicians and singers were recorded in 1928—and often the children of those artists, now in their 70s. We would bring a boombox and play a CD of music that no one had heard for eighty years. While some of the repertoire has endured, much of the style and aesthetic has changed and many compositions have been forgotten. Some families would give us photographs of the artists of 1928. Another photo, acquired at the New York Public Library, led to our discovery of one of the two living artists known to have participated in the 1928 sessions. Our team visited this ninety–one year–old woman, Mémén Redia (formerly Ni Wayan Pempen), who was a solo singer at the age of ten or eleven for Kedaton’s jangér group (CD#5). Mémén Redia described the recording session in detail and still remembered all the lyrics, correcting our earlier transcriptions. She recalled the recording taking place in the open air, on the ground and under a tataring ‘temporary structure of bamboo’ and kelangsah ‘woven coconut leaves’ near the village center. She

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3 Bartók 1992:294. Bartók’s interest extended into his concert repertoire: he and his wife performed McPhee’s transcriptions for two pianos, “Balinese Ceremonial Music,” at Amherst College in 1942 (Oja 1990:153,179). One of those pieces is Buaya Mangap (Tabuh Telu) on Track #10 of this CD.
suggested that some of the other recording sessions might have been at a balé banjar ‘central hamlet building’ open on three sides with brick or mud wall and floor, and a roof of woven coconut leaves or thatch with bamboo and coconut wood beams. According to the Beka Record Company catalogue of 1932 all of their recordings were made in Denpasar, Bali except for two made in Lombok, but we think it somewhat unlikely the recording expedition went all the way to Lombok to record twelve minutes of music. Many older–generation Balinese we visited refer to the old records and record players collectively as orgel rather than the Indonesian piringan hitam ‘black plates’, perhaps because the record players might have been thought of as related to Dutch orgel pipe organs, being a machine that produces music.

Among the discs on this volume are several that the young Canadian composer Colin McPhee (1900–1964) heard in New York when Claire Holt brought them back from Bali in 1930. On listening to the 1928 Odeon recordings, McPhee and his wife, anthropologist Jane Belo, were inspired to embark on a visit to Bali the next winter which grew into a research expedition to consume them for almost eight years and lead to his major work of scholarship, Music in Bali and her work with Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson as well as her own books including Trance in Bali.

After four years in Bali, McPhee wrote an article, “The Absolute Music of Bali,” for the journal Modern Music, positing: “what inspires the musician with wonder and envy, is the satisfactory raison d’etre of music in the community. The musicians are an integral part of the social group, fitting in among ironsmiths and goldsmiths, architects and scribes, dancers and actors, as constituents of each village complex. Modest and unassuming, they nevertheless take great pride in their art, an art which, however, is so impersonal that the composer himself has lost his identity.”

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4 “Then in 1929, I think it was, we were given in New York City the opportunity to hear the first recordings of Balinese music, which had been made by Odeon under the direction of Walter Spies. The records we heard were brought to us by Claire Holt and Gela Archipenko (wife of the sculptor) who had just returned from a visit to Java and Bali…We decided to go the following winter…That was in 1930–1...” Belo: Traditional Balinese Culture: 1970:xviii. But according to the New York Public Library’s Guide to the Holt, Claire, 1901–1970. Papers, ca 1928–1970, (http://www.nypl.org/research/manuscripts/dance/danholt.xml), Holt’s first trip to Indonesia was in 1930.

5 McPhee 1935:163
While McPhee’s ideal of Balinese music was “impersonal,” with compositions unattributed to specific composers, this became less the case in the course of the 20th century. Even in the early 1930s, McPhee quotes the composer I Wayan Lotring: “Ké–wēh! It is hard to compose! Sometimes I cannot sleep for nights, thinking of a new piece. It turns round and round in my thoughts. I hear it in my dreams. My hair has grown thin thinking of music.”

A Sketch of the Time Period of these Recordings:

In 1928 Bali was part of the Netherlands East Indies (now the Republic of Indonesia) but Bali’s rajas had not been entirely conquered until 1908. Kebyar emerged around the turn of the 20th century in North Bali’s Buléléng region, which came under Dutch control beginning in 1849 after forces loyal to the Balinese king of Lombok and allied with the Dutch killed the celebrated military leader and chief minister of Buléléng, Gusti Ktut Jlantik, along with the king of Buléléng and the king of Karangasem, East Bali. At the time Bali had eight kings and their own internecine struggles for power allowed the Dutch to play one kingdom against another. Economic control was the goal but Dutch efforts to morally justify their conquest centered on the Balinese slave trade (which Holland had long benefited from) and widow sacrifice associated with royal cremations. One by one the kingdoms collapsed under Dutch attack: Lombok in 1894, Badung (Denpasar) in 1906 and Klungkung in 1908.

Each fell in “a traditional way to signal the ‘ending’ of a kingdom, and indeed the word puputan means ‘ending’. The puputan was both a sign to other kings of an end, and a way to achieve liberation of the soul by death in battle.” Adrian Vickers continues, “…the Dutch moved on the capital of Denpasar. On the morning of 20 September the king, his family and thousands of armed followers all dressed in white and ready to meet death in battle, marched out to meet the Dutch. Each of the leading warriors ran amuk in turn, marching on as if bullets would bounce off their bodies. The Dutch opened fire on ‘women with weapons in their hands, lance or kris, and children in their arms’ who ‘advanced fearlessly upon the troops and sought

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7 McPhee 1946:162
8 Vickers 1989:34
surrender was impossible: ‘where an attempt was made to disarm them this only led to an increase in our losses. The survivors were repeatedly called on to surrender, but in vain’. The king, his family and followers advanced relentlessly, killing themselves and any Dutch troops who came within range as they went. The Dutch later tried to cover up the death toll, but while it was fairly light on the Dutch side, well over 1000 Balinese were killed.”

We can speculate about all of the factors that fed an artistic explosion in the period following the collapse of the kingdoms. I Nyoman Catra speculates that the profusion of creative experimentation was akin to medicine helping heal the trauma of social upheaval and colonial occupation. The dismantling of the power and wealth of the many regional kingdoms led to a kind of decentralization/democratization of the arts as they spread out to the banjar ‘hamlets’. Puput ‘the end’ also implies the beginning of something new. And along with the fashions and technology associated with modernity brought in by the Dutch came the small but steady stream of European and American travelers on cruise ships to this island paradise beginning in the 1920s. The Bali Hotel was built in 1927 and opened officially in 1928 (Mardika 2011: 28). Within hearing distance of Gong Belaluan’s rehearsals at their balé banjar, the hotel soon became a hub of artistic accommodations to the tastes of international audiences. At the same time Balinese innovations continued to be driven by indigenous tastes and passions—both of artists and their local audiences.

Interestingly, during this same period of time on the other side of the planet, post–war marching bands were inspiring a revolutionary music genre incorporating new dimensions of rhythmic and melodic complexity, improvisation, mixing and experimentation with earlier genres. Musical instruments discarded after the Civil War were taken up by former slaves whose newly–won freedom led to the invention of jazz which, like kebyar, became a musical force for the next century.

Various manifestations of Balinese modernism are exemplified by the emergence—most likely in the teens—of jangér. One clear influence on jangér was Komedie Stamboel, the Malay–language European–influenced

9 Vickers 1989:35, and, within single quotes, a participant’s report from the chief of staff of the expedition, from Nordholt 1986:5
Bali 1928  Gamelan Gong Kebyar

theater that first appeared in Surabaya, Java in 1891.\textsuperscript{10} Seemingly innocuous and lightweight to foreigners\textsuperscript{11} but well–loved by most Balinese to this day, jang\text{ê}r humorously blended traditional dramatic themes with catchy songs performed by girls in traditional costumes along with a k\text{ê}cak chorus of boys in western costume including short trousers, epaullettes and silly moustaches. Jang\text{ê}r (on CD#5) fused musical elements from Sang Hyang trance ritual, Malay pantun sung poetry, and cak\text{ê}pong palm–wine drinking songs with gamelan gegung\text{â}tan, most commonly used to accompany arj\text{â} dance opera, as well as gamelan tam\text{b}our which included a rebana drum of Arabic origin; their adaptation of the saman and saudati hand and arm movements and postures performed in Muslim Sufi rituals and other dances in Aceh, North Sumatra, became a signature element of jang\text{ê}r’s male k\text{ê}cak dancers. All this came together with elements of classical l\text{ê}gong dance and wayang wong dance drama based on the Ramayana, as well as circus acrobatics inspired by visiting troupes. Curiously, revivals of jang\text{ê}r over the course of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century have recurred in times of political and social turmoil.

In the 1920s gong kebyar and related dances were starting to be seen and heard across both North and South; the compositions recorded in 1928 from Belaluan, Pangkung, Busungbiu and Kuta represent a revolutionary shift in musical and choreographic aesthetics. Cak (k\text{ê}cak) would only appear as a distinct dance drama—evolving into the Ramayana “monkey chant,” as it is known to international audiences—four years later, although its chorus traditionally accompanied Sang Hyang trance rituals, and jang\text{ê}r, its sister genre with k\text{ê}cak chorus, was already popular. I Ketut Marya (1897 or 1898–1968), spelled Mario by Covarrubias and other westerners, had just recently created his Igel Trompong (Tari Trompong) and Igel Jongkok, the dance later known as Kebyar Duduk. Of the first written account of kebyar McPhee relates, “According to the Regent of Buléleng, Anak Agung Gdé Gusti Djelantik, who told me in 1937 that he noted the date in his diary at the time, the first kebyar music was publicly heard in December 1915, when several leading North Balinese gamelans held a gamelan competition in Jagaraga...”\textsuperscript{12}

Juxtaposition and re–interpretation were essential to I Wayan Lotring (1898–1983), a master of Balinese modernism and leader of the gamelan

\textsuperscript{10} See Achmad 2006:31 and Cohen 2006:21
\textsuperscript{11} Covarrubias 1937:251–255
\textsuperscript{12} McPhee 1966:328
palégongan in the coastal village of Kuta. His brilliant compositions startled and inspired musicians throughout the island. Lotring was a superb player of gendér wayang, the virtuosic quartet of ten–keyed metallophones that accompanies wayang shadow–puppet theater (heard on CD #3). But his major musical innovation centered on palégongan, the gamelan associated with légong, the elaborately choreographed court dance. One hears in palégongan a more fluid and lyrical style than in gamelan gong. But Lotring introduced rhapsodic melodic fantasies and subtle rhythmic shifts of phrasing often inspired by other traditional genres. His Gambangan, Gegendéran, and Gegénggongan compositions (also heard on CD#3) were modern visions inspired by musical elements within these traditional forms.

As far back as history recalls, there has been great competition in Balinese arts, reflecting a cultural attitude of jengah, a strong instinct of “not wanting to lose,” which motivates the accepted practice of taking the accomplishment of a rival and changing it in one’s own way while improving on it. In kebyar’s early days, groups might send a spy to climb a tree within hearing and hopefully sight–range of a rival village’s rehearsal in order to memorize their latest innovations in preparation for an upcoming competition. Very serious adversarial relationships existed between rival jangér ensembles as well, such as those of neighboring Kedaton and Bengkel, where conflicts were expressed politically, aesthetically, and by employing spiritual magic against one another. While competition has fueled creativity, Balinese arts have also flourished as a result of generous cooperation between artists of different villages and regions. For example, during kebyar’s early developmental phase, musical leaders from the northern village of Ringdikit came to Belaluan, South Bali, to exchange repertoires. As a result Belaluan’s kebyar was infused with the North’s revolutionary style and Ringdikit acquired knowledge of légong music and dance. Even earlier, notable

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13 Palégongan is the gamelan genre accompanying légong dance but its repertoire includes diverse dramatic and dance styles as well as purely musical works.

14 The spellings in this article follow modernized Balinese orthography of dictionaries such as Kamus Bali Indonesia, by I Nengah Medera et.al. (1990). Although this system was proposed as early as 1972 it has been applied irregularly in writings on the arts, but we have chosen to adhere to it so as to reflect a closer relationship to actual Balinese aksara ‘letters of the alphabet, language’. For instance, many words with prefixes frequently spelled pe or peng are spelled here with the prefixes pa and pang.

15 I Madé Monog, personal conversation 2007

16 Covarrubias 1937:210
léông masters from more southern regions taught in the North, such as I Gentih from Kediri, Tabanan, who taught the female leko (nandir is the male version and both were accompanied by bamboo rindik) dance in Jagaraga, and whose student Pan Wandres turned it into kebyar leko and later into kebyar légong, subsequently adapted into Teruna Jaya by his student, Gdè Manik of Jagaraga. Ni Nengah Musti (1934–) from Bubunan and later Kedis learned kebyar légong from Pak Gentih and tells us she did not hear that term used even around 1940. Instead it was referred to simply as Légong Lasem or Légong Kapi Raja ‘Monkey King’ (a version of the Subali–Sugiwa story within the Ramayana) depending on the narrative enacted. She also informs us that I Gentih was the teacher and Pan Wandres the dancer for whom he created kebyar légong.

In 1922 Gong Pangkung’s leader and composer I Wayan Gejir (1880–1943) came to Belaluan with Marya, who was born in Belaluan but moved to Tabanan at around the age of ten soon after the puputan Badung. Together they taught a seminal composition for dance called Kebyar Jerebu originally created in 1922 in the village of Kutuh by Gejir in collaboration with I Wayan Sembah of Kedis which was recorded by Odeon but never released and is now long–forgotten. In Belaluan a warm friendship developed with Belaluan’s musical leader I Madé Regog, who McPhee described as “sympathetic and brooding.” Upon the birth of Wayan Gejir’s first child back in Tabanan he named her Mregog so that his own name would become Pan Mregog (father of Mregog), to honor their close friendship by having a name closely resembling but not exactly the same. On the 1928 records we can hear many themes echoed between Pangkung and Belaluan, such as Tabuh Longgor I and Kebyar Ding III.

It is also worth noting with regard to the recordings of 1928 that a great many links existed between participating artists. One example is Ida Boda (Ida Bagus Boda) of Kaliungu, Denpasar (1870–1965) who grew up in the Geria Gedé ‘Brahmana compound’ in the village of Batuan when it was still part of the kingdom of Negara, Sukawati. Ida Boda, whose singing is included on

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17 Pandé Madé Sukerta, personal communication 2006
18 The légong versions of the Subali–Sugiwa story are usually called Kutir or Jobog
19 Arthanegara 1980:74
20 McPhee 1966:343. It should be mentioned that McPhee attributes Jerebu to Madé Regog. A possibility is that Regog re–worked an earlier Tabanan version and made it his own.
21 From McPhee’s unpublished notes at the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive
our CDs #2 and #5, was one of the foremost légong masters and taught all over Bali, including Busungbiu, whose kebyar music shows clear légong influence. Boda often danced topéng mask theater with the musicians of Belaluan on a gamelan angklung on loan from Banjar Bun (heard on CD #4), performed the Cupak drama with the batél ensemble of Kaliungu (heard on CD #3), and taught the jangér group in Bengkel, rivals to Ketadon (CD #5). Among his légong students were I Nyoman Kaler, Ni Ketut Reneng and I Wayan Beratha, who would later become the musical leader of Sadmerta–Belaluan. The music captured on this collection of recordings attests to a generous cross-pollination in Balinese arts, illuminating how aesthetic influences were often derived from villages which were once prominent but whose legacies have survived with less recognition due to sociopolitics and the lack of aural or written records. The importance of légong musical forms in the emergence of kebyar makes even more salient the creative influence of Sukawati, Gianyar, and its palégongan music and dance masters, Anak Agung Rai Perit, Déwa Ketut Belacing and I Madé Bangbang Duwaja, who taught Ida Boda, Wayan Lotring, Nyoman Kalér and I Gusti Bagus Jelantik of Saba from the 1880s until around 1920 (Astita 2002: 130). Lotring then disseminated this légong repertoire, along with his own groundbreaking compositions, to palégongan and kebyar ensembles all over Bali.

In 21st century Bali we find an inquisitiveness toward reclaiming the past, wondering what is important in Balinese culture. Wayan Lotring’s gamelan palégongan in Kuta was melted down in 1972 to enable local musicians to purchase a kebyar ensemble on which they could perform for tourists. But the sekaa gamelan ‘club’ in his hamlet, banjar Tegal, saved the original 13-key gendér rambat and based the tuning of their new gong kebyar on the palégongan. They continue to perform Lotring’s repertoire.

The unprecedented interest in these old recordings amongst musicians, dancers and singers young and old has encouraged our persistence in implementing, over many years and continents, a repatriation project, searching far–flung archives to assist contemporary Balinese in reclaiming their aural history.

**Emergence of Kebyar**

Kebyar came into being around the turn of the century and innovations were brewing between 1910 and 1915 in North Bali’s Buléléng region, the Dutch colonial administration center. Elders in Bungkulan have said that the
musical dynamics of Dutch military marching bands influenced the nascient kebyar aesthetic.\(^{22}\) (Admittedly, the influence seems to have been limited to the element of explosive energy). The late 19\(^{th}\) century, throughout the island, witnessed a creative era of Balinese–language gaguritan sung poetry (pupuh) taking on historical, mystical and romantic themes as well as sociopolitical topics expressed through the classical kakawin poetic style in the Old Javanese literary language of Kawi. At the turn of the century, a revival of interest in classical texts led to a plethora of seka papaosan literary clubs emphasizing the skills of recitation in Kawi and translation into the Balinese language using the stylized vocal phrasing of palawakya (on CDs #2 and #5). Palawakya refers to non–metric prose ucapan ‘spoken’ in broad melodic contours, using either Kawi or alus ‘refined’ or ‘high,’ Balinese language. Literary clubs from different villages would compete against one another before ever–increasing audiences at ceremonial religious events and at night markets. Sometimes the juru baca (pangewacen) ‘singer’/‘reader’ and juru basa (paneges) translator would sit amidst a gamelan ensemble intoning kakawin verses from the Bharatayuddha (Mahabharata), or individual musicians in the gamelan might sing a verse of impromptu kakawin. (It was expected of musicians to be familiar with kakawin in order to respond musically to the sung texts). The surrounding gamelan gong would play short instrumental interludes from the classical repertoire and increasingly in the flashier musical phrasing that became kebyar. Most significantly, a solo singer would alternate his vocalizing by playfully rendering melodies on the solo trompong, a row of tuned, knobbed gongs, performed with some gaya ‘flourish’. It is uncertain at which point this trompong playing began to resemble baton–twirling in a marching band or main sulap ‘sleight of hand’. The Palawakya dance performed today derives from this practice, generally credited to I Marya’s Igel Trompong although other opinions have come to light.\(^{23}\) However, it should be noted that Marya always insisted that trompong–playing did not become a dance until he originated the idea.\(^{24}\) Indeed, two approaches to Igel Trompong developed over time: Marya’s style prioritizing the dance (and improvisation) in contrast with a style exemplified by I Nyoman Nyongnyong of Belaluan (in CD cover photo) in which the

\(^{22}\) ‘Menurut beberapa penuturan tetua dahulu, dinamika gong kebyar seperti itu tercipta antara lain akibat pengaruh dinamika marching band Belanda, yang kemudian dipadankan dalam musik gong yang membuahkan gong kebyar seperti kita warisi.” Sudhyatmaka Sugriwa 2008:72
\(^{23}\) Simpen 1979
\(^{24}\) I Madé Bandem, personal communication, 2009
dancer would play specific melodies with *trompong* technique meeting the musical expectations of *gamelan* leader Madé Regog.

I.G.B.N. Pandji and I Gusti Bagus Tika have told us that musicians in their own village of Bungkulan were performing this explosive musical style as early as 1914 with syncopated rhythmic phrases played in unison, in combination with the *gong kuna* ‘old *gamelan*’ style called *sekatian*.\(^{25}\) *Gong kuna* was a transitional form between *gong gedé* and *kebyar* in that a more traditional *lelambatan* and *sekati* repertoire was performed on the newly evolving *barungan gedé* ‘expanded ensemble’ featuring—most significantly—a row of *réyong* ‘kettle–shaped gong chimes’ increased from four to twelve and additional *bilah* ‘keys’ on the *gangsa* ‘full–melody flat–key metallophones’ from five to between seven and ten, expanding the melodic range.

McPhee calls *sekatén* the “old word for *bonang*,”\(^{26}\) an instrument similar to *trompong* and *réyong*. But there is in fact no such literal correspondence and scholar I Nengah Medera tells us that the linguistic source of the word derives from the Arab *sahadat* + *tain* (the Muslim confession of faith) which became Javanized as *sekatén* during the Islamization of Java.\(^{27}\) But most relevant is a description of Javanese *sekatén* provided by Sumarsam: “The *bonang* is also used differently than in the regular *gamelan* ensemble. In *sekatén* the *bonang* is played by three musicians. One musician plays the row of seven *gong*–chimes for the upper octave, and the others play the row of seven lower–octave kettles. The musician who plays the upper–octave has a different melody than the musicians who play the lower–octave. Therefore, the *sekatén bonang* can be seen as two instruments, although physically it is only one.”\(^{28}\) In some way, the Balinese *gong kuna* innovation of a four–player *réyong* based on the *trompong* design of one long instrument actually

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\(^{25}\) The manner of playing gamelan sekati repertoire is called sekatian and the words are often used interchangeably.

\(^{26}\) McPhee 1966:376

\(^{27}\) I Nengah Medera (e–mail communication 2009) continues, “In this case sekatén refers to rituals performed by the Javanese Muslim population and especially at the Kraton palace of Yogyakarta commemorating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad during which the gamelan sekatén is played” [my translation]. Sumarsam (1981:54) writes, “Javanese sources attribute its origin to the nine holy men (wali sanga), advisors to the first Sultan of Demak, the 16th century Islamic kingdom...However, Kunst suggests that the sekaten ensemble had already existed for Hindu ceremonial music before the arrival of Islam in Java (1972:266).”

\(^{28}\) Sumarsam 1981:55
had a precedent in 16th century Java (at the latest) and Balinese musicians were clearly cognizant of the influence, since they retained its name. Sumarsam points out historical connections (and wars) since the 17th century between Mataram, Central Java, and Banyuwangi, East Java, which was very much influenced by Balinese culture.29

Before we attribute too much weight to the influence of Javanese sekatén it should be mentioned that the ancient saih pitu ‘seven–tone’ Balinese gamelan luang also has a set of trompong played by four musicians in interlocking kotékan parts. It is arranged with two sets placed up against one another, each with seven gong–chimes (or ‘kettles’), and two musicians at each set facing the other two players—rather than a single row of twelve gong–chimes with the modern réyong. Similarly, the gong gedé arrangement of two musicians side by side, each playing a separate pair of réyong, was precedent enough for a Balinese origin of the expanded réyong, save for the intriguing link with the term sekatén.

As twelve réyong are now omnipresent and taken for granted, the most common association with gamelan sekati is through the oncangan melodic figurations played by the gangsa section. Gamelan sekati is still performed in Bungkulan, Bubunan, and many other villages for odalan temple festivals and a variety of ceremonies. Noted scholar I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa of Bungkulan credited musician I Gusti Nyoman Pandji Beloh as a major creative force in that village.30 And the new dance kebyar légong was witnessed as early as 1914 in Jagaraga.31 Therefore, one may assume that such innovations had been brewing for some time in many northern villages previous to the event described by the Regent of Buléleng.

For instance, another account offered by Wayan Simpen is strikingly detailed:

In 1913 approximately, geria Banjar Tegeha in Kecamatan Banjar, Kabupaten Buleleng, held a religious ceremony to ordain a brahmana as a priest. Because this was to be a large affair, followers (sisia) of the geria who owned a gamelan offered them to enliven the ceremony. Those who offered

29 Personal conversation 2009
30 Sudhyatmaka Sugriwa 2008:72
31 I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa conversation with I Madé Bandem, 1973
them were the gamelan club of desa Banjar Tegeha and the gamelan club of desa Bubunan in Kecamatan Seririt. The ceremony was enlivened with these two gamelan. As a result a gamelan competition (gong mapadu) took place, that is, the Banjar Tegeha gamelan against the Bubunan gamelan. Because this was the first occurrence of a gamelan competition, the spectators were, accordingly, very numerous. The competition lasted for three days, day and night. It seems that it was not the gamelan melodies that were the focus of the competition at this time but, rather, the skill of the people at reading and interpreting kakawin (mabebasan/makekawin). Whoever sang kekawin making use of various meters (wirama) and provided correct translations [and performed] parwa, tutur and kidung (other types of traditional literature) was considered the victor. The Bubunan gamelan executed all sorts of tricks (permainan) including sleight of hand. The Banjar Tegeha gamelan performed a seated dance. The dance commenced in the midst of the gamelan and initially resembled the movements of a person displaying expertise in performing with the trompong mallets...with arms extended in front, accompanied by kekawin or kidung, while at the same time striking the trompong slowly, following the kakawin melody. Upon completion of one stanza of the kekawin, it was rejoined for one stanza with a melodic interlude performed by the gamelan, that is, a classic melody (tabuh lelawasan). When each side had completed ten rounds, they switched. Thus the gamelan took turns to compete. (...) From that time on there were gamelan–pepaosan (mabebasan) competitions and they exerted a very great influence on the people of Buleleng in the literary sphere...32

Walter Spies and Beryl de Zoete describe a kebyar légong dance in Menyali, North Bali in the 1930s, “interspersed with recitations of kakawin (Old Javanese texts), which as far south as Tabanan are the regular accompaniment of kebyar.”33

McPhee also evokes a Buléleng event in detail:

32 Simpen 1979:1f; translation by Raechelle Rubinstein 1992:92
33 De Zoete and Spies 1938:238
But the *kebyar* can also be extended into a long entertainment that includes not only dance and instrumental interludes but the chanting and recitation of classical literature as well. The following synopsis was noted in 1938, during a gamelan performance at a popular night fair (*pasar malam*) at Singaradja, in north Bali. Admission was charged to enter the grounds, crowded with food stalls, naive freak shows, novelty booths, and little gambling tables. Around the large gamelan a silent audience sat enthralled for nearly two hours. Here the performance did not open with the usual crashing *kebyar*. Instead, a quiet prelude by the gamelan was followed by unaccompanied chanting by a finely trained male singer of a passage from the *Mahabharata*. A brief interlude by the gamelan introduced a recited passage, and only after this did the customary *kebyar* outburst take place.\(^{34}\)

As the new compositional style was bursting upon the scene, creating heated competition between gamelan clubs in different villages and regions, a new form of gamelan instrumentation developed to accommodate the nascient...

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\(^{34}\) McPhee 1966:343. McPhee continues his account:

1. kakeawin unaccompanied chanting of kawi text
2. palawaka unaccompanied recitation in kawi, but with line by line translation into Balinese by a second performer
3. kebyar gamelan introduction to the main composition
4. chondong chondong episode from legong, danced by two girls
5. Gabor melody from the ritual dance, Gabor, danced by the same
6. bapang music for a high official, same dancers
7. gilakan Baris music, same dancers
8. kebyar percussive unison passage, same dancers
9. gilakan similar to No. 7, different choreography
10. bapang similar to No. 6, different choreography
11. pencechet allegretto in classical style, same dancers
12. pengisep variation, conclusion of dance
13. pengalang melodic interlude—gamelan
14. gambangan gambang melody with kakeawin singing
15. pencechet allegretto in classical style—gamelan
16. pengawak slow movement in classical style—gamelan
17. pencechet concluding allegretto—gamelan

“Here was kebyar in a new light, no mere show piece, but a rich and varied presentation, both diverting and serious, in which classical and even sacred elements were interwoven to create a new and popular form of entertainment.”
ideas. The gangsa began to be suspended over their bamboo resonators following in the style of gendér palégongan ‘melodic metallophone used for légong dance repertoire’ and gangs a angklung, rather than jongkok\(^{35}\) (‘resting’ directly on the wood frame, cushioned by rubber pads now and jerami ‘woven straw’ then)—allowing for more sustained tones and new techniques of rhythmic phrasing. Some kebyar ensembles, especially in Buléleng, North Bali, have continued to play on the old–style gangs a jongkok (pacek) differentiating their more percussive performance style from other regions (ex. tracks 16–20). Whether pacek or gantung ‘hanging’, the increased number of keys on the principle melodic gangsa pemadé ‘mid–range’ and kantilan ‘upper–octave’ brought a greater melodic range to kebyar. The trompong row of bronze kettles played by one musician was eliminated as an integral member of the gamelan, the réyong section was expanded from four to twelve, played by a row of four musicians, the number and size of céng–céng cymbals was reduced and the number of melodic gangsa metallophones was eventually increased. It should be noted that on these recordings of the Belaluan and Pangkung gamelan, they seem to be playing on only two gangsa pemadé and two kantilan. Either a decision was made to scale down the ensemble size for the sake of audio clarity or an expansion of the gangsa section (which includes four pemadé and four kantilan) did not occur until after 1928. The new kebyar genre derived much from two traditional styles, gamelan gong gedé and palégongan, with additional rhythmic and melodic influence coming from gendér wayang, gambang and angklung.

According to I Wayan Begeg (1919–), the term kebyar was first being used in Pangkung in 1920, with its meaning as krébék which refers, in Balinese, to both the sound of a ‘thunderclap’ and the light in a ‘flash of lightning’. From our discussions it seems that krébék and kilat (Indonesian for ‘lightning’) remain the most common interpretations of the onomatopoetic word byar.\(^{36}\)

\(^{35}\) An interchangeable term for gangsa jongkok is gangsa pacek ‘nail’ describing the fact that a nail goes through each of two holes keeping the bronze key in place.

\(^{36}\) While byar refers to the explosive sonority in the broadest sense, it is also the term for a specific sonority described by Tenzer (2000:25): ‘...byar is actually a tutti sforzando in which all of the bronze–keyed metallophones play the same scale tone, each in its special register, so that together the more than four octaves of the gamelan’s tuned gamut is spanned. Additionally, the reyong, a set of twelve horizontally mounted knobbled gong–chimes played by four musicians, strikes a set of eight tones spanning over two octaves in the mid–to–upper register. The largest hanging gong, the cymbals, and a deep–pitched drum are sounded too, blending with the reyong and metallophones to produce a sonority that can
It has also been interpreted as “a flash of light from a match or an electrical light switch.”\(^{37}\) McPhee wrote, “It has been explained to me as meaning a sudden outburst, ‘like the bursting open of a flower’.”\(^{38}\) But in the context of his actual conversation, he writes, “As for Chokorda Rahi, he said it was like the sudden bursting open of a flower…,” more a personal impression than an opinion about the original meaning of the word *kebyar*. To differentiate *kebyar* from previous musical styles, Begeg defines it as playing *keras dan bersama* ‘loud and together’. In the South, before the term *kebyar*, it was often called *babantiran*, generally taken to mean “in the style of Bantiran,” a prolific village in the Northwest. Bandem suggests that the verb *mabantir* refers rather to *bantir* ‘youthful’ implying the music is played with a youthful spirit.\(^{39}\) Jaap Kunst, who conducted research in Bali in 1921 and 1924 (publishing his *De Toonkunst von Bali* in 1925), never mentions the word *kebyar* but does report on music performances called *mabantir*. Bandem asserts that until the 1950s in the districts of Gianyar and Tabanan the word *kebyar* was less commonly used than was *kebyang*. He remembers that in 1958 when he was studying the dance *Kebyar Duduk* in Peliatan, Marya and A.A. Gedé Mandera each referred to it as *pangéléban gong kebyang*, *pangléban* being an introductory dance preceding a performance of *léngong*.\(^{40}\)

According to I Nyoman Rembang\(^ {41}\) it was in 1919 at a *palebon* ‘cremation’ ceremony that a *gamelan gong kebyar* was performed for the first time at Puri Subamia, Tabanan by musicians from the village of Ringdikit, North Bali. Some confusion has often arisen over the years in such narratives because any *gamelan* playing in the new *kebyar* or *kebyang* style might be referred to as “*gong Bantiran,*” really meaning “in the style of Bantiran,” or from the region of Bantiran,\(^ {42}\) but interpreted as the actual musicians from Bantiran. Rembang’s chronology suggests that soon after this *palebon* Marya began to develop his improvisational dances with *kebyar* music while teaching dance in Busungbiu and Pangkung. As various accounts (including that of Wayan Begeg) tell it, Marya was walking past a group of musicians

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37 Simpen 1979:2
38 McPhee 1966:328. He heard this in Peliatan (1946:159), which came to kebyar later.
39 Bandem 2006:3
40 Personal communication 2009
41 Bandem 2002:6
42 Bandem 2006:5
rehearsing the bamboo gamelan jogéd in which the female jogéd dancer is joined one by one by individual male members of the audience. The musicians called out to Marya to join their rehearsal and he began to dance spontaneously, combining the female and male roles of the flirtatious ngibing sequence. It was these informal, playful encounters that led to such interactions with the gamelan kebyar.

According to an interview that Marya gave with Dr. A.A. Madé Djelantik in 1962 it was during a performance tour of North Bali with his gandrung club that Marya attended a rehearsal of the gamelan gong kebyar in either Busungbiu or Ringdikit. They invited him to dance to the kebyar music they were rehearsing and as he had long desired to dance to such ‘lagu Bantiran’, he spontaneously accepted their invitation. Without a chance to change from the female sarong he had been wearing for gandrung, he began to improvise to the music. He began dancing in a gandrung style but playing off of the complex and syncopated rhythms and melodies of the kebyar. Ordinarily the gandrung dancer would do a flirtatious ngibing dance, noses almost touching, with male audience members, but Marya was confused since he was surrounded by the gamelan instruments and could not interact with the audience. So he decided to do the ngibing sequence with the person closest at hand, and that was the drummer, who was seated cross-legged on the floor. Marya instinctively squatted down to his level and improvised a new kind of ngibing, and this was followed by a visit around the gamelan to ngibing with other musicians in his half-seated position. It was this improvisation and adaptation to the moment that gave rise to the “sitting dance.” Another time Marya was trying to ngibing the trompong player who was unable or unwilling to join the dance. Marya was impatient waiting so he grabbed the two panggul ‘mallets’ from the hands of the musician and began to dance while playing the instrument before him. That was the birth of a new creation—Kebyar Trompong.

Competing chronologies and historical narratives abound, and it should be noted that Wayan Simpen (b. 1907) proposed numerous alternative attributions in the manuscript quoted above, which was an unpublished article submitted to the Bali Post newspaper in 1979. The fact that renowned musician–dancer Gdé Manik (b. 1906) confirmed at least some of Simpen’s

43 Gandrung is the male version of jogéd in which a boy soloist is then joined by audience members.

44 Djelantik 1993:20 (my paraphrased translation)
claims to Raechelle Rubinstein in 1980 gives them some credibility since Manik was from Jagaraga and would be expected to support an origin theory based there. Gde Manik actually performed in many *kakawin* competitions as primary dancer and credited Bubunan as having the first *kebyar légong*. Rubinstein paraphrases: “At first he mentioned that it had originated in Busungbiu but reflected on this and then changed his mind to Bubunan. He was certain that it had begun in Bubunan.” Simpen wrote that Bubunan was the first village to create or *mencetuskan* ‘ignite’ a *kebyar* composition.

Ida Bagus Surya is credited as being the leader of the Bubunan *gamelan*, assisted by I Nengah Dangin, an expert in *kakawin* literature, translation and dance. Simpen goes on to describe the Bubunan dance at the same 1913 event in greater detail, including “*tari lepas, sambil duduk*” with circling movements performed while in sitting position and using a fan, performed in the middle of the *gamelan*. He describes the music including *ocet–ocetan* and *ce candétan*, syncopated interlocking techniques characteristic of the new *kebyar* aesthetic. Simpen credits Busungbiu as the next *kebyar* innovator of the *dauh enjung* ‘region west’ of Singaraja, followed by Ringdikit, Kedis, Bantiran and east ‘*dangin enjung*’ to Jagaraga and Sudaji. He credits Ringdikit dancers as the first to switch from squatting to standing position “like *légong*,” with two dancers performing together.

An additional perspective is provided in the article by Sudhyadmaka Sugriwa, quoted above. The author’s father, scholar I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa wrote in 1914 of a dancer in North Bali named Ngakan Kuta who experimented with dancing improvisationally along with the music of *gong kebyar* following his own intuition. “And this was how *gong kebyar* began to be performed along with dance” (my paraphrased translation).

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45 Raechelle Rubinstein, personal e–mail correspondence 2008
46 *Tari lepas* ‘free dance’ is a term referring to 20th century dances outside of dramatic performance.
47 Simpen 1979:3 (my paraphrased translation)
Pandé Madé Sukerta conducted numerous interviews in the North and describes the process of shaping the *gong kebyar* ensemble as initially taking place in Ringdikit, Bubunan and Busungbiu, then Gobleg, Bungkulan, Sawan, Kalianget and Seririt. Soon after, Bantiran, Tabanan became the vehicle for spreading *kebyar* to Pangkung and South Bali. 49 Arthanegara places Bantiran’s *gong kebyar* at Puri Subamia in 1908 but does not mention a *palebon* ‘cremation’ [could this have been an earlier event?], adding that the *gamelan* group in Pangkung had already brought in a *kebyar* teacher from Pujungan by 1910. He also credits I Wayan Sukra (from Mel Kangin, Tabanan) with composing the music for *Igel Trompong* and *Igel Jongkok* (later called *Kebyar Duduk*) in 1915. 50 In our discussions with Wayan Begeg of Pangkung, he agreed with two of these earlier dates (and was most likely one original source of Arthanegara’s chronology) 51, but places *Gong Bantiran* at the Puri Subamia cremation in 1913 or 1915. Begeg also believes that Marya was dancing *Igel Trompong* in 1915 (creating the dance in tandem with Sukra’s music) and *Igel Jongkok* by 1919 or 1920 with music composed by Sukra (1894–1960) and Wayan Gejir. This chronology is credible in that an eighteen year–old choreographer would not have been very surprising, but there are differing views concerning this sequence of *Kebyar Duduk* and *Kebyar Trompong* and Bandem tentatively reverses the chronology. Dr. Djelantik’s account of his conversation with Marya also implies that *Kebyar Duduk* preceded *Trompong*, although he does not directly quote Marya.

In any case as late as 1935, when Spies and de Zoete wrote their scrupulously detailed *Dance and Drama in Bali*, the single word *kebyar* was still all that was used to name Marya’s dances, though people referred to the dance informally as *igel jongkok* ‘squatting dance’—but not the Malay word ‘*duduk*’ which, in any case, means ‘sitting’. As late as 1958, the program notes for *Gong Pangkung’s* U.S. tour 52 included Marya performing “*Igel Trompong*” and his student I Gusti Ngurah Raka dancing “*Kebyar*”, described

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49 Sukerta 2004:513
50 Arthanegara 1980:73
51 It should be mentioned that many published *Riwayat Hidup* compilations of artists’ biographies are inconsistent and unreliable in that dates of birth for that generation and specific years that events occurred are most often guesswork. We have included dates of birth when available and tried to confirm lifespans as much as possible with families and by cross–checking with multiple sources since this information sheds light on the historical narrative and sequence of creative innovations.
52 Gamelan groups are often referred to in the manner of Gong Pangkung, Gong Belaluan, Gong Busungbiu indicating genre and village; *gong* is an abbreviation for *gamelan gong*. 
as “the famous sitting dance.” And only recently while watching McPhee’s 1930s film of his childhood friend I Wayan Sampih performing Igel Jongkok, ninety–two year–old gandrung dancer I Madé Sarin referred to it as igel Bantiran ‘Bantiran-style dance’.

53 I Wayan Aryasa tells us that the Indonesian (Malay) language term Kebyar Duduk was not used until I.G.B.N. Pandji and others at the conservatory KOKAR adapted to a pan–Indonesian trend in the early 1960s. With regard to what is now known as Marya’s Tari Trompong or Kebyar Trompong, Spies and de Zoete describe as a “half–dance, the name of which is Maktepanggoel,” which means “handling mallets.” In fact many of Marya’s peers point out that he would improvise his igel jongkok and trompong dances to a wide range of new kebyar musical creations as soon as they were composed and kept his choreography ever–changing and spontaneous.

56 Kebyar enjoyed abrupt bursts of sound, shifts in tempo, rapid stops and a style of fast successions of themes within a single piece, in contrast with the more evenly colotomic and structured traditional repertoire of gamelan gong gedé. Buléléng’s gamelan clubs excelled at dynamics and contrast and as kebyar spread throughout Bali, a Bali tenggah ‘central Bali’ style emerged, with Belaluan (Denpasar district) and Pangkung as the most influential, with Peliatan ascending to mutual prominence in 1929. Wayan Begeg recently observed that as they evolved Belaluan’s cara pukul ‘style of playing’ was faster than that of Pangkung, while Peliatan’s was even faster.

58 Kebyar interpreted into dance a new musical form—a roller coaster of melody and rhythm. In earlier solo male dances such as the martial baris and masked jauk, the gamelan would follow and reflect the movements of the dancer and Marya’s kebyar developed this dynamic in new ways. Marya created a new equilibrium, with each dance gesture dependent on the music more blatantly than in légong. His slender physique was considered perfect

53 Personal conversation with Madé Sarin (2009). All four dancers can be seen in our Bali 1928 film collection: the first three accompanying this volume online, and Madé Sarin with Volume III.
54 Personal conversation 2008. Aryasa was in the first graduating class at KOKAR and was a long–time member of its faculty.
55 De Zoete and Spies 1938:236
56 Wayan Begeg, personal conversation 2007
57 At that time the names Denpasar and Badung were used interchangeably. Now they are two separate districts.
58 Wayan Beratha, personal conversation 2009
for interpreting each nuance of the gamelan’s dynamics. With Marya as performer kebyar grew over time as his choreographic and musical ideas influenced one another. Although some Balinese classicists failed to appreciate his departure from traditional form, Marya’s work has not only endured but has spawned generations of choreographic heirs and become the dominant choreographic idiom. Besides collaborating with the gamelan gong kebyar of both Pangkung and Belaluan, Marya worked with the gamelan of Peliatan in preparation for their 1952 world tour, adapting his Tambulilingan for dancers Wayan Sampih from Sayan and Ni Gusti Raka Rasmi from Peliatan. Marya’s many students included I Gusti Ngurah Raka of Tabanan, whose most renowned kebyar students were Sampih and I Wayan Rindi of Lebah, who also studied with Marya. Both had first been trained in légong and gandrung, Sampih with Nyoman Kalér in Kelandis and Ni Camplung in Bedulu (McPhee 1946:142), Rindi with Kalér and masters in Saba, Sukawati and Pemedilan, according to Ni Ketut Arini (personal conversation 2003).

Gender roles were breaking down as women portrayed refined male characters in arja dance opera and jangér, both of which had been all–male at their inception (males continued to dominate female roles in the classical gambuh until the 1960s). Marya had been trained in the male dances jauk and baris, in addition to gandrung—the male version of a female jogéd dance—as well as the female role of sisya for the Calonarang magic drama. In creating Igel Trompong and Kebyar (Igel Jongkok), he created a banci (hermaphrodite) style incorporating male and female qualities. This contrasted with gandrung in which the dancing boy—often arousing erotic feelings amongst the male audience—looked convincingly like a girl (included as a video file on CD#3) or even gambuh, jangér and arja, where the male was playing a female character. So Marya’s banci idea was not at all alien, but rather an innovative way of melding male and female characteristics in a new way.

Marya either invented, or at the very least, brought to a stunning level of virtuosity the radical choreographic idea of centering so much of his kebyar movement on the ground in very low squats with sinuous choreography. But he also helped instigate and spark a whole new kind of energy and interaction in music and dance. In the 1930s, McPhee and some Balinese were critical of many of kebyar’s innovations, but Spies and de Zoete had very positive insights into Marya and the new aesthetic: “the players, in order that they might see each other, took a new formation, facing each other across a space about eight feet square which is the stage of the kebyar dancer... In kebyar
the dancer is dependent on the *gamelan*, he exhibits not himself but the
music, projecting every mood and nuance of rhythm...the sitting posture
seems somehow significant in its dependence on the *gamelan*...seated in the
small square bounded on all sides by the instruments, he seems to meditate
on the music, to gather it into himself...he is moved by it, drawn by it, driven
by it, he has no action independent of it.”

As a counterpoint to this exegesis it should be mentioned that Wayan Begeg
has stressed to us Marya’s insistence that the gamelan must *mengiringi*
‘follow’ his dancing. Marya did not use a consistent *pakem* ‘choreography’ (a
fact confirmed by Begeg, Wayan Rindi, Ni Ketut Arini and other students).

Begeg tells us that Marya’s style no longer exists. So what was this style? “In
the old days with Pak Marya dancing and me playing the music, he would
say, ‘when I dance, the music accompanies me. I don’t follow the music’. The
relationship was basically the same as today only now it is more like a
contest between *gamelan* and dancer. With Marya, as a musician I would be
watching the *jiwa* spirit of the dance; if it is *sedih* ‘sad’ and *lemas* ‘soft,
gentle’ we are also *lemas*; if it is slow, we are slow.” Begeg asserts that the
most important quality of Marya’s performance aesthetic was that the dancer
was free to change tempo and mood, and that this impulse would trigger an
immediate response in the drummer who would lead the *gamelan* into the
new tempo or dynamic—somewhat like the relationship between *gamelan*
and *topéng* or *baris* dancer. A *baris* and *topéng* dancer is in a sense freer
because the music is an ostinato accompaniment as opposed to a composition
with structured thematic development. But the nature of Marya’s *kebyar*
allowed the dancer to elaborate his movement with more *kembangan*
‘variations’ as well as a range of emotions. In Wayan Begeg’s opinion this
was a creative process more intimate (between dancer and musicians),
spirited, flexible, and spontaneous than *kebyar* performance practice today.

This new spatial arrangement described by De Zoete and Spies—architecture
of sound—gave the musicians and dancers a kinetic glue, as well as optimum
eye contact, enabling sudden changes into unexpected musical terrain—the
very essence of *kebyar*.

As if the gamut of perspectives surrounding *kebyar*’s development was not
sufficient, an unexpected range of insights was made available to our

59 Personal conversations: 2006 (Begeg), 1972 (Rindi) and 2007 (Arini)
60 Personal conversations 2006 and 2007
research team in 2008 when a collection of more than three hours of films made by Colin McPhee in 1930s Bali was discovered in the at University of California, Los Angeles, Ethnomusicology Archive—untouched for almost fifty years. Another collection of films made by Miguel Covarrubias in Bali between 1930 and 1933 was made available to us as well. One perspective afforded by this newly–examined film footage is of the variable placement and evolving role of the kendang players. In traditional gong gedé court ensembles the two drummers are seen way in the back, behind the two rows of trompong players and just in front of the several gong. In some of the gamelan palégongan one kendang player is in between the two gendér in the first row of the ensemble with the second drummer just behind him. But McPhee’s photograph of Wayan Lotring and his second drummer show them in front of and slightly distanced from the other musicians, giving them more perspective to watch the dancers and lead the group’s every newly composed phrase. As described above, one of kebyar’s innovations was creating a closed rectangle within which the drummers would sit facing the dancer. In several film sequences (including the Covarrubias film of Marya with Gong Belaluan) the kendang players—Madé Regog and Gusti Alit Oka—are in the center facing the dancer, with their backs to the audience. Another (posed) McPhee photograph of Gong Belaluan shows the gamelan faced open to the audience, without trompong, and with the same drummers in front and at opposite sides of the gamelan, facing each other. But a film of Gong Peliatan on the Ed Sullivan Show—during their 1952 tour produced by John Coast—shows the drummers at each side of the curtain from where the dancers come out, facing the audience and viewing the dancers from behind. This is the arrangement used by gamelan kebyar today, reflecting the frontal proscenium–style perspective of tourist performances and contemporary Balinese concert halls in contrast with the traditional kalangan ‘performance space’ open to the audience on three sides. These shifting positions reflect a changing architecture of sound as well as an evolving role for the kendang players as pangenter ‘leaders’ or conductors, featured performers and even stars. But positioning kendang players behind the dancers where they are less able to observe facial and kinetic expression may also reflect the element of improvisation being de–emphasized in favor of fixed choreography. Traditionally, topéng and baris dances place the gamelan facing the dancer while légong places the musicians behind the dancer. As mentioned earlier, topéng and baris are male dances in which dancer leads the gamelan with changing dynamics and sudden stops ‘angsel’, while légong’s dancers follow the music.
Listening to these recordings many Balinese musicians are struck by the impact of juxtaposition and re–combination as a defining feature of kebyar so early in its evolution—appropriating gendér wayang (music for shadow–puppet theater), gambang bamboo music associated with royal cremations, and angklung for their uneven phrasings and meters and palégongan for its form and lyricism.

Interestingly, gendér wayang was also influenced during this period by kebyar’s energetic starts and stops, creating a 20\textsuperscript{th}–century style for that genre as well, according to I Wayan Konolan (1923–2008) and I Wayan Suweca of the village Kayu Mas. And, in recalling his lessons with another gendér wayang master, I Wayan Loceng (1926–2006), Evan Ziporyn responds, “this was confirmed by Wayan Loceng in Sukawati, who himself had been a réyong player, and who told me point blank that the gineman to Sekar Ginotan (and other pieces) was an attempt to bring réyong tunggal style into gendér wayang.”\footnote{Personal communication 2009} The same mutual influence was felt as kebyar influenced gamelan angklung.\footnote{Ornstein 1971:360}

According to composer I Wayan Beratha, one particularly important aspect of Kebyar Ding lies in its innovation with ngucek (with the ‘c’ pronounced as ‘ch’), a technique of playing ‘ucek–ucekan’, a variety of rapid unison melodic–rhythmic figurations. “Ngucek derives from the movement of rubbing back and forth, like putting out a cigarette, rubbing your eyes when they come in contact with dust, rubbing smoldering pieces of wood together to put out a fire. Ngucek technique is used as a transition to a new melody in kebyar. Kebyar Ding is characterized by patterns of ngucek technique, which became an identifying characteristic of kebyar.”\footnote{Wayan Beratha, personal conversation 2003} As thematic transitions, ucek–ucekan interrupt the steady pulse and melody of the preceding theme with their irregular rhythmic phrasings. While the verb ngucek really refers to the motion of playing the rapid figurations, musicians also refer more generally to phrases or extended themes that contain a series and variety of the figurations as ngucek or ucek–ucekan.

Writing in the 1960s, Ruby Ornstein recalled “McPhee’s description of some pre–war compositions as containing not only kebjar introductions but kebjar interludes as well,” suggesting “that the ngucek transition represents the

\footnote{61 Personal communication 2009} \footnote{62 Ornstein 1971:360} \footnote{63 Wayan Beratha, personal conversation 2003}
vestigial remains of these early kebyar episodes.” In *Kebyar Ding*, (as Ornstein, recalling McPhee, suggests) we hear *ngucek* as a defining feature of the first, *Kebyar*, section as well as transitions throughout. Terminology varies from place to place, and neither McPhee nor Michael Tenzer (except once) refer to *ngucek* but rather to “kebyar phrasing,” as Ornstein does here. In fact, ever since 1925 musicians have referred to the first section as the *kebyar*, or *byar*, and the verb denoting the playing of this kind of rhythmic/melodic phrase—as well as other signature syncopated unison figures outside of regular pulse or meter—as *ngebyang* or *ngebyar*. But according to Weyan Beratha and Weyan Begeg, the primary characteristic that constitutes *kebyar* is the *ngucek* phrasing and *ucek–ucek* are consistently referred to in the course of our discussions with other musicians as well.

What we hear in these recordings confirms that such *ucek–ucekan* constituted entire sections of compositions. Such a compelling entity, this *ucek* that helped define a revolutionary expression with such a subtle gesture—wiping, erasing, shaking up, clearing one’s eyes from what smoke?—and then musically interrupting, upstaging, reinvigorating, accelerating, pushing forward.

Bandem (2006:2) reflects a general consensus in characterizing *kebyar* style as syncopated *ucek–ucekan* rhythms, cadenzas and unison passages as well as specific techniques played by the réyong such as interlocking *ubit–ubitian* and new sonorities of the *byong* chord, *byok* or *byot* dampened stroke, and *kécék–kécék* non–pitched sound produced on the rim of the instrument. Another of the “revolutionary signature techniques and devices” is the use of the *byar* (and *byong*) heard on this CD as the initial sound of *Kebyar Ding*. As can be heard in *Kebyar Ding*, by 1928 the *byong* chord played by the réyong section came to replace the *klentong*, which had been used for mid–phrase punctuation in légong music (although the *klentong* was re–

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65 Tenzer 2000:455 defines ubit–ubitian as, “Kotekan type in which polos and sangsih are syncopated and coincide at irregular temporal intervals.” He defines kotekan as, “Melodic interlocking parts, especially as played by kantilan and pemadé; their composite rhythm characteristically subdivides the beat into four parts.” Polos is, “Of the two complementary elaboration parts, the one that most closely follows the underlying melody.” And sangsih is described as, “(Different, complementary). Of the two complementary elaboration parts, the one that adds second–order vertical relations to, and/or interlocks with, the polos.”
66 Tenzer 2000:46 and 88
introduced several years later). Ziporyn comments, “The chord (whether you call it ‘byong’ or ‘byar’) is important because it’s the first significant non–colotomic harmony (in the broad sense of the term) since the introduction of gongs from Java. In other words, what ‘byong’ contributes to ‘byar’ is that it’s always the same chord, and therefore NOT always the same pitches as the gangsas or pokok instruments are playing. That adds to the ‘ramai’, gives each gamelan a signature sound.”

The following passage of a Gong Belaluan rehearsal was found amongst Colin McPhee’s notes at the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive:

I find among my notes the following account of a music–club rehearsal I witnessed during my first week in Bali. The club was the Kebyar club of Badung, one of the leading organizations of the island.

When I arrived, the musicians were playing at top speed. Suddenly they stop. The first drum, who seems to be leader, is not satisfied. The four boys at the reyong play an intricate section by themselves, rather experimentally. The gangsa join in. Drum number one stops them again. He wishes to hear the first row of gangsa alone.

Ah! Someone is playing a wrong note! Who is it? Each must play the passage alone. The wrong note is finally located in the third player, who has a wrong idea of the melody. A discussion and a clarification. The third gangsa plays alone. Is this it? The second player joins in, to show him. Yes! says the leader, all right. Let’s get on. The orchestra begins again.

A vigorous rhythm now sounds on the three sets of cymbals, violent and syncopated. Suddenly the orchestra is called to stop again. The cymbals have played the rhythm once too often. Drum number one explains. He would now like to hear the reyong players once again, each boy separately. They play a complicated passage, first slowly and carefully, then at

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67 Personal e-mail correspondence 2009. ‘Pokok’ refers to the basic or nuclear tones of a composition (McPhee 1966:375). ‘Ramai’ or ‘ramé’ means crowded, busy.

28
breakneck speed. Good! Go on! The orchestra joins in once more.

Stop! Those gangsas again! Play alone! No, it is wrong! Each player separately. Number three is wrong again (he seems to be new). The drummer goes over to the instrument, and sitting across from the player, plays the melody for him. He is doing this in reverse, since seated on this side, the low notes are to his right.

The second drummer now goes over to the leader of the gangsas and shows him a new part. (This seems to be new, judging from the expression on the boy’s face.) The two practice this difficult part some ten minutes, teaching it to the rest of the gangsa group. At last it is learned, and the orchestra begins playing again.

Later, I asked the drummer, who turned out to be Regog, famous for his kebyar compositions, the name of the piece they were practicing. He answered that it had no name, as it was in the process of being composed. When it was finished they would give it a name. (In one place Regog conducted with his right arm. I never saw this done again.)

The Balinese Gamelan:

Gamelan, the term for Bali’s dozen or so instrumental music ensembles, derives from gambel, to handle. The Balinese spelling is gambelan (denoting Balinese pronunciation of the word) but most writers defer to the better known, dominant Indonesian spelling. Balinese differentiate between gamelan krawang, bronze instruments manufactured by pandé krawang ‘bronze smiths’, and those ensembles utilizing bamboo. Additionally there is the more ancient and less–common iron–keyed gamelan selonding. The distinctive features of Bali’s major styles highlight shimmering resonances of gongs, knobbed, kettle–shaped gong–chimes, and metallophones with flat—or more accurately, bevelled—bronze keys suspended over bamboo

68 Courtesy of the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive and the Colin McPhee Estate.
resonators), collectively ranging four or five octaves. *Gamelan* in Bali differs from neighboring Java in its explosive sonorities, fast speed and dynamic phrasing.

One feature unique to Bali is a precise tuning system of *ombak* ‘waves’ (acoustical beats), also referred to as *getaran* ‘vibrations’, responsible for the signature shimmering sound of Balinese *gamelan krawang*. Instruments are arranged in pairs with each pitch of the *pangumbang* ‘hummer’ (*ngumbang* is a word for bee) tuned between five and eight cycles per second lower than its corresponding *pangisep* ‘sucker’ mate (from *ngisep*, to suck), not coincidentally borrowing from words associated with the activities of honeybees. According to *pandé krawang* Pan Santra (Pandé Madé Sebeng, son of Pandé Aseman) of Tihingan and Pandé Madé Gabléran of Blahbatu, *kebyar* is generally tuned to an eight cycles per second differential, creating a consistently rapid pulse of vibrations even within slow, lyrical melodies. *Gendér wayang* is tuned to five or six *ombak* per second and *palégongan* six or seven. Composer Wayan Beratha, also a *gamelan* maker and tuner, concurs with these numbers, adding that he prefers *angklung*—most commonly associated with music for death rituals such as cremation—to be in the slower six *ombak* per second range so it resembles a person weeping.70

*Gamelan* repertoires and varying instrumentation are associated with specific ceremonies, dance and drama repertoires, or recreational activities. *Gamelan* most commonly utilize a five–tone octave, whether it be in the tuning of *saih gendér wayang* tuning (related to the Javanese *sléndro*), its four–tone relative *saih angklung* specific to *gamelan angklung*, or the *saih selisir* or *pagongan* tuning (related to the Javanese *pélog*) of most other genres such as *kebyar*, *palégongan* and *gong gedé*. *Selisir* is actually one of five tunings derived from a *saih pitu* ‘row of seven’ system still used in a quasi–modal manner by older and more rarely–heard ensembles such as *gamelan gambuh*, some *semar pagulingan*, and *gamelan gambang* (all examples on CD#3), *gamelan selonding*, *gamelan luang*, *gamelan saron*, as well as a recent resurgence of *saih pitu* in numerous innovative manifestations.71 Compositions in each of these derived tunings may be limited to a specific set of five tones per octave (*kebyar*, for instance) or include six or seven tones. The *suling* (bamboo flute) provides additional pitches and tonal shadings, as do singers, who may

69 Both personal conversations, 1972 and 1980
70 Personal conversation 2009
join with the *gamelan*. In fact, within the diverse range of vocal music are a
great many unnamed tunings often utilizing many more tones per octave
including a rich sampling of microtones. Although the Javanese terms
*sélèndro* and *pélog* are mentioned in the 19th–century Balinese *Prakempa* and
*Aji Gurnita* texts, they only came into common usage in the 1960s after being
introduced by I Nyoman Rembang, I Gusti Putu Madé Geria and I Nyoman
Kaler, theorists and faculty at the *KOKAR* conservatory, all of whom had
taught at KOKAR Surakarta, Java. Previously, Balinese people would refer
to *sélèndro* as *saih gendér wayang* or *saih angklung* and use the specific *saih,
patutan*, or *tekêp* ‘mode’ name such as *sélisir* to describe the tuning of
*gamelan gong* and *palégongan.*

Partly because of a perception that the *gong kebyar* tuning of *sélisir* has come to dominate the Balinese public’s sense of
intonation—and in general parlance *pélog* has become synonymous with this
particular tuning—there is currently a trend underway amongst many artists
and educators to steer away altogether from the terms *pélog* and *sélèndro* so as
to avoid generalization and recognize the great variety of tonalities. In fact,
while Javanese *gamelan* ensembles adhere to a standardized tuning, no two
Balinese *gamelan* sets are identical, at least in principle, and although
standardization has been enveloping *gamelan kebyar*, there is still a distinct
tonal character to a great many *gamelan*.

The unique collection of tuned gongs, gong–chimes, drums and flat
metallophones associated with the *gamelan* styles of Bali and Java, appears
to have developed between the construction of the 9th–century Borobudur
Buddhist temple and the arrival of the first Dutch expedition in 1595. In its
most expanded form, Balinese *gamelan* is organized into instrumental
stratification spanning over five octaves:

a. Basic statement of the melody within a one or one and a half octave range.
b. Articulation at regular time intervals of the basic melody, generally every
four tones.
c. Full melodic expression, ranging from two to three octaves.
d. Doubling and paraphrasing in the octave above.
e. Ornamental figuration of the melody.
f. Punctuation of larger time intervals (the general function of the gongs).

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72 Personal conversations: I Madé Lebah and I Nyoman Sumandhi 1980; I Wayan Sinti 1974
and 2008
g. Drumming, with one or two musicians playing two–headed cylinder–shaped drums, using their hands or a single mallet, which conducts the group and provides a propulsive and contrapuntal rhythmic undercurrent.

Evan Ziporyn comments on the categories above: “b, d, e and f are aspects of a central organizing principle, i.e., the stratification/punctuation of melody at every level of the operation. The music is essentially one melody, which is then either distilled or elaborated in different registers. That is, it can’t really be described as either homophonic or polyphonic—it is one melody that takes on differing forms depending on the register and instrument.” An applicable term for this kind of stratification is heterophony.

Given the prominence of céng–céng and kempli (a knobbled kettle–shaped horizontal–positioned gong which functions as beat–keeper as does kajar in other ensembles) in modern kebyar, it is striking that these instruments are rarely heard on the 1928 recordings, possibly on the advice of the recording sessions’ producers. But the recently–discovered McPhee and Covarrubias films from the 1930s show kebyar ensembles with kempli as well as two or three musicians playing céng–céng angkep (also called ricik or rincik gedé), for which each has two cymbals resting on the cymbal stand—facing up—while the musician plays them with another two. This is another of kebyar’s innovations for new compositions as well as traditional lelambatan—a cross between the smaller rincik of gamelan palégongan and the much larger and dominating céng–céng kopyak of gong gedé played by a larger group of musicians each of whom has two big face–up, free–lying cymbals each of which is hit by a matching cymbal.

Traditionally, instrumental music is rarely notated; musicians learn their parts by rote. Melodies are sung using variants on the names of each pitch of the scale: nding, ndong, ndéng, ndung, ndang. As the music is highly structured, improvisation is reserved for the leading drum, the flute, or solo instruments in specific contexts. Schools and many contemporary composers use a notation system combining Javanese kepatihan for rhythmic dynamics and Balinese aksara ‘letters’ for vowels indicating pitch as described above.

Istilah ‘terminology’ can vary from village to village and region to region or even reflect an individual musician’s vocabulary. Our goal in these CD notes is to include a variety of local terminologies from Belaluan, Pangkung and

73 E–mail correspondence 2009
Busungbiu in hopes that some light may be shed on their particular musical concepts and ethnopoetics. But although musicians may be very specific at times, many terms such as norot, notol–noltol–neteg, ngucek–norét–norék, oncangan–nyog cag, can be interchangeable in different contexts and personal vocabularies. The terms are often used more to describe the kinetics of a physical action of playing than an abstract musical concept or prescribed pedagogy.

Titles of compositions may describe a dramatic, ritual or literary context associated with the music or humorous allusions to nature, but are often images reflecting the composer’s inspiration or whatever passed through his mind during or after creation.

Recordings from Bali, 1928

Gamelan Gong Kebyar of Belaluan, Denpasar

According to I Nyoman Yudha the gamelan club Seka Gong Belaluan began in 1918 with a gamelan gong on loan from the nearby royal Puri Dangin. Their repertoire at first was music for dances associated with légong but by 1920 they were playing in the new kebyar style. In 1929 they played at the Betawi (Jakarta) Festival Pasar Gambir.\(^74\) That same year they had a new gamelan kebyar with nine–keyed gangsa built by Pan Sebeng of Tihingan, Klungkung.\(^75\)

Due to local politics, the gong kebyar club of Belaluan is now referred to as Seka Gong Sadmerta–Belaluan, officially based in an adjacent hamlet. Before their trip to China in 1956 the seka commissioned a new gamelan with ten–keyed gangsa which they continue to use. In 1975 a Kebyar Ding

\(^74\) Yudha 2005 and personal conversation 2008
\(^75\) Personal communication with his son, Pan Santra, Tihingan 1972
(more commonly called Ding Surapati) reconstruction project was organized by the seka led by musician and composer Wayan Beratha with his father, Madé Regog, as advisor. The reconstruction was based on the Odeon recordings dubbed onto an audio cassette brought by I Made Bandem and Andrew Toth from the Colin McPhee Collection at UCLA’s Institute of Ethnomusicology. Regog had been composer and leader (along with Gusti Alit Oka) of the gamelan at the time of the 1928 recordings and long thereafter, so Regog and Oka were unquestionably the two drummers on this recording with Regog leading on the kendang lanang. With regard to the controversial nature of the emerging kebyar aesthetic it is interesting that I Ketut Keneng, Madé Regog’s father, was one of those opposed to Belaluan’s new direction. Grandson Wayan Beratha recalls that I Keneng “would yell in anger when he heard the lively kécék–playing on the réyong, afraid that it would break one of the instruments.”

I Keneng was active as a gambuh musician and dancer at the Puri Denpasar royal residence. His colleague Ida Boda, on the other hand, performed topêng accompanied by gamelan kebyar early on.

1. Kebyar Ding I: Kebyar

As 78–rpm discs only allowed for three–minute selections, the Kebyar Ding was broken up into separate movements (1 through 6) and Pangkung’s Gending Longgor as four movements. In actual performance they would proceed immediately from one section into the next. We have not edited them into a continuous whole so as to preserve the integrity of the recorded event and also because we cannot be certain whether or not some beginnings and endings of the sections might have been added to frame the themes for the recording. It is apparent that Madé Regog crafted the composition very carefully for the recording session. When Pak Beratha refers to Kebyar Ding he is speaking only of the first three sections. Ding (or nding) is the first pitch of this selisir scale, and as with other compositions of that era, the piece is named for the scale pitch which is the “tonic” of the opening byar “chord.” The first movement of a kebyar composition is still generally called kebyar,

76 Wayan Beratha: personal conversation 2009
and features explosive sequences of syncopated, unison playing free of regular meter, but frequently returning to phrases with a steady beat.

Upon listening to these recordings many contemporary musicians have been surprised at how “gamelan was already modern in 1928.” Sadmerta–Belaluan musicians were surprised by the speed but as the oldest of the seka commented, “not just fast, but graceful.” Several pointed out that they could detect a clearly different technique of mallet–work, in which there is a more fluid side–to–side motion, and a little less up and down rigidity. Ketut Gedé Asnawa finds the original Kebyar Ding unique not only as an overall composition but for the variety of specific techniques such as ngucek, ngorét–ngérot (three–tone ngorét on the way up and ngérot on the way down, executed as a single gesture) and ngejer (rapid repetition of kendang’s ‘tut’ stroke and gangs on a single tone). The techniques of gegedig ‘striking’ and tetek ‘syncopated muting of keys’ are tekes dan incep ‘clean and tight’. The collective breathing within the dynamics and tempo of the music he describes as kenyang lampung ‘fast but as if floating’ or ‘combining hard and fast with slow and soft’. Asnawa is also fascinated with the drumming which, like légong rather than today’s kebyar, is led by the lanang player (the Covarrubias film shows this to be Regog) who conducts ‘nyingklak’ the ensemble with rapid and precise phrasing and nrudut cues (a drumming technique using a fast repetition of the tut mid–range open–sounding tone) which mix the new kebyar dynamics with kendang légong style. Nowadays the wadon player leads in kebyar.

The first examples of the rapid ngucek style are introduced at 00:18 and again at 00:34. In Wayan Beratha’s terminology, ngucek ‘rubbing’ or ‘wiping’ is more of a general, all–inclusive term including norét ‘to scratch as in lighting a korét ‘match’ (verb form: ngorék, ngorét often used interchangeably) as well as what Wayan Begeg of Pangkung specifically designates as ngucek. The norét action of lighting a match conveys the feeling of a more sustained motion than ngucek. There are a great many different melodic and rhythmic variations of both ngucek and ngorét as well as combinations of the two, and differentiating ngucek and norét is not always easy or necessary. And it should be emphasized that ngucek and ngorét (ngorék) refer to the mallet technique—the action—rather than a theoretical abstraction centered on the tones themselves. But for the sake of clarity, the most common ngucek could be described in western terms as a rapid sextuplet using two tones, the first three as 16th–notes followed by a tied 16th–note and 16th–note rest.
Melodically this will often involve a back–and–forth alternation between two notes but can also be three or four tones (two pairs of two’s).

If there are three tones in succession ascending or descending (more commonly ascending) it can be called norét. (Ngucek can also involve three tones if they are ‘jumping’ and thus become two pairs of two’s). A common rhythm for norét—heard just after the series of ngucek at 00:08 of Surapati (track 2)—can be described as a sextuplet alternating between 16th notes and tied 16ths. Of course a listener could hear this figure as two pairs of two’s, but the fact that there are three tones in succession gives it the characteristic of norét. Norét is also found in non–ngucek, non–kebyar repertoires as well (gendér wayang and palégongan for example) where its affect is often very different, a marker of manisan (sweet style). Norét can also be thought of as a type of glissando or grace note, two or three notes in ascending or descending in succession. In its energized kebyar form it is played in unison by gangsa and (usually) réyong, with réyong and (often) gangsa filling in additional kempyung tones.

The pangadéng ‘slow section’ beginning at 01:00 derives from pelayon form (layon, refined, sad, but also referring to a specific version of the légong repertoire). The cèng–cèng cymbals can be heard from time to time playing extremely softly. Interestingly, even when the free–meter byar and ngucek phrasing subsides to allow this lyrical theme with steady beat, it is played in alternating irregular phrases. Pak Beratha tells us he finds Kebyar Ding fascinating in that innovative devices like this asymmetry are employed in a way that repetitive phrases are altered in a subtle manner not noticed by casual listeners. As Ziporyn explains it, “The for–the–most–part regularity of the gong/kempur pattern, i.e., every four (slow) beats... is ‘irregularized’ subtly by the two beat hiccup, which in turn happens at a different place in the form on different repetitions.”

Also of interest here is the kerep ‘crowded’ phrasing of the gong, filling in with frequent strokes. The phrasing is represented here following a contemporary Balinese style of notation, using G to indicate a gong, P to indicate kempur (mid–size gong), small ‘p’ for the kempur played in a muted manner. A period ‘.’ indicates a rest.

\[ \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots \]

\[ \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots \]

\[ \text{. . . } P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots \]

\[^{77}\text{Personal e–mail correspondence 2009}\]
When the slow pangadéng theme returns at 02:04 it is morphed from the first statement by reshuffling the odd and even phrases:

\[ \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots \]

\[ \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots P \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots p \ldots G \ldots \]

At 02:22 we can actually hear a gangsa player’s mistake—missing the count and playing into what should be a rest—an indication to some listeners that the music might have been very recently composed and rehearsed. Colin McPhee features this particular theme prominently in his composition for western orchestra, *Tabuh–tabuhan*. While céng–céng cymbals (here in the form of *rincik gedé*) are not heard on many of these recordings, they are clearly audible here (01:22 for instance).

Pak Beratha finds another innovation of *Kebyar Ding* to be the wide range of genres, cyclical forms and gong patterns combined into a single composition such as *bapang*, *gilak*, *Pelayon Légong* and *Légong Légod Bawa*, *batél*, *pangrangrang* (free–structured melody like the *gendér* plays in *légon* or *trompong* plays in *lelambatan*), *tabuh telu*, and *kalé* (*batél* using only one tone).

2. *Kebyar Ding II: Surapati*

Some musicians also refer to this *Surapati* section as *Sempati* (the tiger character in the *wayang* shadow–puppet theater and *wayang wong* dance drama stories based on the *Ramayana*). Wayan Beratha and I Nyoman Yudha, both sons of Madé Regog, insist the title is *Surapati*, referring to the bravery of that early 17th century anti–colonialist war hero who is thought to have been Balinese–born. Rising from poverty and slavery to military commander and king in East Java, Surapati led successful uprisings against the Dutch throughout the region. Surapati’s literal meaning is ‘brave in death’ and at least one recent interpretation, that of Ketut Gedé Asnawa, sees the
entire Kebyar Ding as a six–part narrative of the struggle between the raja of Badung and the Dutch military.  

Introduced here, and also featured in subsequent movements, are interlocking ubit–ubitan phrasings played by the réyong, which replaced the trompong as a major innovation associated with kebyar. Physically similar to the solo, lyrical, and majestic trompong—which is still used in the palégongan, semar pagulingan and traditional gamelan gong gedé—the réyong are played by four musicians in complex, rippling rhythms. The ngucek heard at the end, and at the finale of several succeeding movements offer a transition into the next movement, each time a reinfusion of the initial kebyar energy.


At 00:43 the kendang drums play nrudut to cue the gamelan to accelerate the tempo. At 00:55 as the bapang phrasing continues with a new melody, the lead tone goes from a high nding down to the ndung. A more common bapang panasar (used to accompany the masked topeng narrator) goes from the lower leading tone to the higher but here it is reversed.

At 00:55 the réyong come in with norot and four–tone ubit ngempat interlocking in a légong style while the gangsa play noltol. The word noltol derives from the way birds peck over and over again at bits of grain with their beaks bobbing up and down.

At 02:07, bapang phrasing returns with the gong playing at the ndéng tone of the melody, and with a differently pitched gong; the earlier gong was tuned to nding and the kempur a high ndung. This second version has the gong tuned to ndéng and kempur on ndong. While this is still bapang with eight beats per gong, the sweet higher range suggests a gagaboran feeling associated with gabor, a ritual dance for females. Also at 02:07 the réyong alternate between norot and a four–tone ubit ngempat interlocking, while the gangsa lead with a combination of oncangan and noltol, filling in with a kerep ‘denser’ style. The kempur is used here (and elsewhere in most of these

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78 Email correspondence 2009
79 “Kotekan style featuring one–to–one melodic alternation between the prevailing pokok tone and its scalar upper neighbor” (Tenzer 2000:453)
Bali 1928

recordings) as the klentong is used today, on the 4th beat (gong is on the 8th beat). Nowadays we use (G) . P . t . P . G while the phrasing here is (G)...P...G. The section ends with ngucek and norét.

3. Kebyar Ding III: Oncang–oncangan

Oncang–oncangan is a technique inspired by the polyrhythmic pounding of rice mortars as grain is husked, most often by women. The “jumping melody” played by the gangsa (metallophones played with one mallet) involves an interlocking method of playing a main melodic theme (unlike the interlocking of florid higher-register kotékan ornamentation). The melody is broken up into a two–part figuration, polos (basic, simple) and sangsîh (differing, filling in). Oncang–oncangan technique is the distinctive element of this section, with one ngucek phrase in the middle. Oncangan such as this (and the related nyog cag in Pangkung’s Lagu Sesulingan) is most often associated with the sekatian style of gong kuna, the transitional genre between gong gedé and kebyar, though it is also heard in such gender wayang pieces as Tulang Lindung. As kebyar emerged in the 1920s the oncangan technique gave birth to the more irregular and jumpy sub–group commonly known as nyog cag ‘inconsistent’. While oncangan remains the generic term, a delineation suggested by I Nyoman Astita seems to be widely accepted if not always specified, namely that oncangan interlocking combines two tones of the gangsa polos part with two of its sangsîh partner while nyog cag combines three tones of the polos with two of the sangsîh creating more of an imbalance. The center–point of the polos three–tone part stresses the melodic line while the third tone jumps around it.

The rapid eight–beat bapang meter switches at 00:21 to a pangadéng ‘slow’ bapang with the same melody slowed down, still counting eight beats subdivided at one point by the réyong’s byong chord. At 00:49 the réyong play interlocking norot and gangsa alternate oncangan with noltol (polos and sangsîh interlocking on the same tone). At 01:15 the réyong play a faster norot (called norot–tetorotan) alternating with ubit ngembat and the gangsa combine one–tone noltol interlocking and neteg ‘consistent’ technique, in

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80 The word koték means ‘to hit something with a pole’. An interesting connection is with the raucous and most basic procession music called téktékan, for which each of a large group of players hits two bamboo sticks together in familiar interlocking rhythms. The dictionary definition of téktékan is ‘beat repeatedly and noisily.’
which a single key is played repeatedly on each individual gangsá (not interlocking).

After a variety of ngucek and gendér wayang–style norét beginning at 01:27, there is a slow pangadéng at 01:43 reminiscent of a theme occasionally used as opening music for programs on Radio Republik Indonesia. Upon first listening it sounds like an ordinary pangadéng bapang, but as Pak Beratha has pointed out, Kebyar Ding contains subtle surprises that are felt by the listener without being consciously aware of the uneven structure.

Nyoman Astita has observed the compositional process of nirús, or ngelukus, in which the structure is compressed gradually with each gongan, and maps out the pola ‘form’ in this way:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{. . . . . . . P . . . . . . . G} & \quad (24) \\
\text{. . . . . . . P . . . . . . . P . . . G} & \quad (20) \\
\text{. . . P . . . . . . . P . . . G} & \quad (16) \\
\text{. . . P . . . . . . . G} & \quad (12) \\
\text{. . . P . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . G} & \quad (24)
\end{align*}
\]

4. Kebyar Ding IV: Batél

Batél traditionally accompanies pasiat ‘dramatic fighting scenes’, angkatan ‘entrances and departures’ in gendér wayang and pálégongan, and is used in balaganjur processional music at such moments as arrival and departure from the cemetery during death rites, when the more excited gong and kempur pulse is preferable to gilak phrasing. Batél may also signify a musical transition from one section of a composition to another. This three–minute section really waits until the end for the rapid, even batél phrasing (G) . P . G
P. G played by the large gong and smaller kempur. The batél principle is two ketukan beats (the most basic pulse) for each kempur or gong; batél is the shortest of all phrase units. Similarly, the batél ostinato played by the left hand in gendér wayang follows two–beat phrasing.

Rapid gilak kendang drumming and (G) P . P G phrasing gives way to the slow pangadéng section beginning at 00:25, with the réyong’s byong chord where we would expect the klentong high–pitched gong. (G)...P...byong...P...G. Nowadays we hear byong used as this halfway mark simultaneously with the klentong in pendét and gabor dances.

The phrasing is bapang longgor form of 16 beats to each gong with low melody characteristic of bapang and oncangan played by the gangsa. At 01:25 the réyong play norot as the gangsa carry the lyrical melody. At 02:02 the gangsa switch to noltol one–tone alternation and now, still keeping to longgor form, we again hear the process called ngelukus (ngringkus) in which the form is condensed into ngilak (gilak), involving a quickening of tempo from adéng ‘slow’ to gangsar ‘moderately fast’. Kebyar unison syncopated phrasing returns at 02:15 with a series of ngucek and at 02:17 ngorét–ngérott three–tone up and down glissando–like phrases reminiscent of gendér wayang. Finally, at 02:25 real batél phrasing of (G) . P . G . P is heard for the first time, although still with a gilak feeling coming from the réyong playing ubit ngempat. But the kotékan at 02:32 gives a moment of gendér wayang batél style as well. Again the three–tone ngorét–ngérott phrase at 02:51 is a flashback to gendér wayang but after a mere two seconds, we end with kebyar.

Usage of byong chords played by réyong instead of klentong on this and other tracks leads one to speculate that the klentong might not have been common in south–central kebyar until I Nyoman Kaler borrowed it for his Panji Semirang dance in the 1930s— as did Busungbiu on their 1928 recordings—from the légong repertoire.

5. Kebyar Ding V: Pangrangrangaran

Pangrangrangaran derives from “composing” (ngarang), originally referring to the distinctive improvisational playing of a soloist on the trompong or two–mallet gendér in the introductory kawitan ‘point of origin’ section of a gamelan gong gedé or semar pagulingan piece (like the buka in Javanese gamelan), or within the body of the composition itself. In kebyar, ngrangrang came to connote new music composed in a fixed, permanent
sense. But here, the name pangrangrangan suggests a feeling in which the imaginative process of a composer (gendér or trompong player) comes into being, rather than an actual performance format. Bandem suggests the title is based on the linkage of pangrangrangan composing with bercerita storytelling, as the melodic feeling here is reminiscent of the narrative sections in légong in which the story is told in words and song. Traditionally, the trompong or gendér rambat player’s variations for the kawitan ‘introduction’ are played in a kind of non–cyclic and non–pulsed melodic style called gineman. Also referred to as ngilik–ngilik ‘explorations’—or alternatively as pangalihan or ngali–ngalihan ‘searching’—a kind of improvised quotation from the pangawak ‘body’ of the composition. This anticipates and sets a mood for the rest of the kawitan introductory section of the composition by which other gamelan musicians recognize the melody, the final tone of which is the first tone of their entrance.

Oncangan continue in this section followed by ngucek phrases and then at 01:19 we hear a melody and (G)...P...G) phrasing associated with bapang of gong gedé. Nowadays this bapang and melody would be with klentong (G . t . P . G) to accompany the gabor dance, and this norot technique later became common with gabor. In live performance the concluding flurry of ngucek phrases lead directly into the pangawak section. The extended round of ngucek and norét fireworks beginning at 02:22 continues until the end of the section and completes the byar phrasing of Kebyar Ding.

6. Kebyar Ding VI: Pangawak and Pangécét

Kebyar compositions frequently conclude with a pangawak and pangécét, with themes derived from the classical repertoire of légong, gambuh, or gamelan gong gedé. Pangawak generally refers to the “body” of a composition in which the main themes are fully developed. Wayan Beratha confirms that this pangawak comes from the Pelayon Légong musical theme.

As the pangawak ends at 01:32 the two kendang drummers play alone to signal a transition, emphasizing their nrudut. This will be followed by oncang–oncangan by the gangså which leads into the faster pangécét section and climax. Pak Beratha find this moment especially poignant and explains “the drummers feel the pangécét in their hearts before being joined by the gamelan, anticipating and leading into the faster section,” a pangécét reminiscent of Légong Pelayon’s melodic contour while creating something new with rëyong’s combination of norot and ubitan.
While this Pelayon Légong–style pangécét has the primary pitch (what the gangsa play on the gong stroke) as ndang, the pangécét of other légong themes vary. Jobog uses ndong, Kutir uses nding, Lasem uses nding. But while the form may vary, the feeling is similar between the versions.

7. Curik Ngaras ‘Starlings Kissing’

As with Kebyar Ding this composition fell into disuse many decades ago, and Curik Ngaras was not part of the 1975 Sadmerta–Belaluan reconstruction. Upon hearing the recording all listeners assume this was originally performed with dancers and at 01:01, one can almost see the two starlings pecking affectionately at each other in a pangipuk ‘love scene’. The main body of the composition utilizes a simple pattern of large gong and smaller kempur gong. In the accelerated pangécét section the réyong fill in with norot and related ubitan syncopations, as the gong phrasing expands and the two dancers would be circling each other playfully. Within two weeks of receiving a cassette dub from me, exclaiming, “I haven’t heard this since I was a kid,” Wayan Beratha began teaching Curik Ngaras to the young members of his local gamelan club in Sadmerta. McPhee briefly quotes Curik Ngaras in his Tabuh–tabuhan composition for orchestra, and the Javanese choreographer–dancer Devi Dja told Madé Bandem she used this recording to accompany her Garuda Légong creation on a 1939 U.S. tour which included Carnegie Hall. In the early 1960s Ruby Ornstein recorded (and Peliatan dancer Ni Gusti Ayu Raka Rasmi and others have described to us) a Gong Peliatan “mini–dance drama” of the Rajapala story in which Curik Ngaras was played for the scene in which dedari ‘heavenly nymphs’ are bathing at a spring and prince Rajapala at first observes them and then steals the seléndang scarf of the most beautiful amongst them, Ken Sulasihi. The Rajapala story had been developed in the 1920s by Nyoman Kaler for the jangér group of Kedaton (included on CD#5).

8. Kembang Lengkuas

Wayan Beratha identifies kembang lengkuas as bunga kunyit, the flower of the turmeric plant and suggests that Marya’s student I Nyoman Nyongnyong of Belaluan might have danced to this composition. In any case it is a

81 Jobog and Kutir (Kuntir) both derive from the Subali–Sugriwa story of two rival monkeys from the Ramayana and Lasem is from the gambuh story derived from East Javanese Malat literature.
flowering root spice in the bunga isén ginger–turmeric family whose leaf sways as rainwater shifts around on its surface. There is agreement amongst expert listeners that the music was intended to convey this feeling of shifting weight, and even paling—a peculiarly Balinese feeling of disorientation—suggested by the way the kotétan patterns of the réyong play off against the regular beat of the gangsa melody, the sudden angsel cadences at the ends of phrases and the ebb and flow of soft to loud dynamics. Derived from the ceremonial gamelan gong gedé, which has a piece by the same name in its lelambatan repertoire, this kebyar version exhibits at least one striking feature which distinguishes it as a modern work: asymmetric phrasing. Gong gedé music is structured in multiples of four beats, with gong punctuating phrases of four, eight, sixteen, and so on. But these early kebyar compositions introduced uneven, asymmetric phrasing which has grown ever more complex over the succeeding decades. This early expression of kebyar form creates a gentle imbalance (another expression of shifting weight) with two beats added to the expected sixteen. It has been suggested that the image of a leaf’s shifting weight refers specifically to the two extra beats added to the gong phrase. This is just another example of Wayan Beratha’s fascination with the subtle irregularities of early kebyar meant to be felt but not noticed. Listeners may find a resemblance to Beratha’s Berathayasa composition. Nyoman Astita hears the shifting phrasing as:

\[ \text{. } \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \underline{G} \]
\[ \text{. } \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \underline{G} \]
\[ \text{. } \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \underline{G} \]
\[ \text{. } \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \underline{G} \]
\[ \text{. } \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \underline{G} \]
\[ \text{. } \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \underline{G} \]
\[ \text{. } \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \ldots \underline{P} \ldots \underline{G} \]

Instead, Beratha hears it as phrases of 8, 8, 4, 8, and 8, and although the gongan falls on the 18th beat each time, he thinks of it as a 36–beat palet.

9. Tabuh Telu
The implication in the name *tabuh telu*, belonging to the old *gong gedé* genre, is taken by musicians today to mean a tripartite *kempur* phrasing within each *gong* cycle, but this does not apply in practice.\(^{82}\) This rendition of a fast-paced *gending gangsaran* (*gangsar* ‘fast’) represents current conceptions of *tabuh telu* and contains the *trompong*’s *kawitan* introduction playing a *periring* ‘condensed’ melody followed by the *pangawak* main body of the composition. For *gangsaran* the *kempur* sounds on the fifth and seventh beats as *neliti* ‘counted’ on the *calung/jublag* with the *gong*, as always, on eight: (G) . . . . P . P G. A western musician would hear the *kempur* on six and eight with the *gong*’s downbeat on one but, as Ziporyn puts it, “Balinese regard meter as ‘going toward’ the *gong*/downbeat rather than as springing from it.”\(^{83}\)

The small *kempli gong*, otherwise absent on the other 1928 selections, marks the beat in traditional *gong kuna* or *gong gedé* ensembles and is indeed heard here on the 2\(^{\text{nd}}\), 4\(^{\text{th}}\) and 6\(^{\text{th}}\) beats. Following the three *gong* phrases or *palet* of the *kawitan*, the *pangawak* consists of an eight–count *palet* ending on pitch *ndung*, a *palet* ending on *nding*, then two different *palet* reversing the ending tones to *nding* followed by *ndung*, then all four lines are repeated, followed by the first *palet* ending on *ndung* but now followed by another ending on *ndong*, and finally a closing *pakaad* ‘tail’ with eight *ngunda* repetitions of another *palet* each time ending on *ndong*. This fluid structure built on repetition of melodic and rhythmic elements shows how the *trompong* player can lead a traditional *lelambatan* ensemble through an evolving composition—in–progress, especially adapted to the three–minute requirement.

This same composition is still performed in the North for tooth–filing ceremonies and *odalan* temple festivals and, at least in Tejakula, is called “*Gending Belalu*,” according to Pandé Madé Sukerta. As with traditional *lelambatan* pieces the *trompong*’s melodic lead can be heard throughout, but this rendition already shows *kebyar*–style playing by the *kendang* drums, filling in with *rangkep* doubling or “splashing.” The *réyong* play *norot* figuration as in *lelambatan* and the *gangsa* play *noltol*.

10. *Tabuh Telu Buaya Mangap* ‘Open–mouthed Crocodile’

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\(^{83}\) E-mail correspondence 2009
Another old *lelambatan* composition in the faster *gending gangsaran* form, this is still commonly performed in South Bali and was transcribed with the title *Tabuh Telu* by McPhee for his two–piano work *Balinese Ceremonial Music*. The introductory *kawitan* is freely performed by the *trompong* in a relatively fast *periring* ‘condensed’ and *polos* ‘simple’ form up to 00:20.

Following the two lines of the *kawitan*, each ending on *ndung*, we have another example of *alih–alihan* searching process led by the *trompong* as it leads into the *pangawak* main body of the piece at 00:30. The first eight–beat *palet* ends on the pitch *ndéng*, followed by two different melodies for *palet* also ending on *ndéng*. The next two lines end on *nding* and then *ndung*. Those five *palet* are repeated two more times except that the first line is replaced by a different melody also ending on *ndéng*. After all three repetitions of the five–*palet* structure, the *trompong* leads into a *pakaad* ending with three *palet* chosen from the previous five lines: the second version of the first line ending on *ndéng*, then the third line (ending on *ndéng*), and finally, the 4th line which is chosen so the melody can end on the tonic, *nding*. The structure, again, leaves us with the impression of having been designed within the performance to fill in three full minutes for the recording. The *gangsa* play a combination of *norot* and *oncangan* techniques throughout. Here the creativity lies with one drummer’s (*lanang* and *wadon* taking turns) more freely playing a combination of *batu–batuhan* ‘filling in’ and *gilak*–style, and combining *unda–undahan* terracing and *nyambung* ‘continuity’, building up, stepping gradually toward the *angsel* climax. Using the onomatopoetic syllables used for drum strokes, we would say the drummers take turns, with the *wadon* filling in with ‘dagatadagadaga’ and *lanang* answering with ‘dugatadugaduga’ in an improvisational *batu–batuan* used especially for *gilak* sections of *tabuh telu*.

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**Gamelan Gong Kebyar of Pangkung, Tabanan**

I Marya was like a bee cross–pollinating the flowers of *kebyar*, collaborating as a dancer in Pangkung and Busungbiu, then Belaluan later in the 1920s and finally in Peliatan in the early 1950s. But according to his friend Wayan Begeg, Marya was not much of a musician at all and relied on his less well–

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84 ‘Chapter 7 Meter and Drumming’ of Michael Tenzer’s *Gamelan Gong Kebyar* (2000:249–304) is highly recommended for an in–depth analysis of current practice.
remembered musical partners, I Wayan Gejir and I Wayan Sukra. Gejir was the leader of the seka ‘club’ (inheriting the position from his father, Pan Gejir) and, along with Sukra, composed most of Pangkung’s new kebyar works from the teens to 1940s. I Nengah Ngaji was another leading member of the seka. Sukra composed the music for Tambulilingan (Bumblebee) which Peliatan adapted with his help for their 1952 U.S. and European tour, renaming it Tumulilingan Mengisep Sari ‘The Bumblebee Sips Honey’ and later Olég Tumulilingan. According to Begeg the original Pangkung version in the 1940s was played on gamelan angkung and was performed as a male role by a single female dancer. The two–dancer version developed around 1951 with a male dancer as bumblebee and female as a kupu–kupu ‘butterfly’ in which the two compete for the nectar of a flower. The subsequent Peliatan version developed for the international tour and performed on the Ed Sullivan Show—choreographed by Marya but conceived by John Coast and A.A. Gedé Mandera—reconstituted it as a love scene between two bumblebees. Interestingly, Peliatan performed another dance on the tour accompanied by angklung called Olég in a style combining jogéd and légong.\(^5\) While the ‘lég’ of légong means ‘to bend’, olég is a play on the word élog, which implies more fluid movement and especially a wiggle of the hips.

Wayan Begeg’s chronology suggests 1897 as the year when Anak Agung Ngurah of the royal family at the court of Puri Kaléran, Tabanan—who had been appointed by the Dutch authorities to cultivate regional arts—arranged for the désa ‘village’ of Pangkung to receive a gamelan. The Seka Gong Pangkung was formed in 1900 and sometime around 1910 they invited a teacher from Pujungan, inspiring them to create new compositions such as Tabuh Trompong, some of which were composed in collaboration with musicians from the Bantiran club. Before the Bantiran performance in Tabanan the Pangkung gangsa had just five keys, but the musicians were already beginning to utilize kebyar techniques and the barungan gedé or gamelan gong kuna was already expanding from older instrumentation. In order to play with kebyar dynamics the gamelan was melted down around 1915 to make one with nine keys for its gangsa. By 1916 they had evolved this new aesthetic into a distinct gaya Pangkung ‘style’ integrating elements from angklung, gambang, gong suling and gender wayang.

\(^5\) Ni Gusti Raka Rasmi, personal conversation 2009
Forms borrowed from *kebyar Buléleng* included *bapang*, *gagaboran* and *lelonggoran*. In 1917 a bamboo *gamelan tingklik* was acquired by Pangkung, using a similar repertoire which influenced their emerging *kebyar* style. At this time *gamelan kebyar* did not include *suling* ‘bamboo flute’, *rebab* ‘bowed lute’ or *ugal* lower octave *gangsa*. Wayan Begeg tells us that *suling* and *rebab* were introduced to *kebyar* in 1939 for competitions held by the Dutch authorities.

According to Begeg, names of new compositions were not used before the word *kebyar* was coined, and they would be referred to as ‘*jung jéng jung*’, ‘*jéng jéng–jung jéng*’ or ‘*jung jung–te jung*’ to indicate the opening phrase in terms of pitch, rhythm, and its jumping intervals. This is echoed by Guru Gdé Adnya (Guru Rsi) of Sawan, who still finds this practice more *semangat* ‘spirited’.

Begeg suggests that it was not until around 1952 (when *Gong Peliatan* toured in the U.S. and Europe) that some *seka gamelan* began to refer to themselves other than by their genre and village and took on names such as *Gong Tirta Kencana Pangkung* or *Gunung Sari Peliatan*. The Pangkung group changed names again in 1957 to *Surya Kencana* at the time of their tour to the U.S. and Europe. But in fact the Peliatan group did not use the name *Gunung Sari* for their 1952 international tour and it was not until the advent of government–recognized *yayasan* organizations in the early 1960s that more than just a few *gamelan* clubs began using such individualistic and fanciful names. And the musicians of Belaluan have kept the simple name of *Gong Sadmerta–Belaluan* to this day.

11. *Gending Sesulingan*

This is actually *Tabuh Trompong*, the theme for *Igel Trompong* (*Tari Trompong*), the dance created by I Marya. Upon listening recently to this recording Wayan Begeg suggested that the *Sesulingan* music most likely
preceded the creation of the dance, and confirmed the influence of *pangécét Pelayon Légong* for its feeling, nuance, embellishments and melodic flow. The *bantang gending* ‘core melody’ continues to be used in *Kebyar Trompong*—following the *pelayon* or *pangawak papeson* ‘entrance/opening’—for the second *pangawak* section during which the dancer plays the *trompong*.

Begeg does not consider this music to be in the “real kebyar” style since it lacks *ngucek* or syncopated rhythms played synchronously by the melodic instruments. Ni Ketut Arini, a student of I Marya, suggests the name *Sesulingan* might refer to the *gangsa*’s style of playing the melody somewhat like the rapid “noodling” of a *suling* bamboo flute.

At 00:21 paired upper–octave *kantilan* metallophones play *neteg* ‘consistent’ as in ‘hitting something repeatedly’ (the same technique as *noltol*) before changing to *nyog cag* at 00:26, which dominate the entire *gending* with *neteg* interspersed throughout. Additionally, we hear *oncangan*’s jumping melody played by interlocking mid–range *gangsa pemadé*.

12 Gending *Longgor* I

*Longgor* can refer to a 16–beat meter as well as to a compositional form associated with specific social contexts. I Gusti Bagus Tika tells us that in Bungkulan and the Singaraja region in general, *lelonggoran* music is still played on the *gong kuna gamelan sekatian* while people collectively prepare *mébat* food for religious ceremonies. Guru Gdé Adnya confirms that in Sawan *lelonggoran* is still important in the repertoire played for *odalan* ceremonies in the *pura* ‘temples’, varying by day or night in compositional form.

Wayan Begeg tells us that this *Longgor* exemplifies the techniques and terminology that was emerging by 1920 for motifs of the category *gegebug* ‘ways of striking an instrument’: *ngebyar*: the style of phrasing with most instruments playing each note simultaneously; *nyog cag*, *norot* played by réyong or gangsa, and the three varieties of *ngucek* phrasing: *norék/norét* (three–tone figuration); *ngucek* (two–tone figuration); *panegteg* or *neteg* ‘consistent’, often synonymous with *noltol* as a one–tone interlocking pattern played by paired *polos* and *sangsih gangsa*, but in Pangkung also referring to a rhythmic one–tone phrase played by each *gangsa* without *sangsih* filling in. I Wayan Aryasa confirms the use of this meaning elsewhere and reports hearing this usage from Cokorde Mas of Ubud, a noted musician. I Putu
Sumiasa of the northern village of Kedis suggests that while neteg can refer in a general way to noltol interlocking, it is really the polos part which plays neteg on the beat with the ugal, while the sangsih part plays nyandét (candétan) on the off–beat.\footnote{Ugal, or pengugal, also called giying, was used by the gamelan of Busungbiu for these recordings but had not yet been incorporated into the Belaluan or Pangkung ensembles. It is the ten–key, two–octave, lowest–register leader of the gangsa section.}

Since Kebyar Ding and Pangkung’s Longgor exhibit such similar characteristics, the question that everyone asks is, “who influenced whom?” We can only assume that it was mutual. At 00:25 we hear bapang phrasing of (G) P . P G. The ngucek at 00:46 flow into ngorék and then into an expanded rhapsody of ngucek–style phrasing. Interestingly, the 16–beat longgor theme at 01:22 is the same melody—except for one tone—as heard in Belaluan’s Kebyar Ding III at 00:08, but without kempur or the réyong’s mid–phrase byong punctuation.

At 01:22 we hear bapang longgor meter of 16 beats to the gong and after the kendang play nrudut as a transition signal into a section featuring réyong, the gangsa stressing neteg and the réyong norot. Wayan Begeg points out the way one sings the réyong part at 02:05—while intoning the actual pitches—is norot–ndot–ndot–ndot or norét–ndét–ndét–ndét.

13. Gending Longgor II

After a round of ngucek and ngorét, we hear at 00:26 metric phrasing of eight beats to the gong with melodic phrasing on a sixteen–beat cycle. The kempur is inconsistent, sometimes on the 8th and other times on the 12th beat. The melody from 00:27 to 01:25 makes use of the interlocking neteg/noltol in a consistent way, but the melody beginning at 01:44 exploits the neteg/noltol in syncopated contrast with the oncangan as they alternate back and forth. Pande Madé Sukerta suggests the theme is derived from gending lelonggoran repertoire of the Buléleng region.

14. Gending Longgor III

The melodic phrasing of gabor continues within the longgor form, except that the gong phrases are cycles of 28 beats, a common feature in légong
repertoire. At 01:04 a faster pangécét section takes over with the feeling of a pangipuk ‘love scene’. This steady eight–beat phrase is more common in gabor than the longgor form and includes a kempur on the 4th beat. Today’s gabor would play klentong on the 4th with kempur on the 2nd and 6th beats. After the transitional ngucek the phrasing at 01:50 suggests lelonggoran with gangsa playing neteg and réyong play norot in the old gong kuna fashion but with the melodic feeling of palégongan. More in keeping with légong are the two cycles of 28 beats to the gong. Therefore, the last section is a mix of lelonggoran, légong and gabor.

15. Gending Longgor IV

This section begins with a bapang, four beats to the gong, resembling the dance of the sisya female students of the sorceress in Calonarang, with gangsa pemadé leading the melody and réyong playing the rapid kécék creating percussive sound without specific pitch. But the initial steady bapang is interrupted twice by playful ucek–ucekan syncopations. At 00:31 the réyong’s interlocking three–tone ubit telu and and gangsa’s kotékan exploit a rhythmic quality called océt–océtan characterized by a playful, kécak–like shifting syncopation. The meter here is batél with gong every four beats subdivided by a kempur. The solo phrase played by the gangsa at 01:04 is derived from the pangipuk of légong, transitioning into an accelerated pangécét with neteg one–tone figuration alternating between the polos and sangsih gangsa. The réyong play in pangécét style, norot interlocking like légong but still with an extended gabor phrasing of 16 beats to the gong. The ending pakaad ‘tail’ is in the gender wayang style.

Gamelan Gong Kebyar of Busungbiu, Northwest Bali

According to a 1932 Beka catalogue, the northern gamelan of Busungbiu was recorded in Denpasar. The gamelan also performed at the Betawi (now Jakarta) Festival Pasar Gambir in 1928. Busungbiu’s recordings share essential features of the new kebyar style but contain minimal suggestions of ngucek. A reasonable supposition is that the keys of all their gangsa—still being pacek ‘held in place by nails’, jongkok ‘resting on the frames’ and not gantung ‘hanging’—did not allow for the damping technique needed to go full force with ngucek. But one bold, new element heard in these recordings is réyong tunggal, when the entire gamelan stops suddenly to allow the four réyong musicians to play alone. Another key innovative element heard only
in the Busungbiu compositions is their dramatic use of sudden stops and silences, a feature which has become characteristic of 20th-century kebyar.

Pandé Made Sukerta asserts that Busungbiu was playing gangsa with ten keys before 1915 and that in this they preceded Bantiran. However, they kept to the pacek (jongkok) design until around 1990 when (we were told by I Wayan Weker, I Gdé Kuat Kusnadi, I Gdé Ratep Suryasa and I Ketut Artika on a visit to Busungbiu) the old gamelan was melted down to have a new kebyar ensemble forged. They still saved the réyong, large gong and two gangsa pemadé from the original gamelan as heirlooms kept at the pura désa temple, and continue to play sekatian and lelonggoran repertoire as well as contemporary music on the new kebyar instruments.

Wayan Begeg tells us that the early kebyar Buléléng style was characterized by the compositional forms of bapang, gagaboran and lelonggoran. The influence of légong repertoire in their new compositions was facilitated by such teachers as Ida Boda from the regions of Gianyar and Badung (Batuan and Kaliungu) and I Gusti Gedé Raka Badeng (a.k.a. Anak Agung Raka Saba) who taught in the northern village of Tamblang near Bungkulan. Later, Ni Gusti Biang Sengog of Peliatan is known to have taught légong in Busungbiu. Wayan Patra (Wayan Weker’s father), kendang player and one of the leaders of Gong Busungbiu (and likely a kendang player on these recordings), told his son that in the early years of kebyar he would play in the krumpungan ‘light hand–drumming’ style of palégongan. 87 Weker remembers that when Ida Boda taught in Busungbiu he would reside at the home of the kepala désa ‘village head’ and also relates that the légong versions taught by Ida Boda in Busungbiu were Kuntul (kokokan ‘egret bird’) and Jobog (Subali–Sugriwa). And it is of considerable interest that Busungbiu is the only kebyar ensemble recorded in 1928 which used a klentong, the high–pitched vertical gong so characteristic of légong repertoire. Another similarity to gamelan palégongan is the presence of the kempur with no large gong heard on these recordings. But oddly enough the kempur sometimes functions as if in mid–phrase and a large gong were present. This could be due to the hybrid nature of kebyar–palégongan experimentation or a decision not to sound the gong and risk distortion on the recording. Our recent visit also revealed that the original barungan kebyar

87 Krumpungan is also the technique for gambuh drumming while the very similar style of krémpéngan is used in gamelan arja with smaller kendang.
ensemble of Busungbiu included two twelve–key *gendér rambat* that were used to play *palégongan* repertoire (not heard in their recorded selections). We saw such a pair of *gendér rambat* on a subsequent visit to *Bubunan’s gong kebyar* group, which still maintains its *gangsa pacek* (*jongkok*) style playing *sekatian* and *lelonggoran* repertoire for *odalan* temple festivals. But the two twelve–key *gendér* were reduced to ten keys under the influence of the conservatory KOKAR in the 1960s as a result of the island–wide *Sendratari Ramayana* trend. And instead of being played as *gendér* they are used as *penyacah*, an octave–higher version of *jublag*. Another instrument not included in these works is the low–pitched *jegogan*, though its higher–octave sibling *jublag* is very active.

16. *Tabuh Légod Bawa*

*Légod Bawa* is among the standard repertoire of the *légong* genre and the solo *kawitan* or *pangalihan* phrase played by a *gangsa* at the very beginning is in a condensed *légong* style. But before we can hear anything else resembling *légong*, *kebyar* jumps in. Introduced here is the revolutionary style of sudden stops and *putus–putus* phrasing, creating jagged, discontinuous melodic sections. We also hear right from the beginning the *réyong tunggal* played in starts and stops on large, low–pitched *réyong*, characteristic of the North. According to Putu Sumiasa of Kedis the northern style always preferred *réyong* in the range of *gangsa pemadé* while *réyong* of the South have tended to be one octave higher in the range of the *gangsa kantilan* to create a sweeter sound. Pandé Sukerta speculates that the *gangsa* players may be holding their mallets in a slanted *miring* position enabling a certain fluidity. McPhee’s film sequences of *gangsa pacek* in 1930s *kebyar* ensembles show *panggul tanduk* mallets, smaller and lighter than those used today. At 00:34 we hear a series of *ngucek* leading into three–tone *ngorék* (*ngorét*). The extended *réyong tunggal* section playing *ubit–ubitan* style of *kotékan* at 00:47, again at 01:24 and throughout these Busungbiu recordings is a precursor of what later became a prevalent feature of *kebyar* throughout Bali.

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88 The *Légod Bawa* story tells of the gods Wisnu and Brahma in their struggle with Siwa’s *lingga*. See *De Zote and Spies 1938:326*
At 01:12 and again at 01:29 are themes and ucek–ucekan phrasing similar to that heard in *Kapi Raja*, which McPhee analyzed in the 1930s and which the *gamelan* of Peliatan revised and toured since 1952, and which was adapted by Wayan Beratha in 1964 for his seminal *Jayasemara*. A recent visit with Beratha illuminated the creative process after he listened to this track and laughed, exclaiming, “*Jayasemara!*” He explained that in the 1930s musicians from Busungbiu would spend time in Belaluan to learn *léngong*—the dance from Ida Boda and karawitan ‘music’ from his father, Madé Regog. In exchange the Busungbiu musicians introduced the Belaluan musicians to their gaya ‘style’ and techniques. The young Wayan Beratha kept this Busungbiu music in his head and much later—after hearing the gamelan of Peliatan with their revised *Kapi Raja* ‘Monkey King’—felt inspired (and challenged) to create his own adaptation of the Busungbiu style, composing *Jayasemara* which influenced the next generation of musicians and composers throughout Bali. During our subsequent visit with the musicians of Busungbiu, Wayan Weker recalled his father Wayan Patra’s trips to Belaluan and that Patra would return home to the coffee and fruit region of Busungbiu with bags of *beras* ‘rice’ given by Belaluan in exchange for teaching *kebyar*. Incidentally, Beratha’s brother, Nyoman Yudha, also remembers the pangécét section of Busungbiu’s version of the traditional *lelambatan* composition *Galang Kangin* being played on Radio Republik Indonesia in the 1950s to introduce the 6:30 a.m. broadcasts of the BBC World news program.

Here, as in the other Busungbiu compositions, we have gangsa ugal, or gving, one octave lower than the pemadé used by Belaluan and Pangkung. The *giving* subsequently became standard in *kebyar* instrumentation.

Amidst the interlocking norot of the gangsa at 01:49 giving a pangawak *léngong*–like feeling, the kendang drum plays *nrudut* to signal a transition into very pangawak *léngong*–like melody and kotékan. But the solo tunggal drummer plays *gupekan* technique similar to babarongan style associated with the *barong* dance. The formal structure until 02:35 resembles the pangawak section of *léngong*, as well as use of kotékan telu (nilu) and kotékan ngempat, three–part and four–part interlocking patterns. Once we are into this *léngong*–like section a high–pitched *klentong* verticle *gong* is heard at 01:58 and then twice more every 32 beats. The *klentong* is associated with *léngong* instrumentation as well as later *kebyar*, but is not heard on the Belaluan or Pangkung tracks. Another *léngong*–like aspect throughout is the use of *kempur*
rather than gong. And again at 02:37 is a pakaad ‘tail’ theme later adapted for Beratha’s Jayasemara.

17. Tabuh Cacelantungan

The title suggests a style of combining and mixing different thematic elements. In arja dance opera, cacelantungan or cacantungan (branching out) are extemporaneous songs derived from varied poetic sources intended to suit a specific occasion within the plot development of the play.

I Gusti Bagus Tika of Bungkulan, North Bali, relates this to gending pangalang ‘introductory composition’, played for ceremonies in different ways according to time of day. At night they follow a structured ségségan sequence of compositional forms: pangalang, sekatian and pangécét.

Putu Sumiasa of Kedis, North Bali, familiar with contemporary Busungbiu repertoire, calls this pangécét sekatian, referring to the technique of playing kotékan filled with noltol/neteg, which he also calls nugtug ‘to follow up’. But the phrasing here is like pangécét légong. At 00:15 we hear kotékan telu three–part interlocking figuration associated with légong repertoire, like Lasem but without the structure of a légong piece. At 00:22 the jublag, with its soft sound due to padded mallets and suspended keys, joins the mid–range pemadé in the melody. At 01:18 a second kendang joins in for a transition into more kebyar–like style with gangska playing a mixture of neteg, oncangan and norot, which Putu Sumiasa also calls ngodot. Varying with the pitches of a phrase, the ngodot melody would be sung in Balinese solfege as ‘notndotndotndot’ or ‘nétdénténdénté’, or ‘nutndutndutndut’. Once the oncang–oncangan comes in at 01:50 the style is no longer like légong.

The use here of the lower wadon drum for the solo kendang tunggal contrasts with légong, which is led by the higher–pitched lanang drum. Komang Astita comments that this is still similar to the periring ‘condensed’ section in the légong repertoire. The one drum played here utilizes the gupekan technique associated with two–drum légong form but in a periring compositional style. Wayan Beratha suggests this kind of condensed pangécét légong was sometimes played as balaganjur music for processions to the pura désa community temple, with kendang besik gupekan ‘solo hand–drumming’ and gangska played while suspended on poles. He also tells us that his own one–kendang tunggal style used in kebyar is drawn from the two–drum patterns of pangécét légong.
18. Kebyar

Here again we hear the revolutionary northern kebyar style of sudden stops, jagged, discontinuous melodic phrases and rapid alternations from one section of the gamelan to another, especially featuring the réyong tunggal. But at the very opening byar chord we are reminded that Mémén Redia—the one artist who actually participated in the 1928 recordings and lived to tell us about it—explained that the Odeon–Beka company employees only allowed for one take of each performance; any mistakes would have to be tolerated. In the case of this Kebyar composition one may question the very definition of kebyar as “keras dan bersama,” for that opening byar is anything but bersama ‘together’.

Again at 00:20 we hear a theme similar to that used in Kapi Raja and Beratha’s Jayasemara. Putu Sumiasa comments that the playing technique here clearly reflects the instruments’ rested pacek keys. At 01:06 légong–style bapang phrasing comes in with characteristic légong kotékan figurations, kempur and with intermittent kentong striking three times beginning at 01:28. But the réyong’s kécék–kécék at 01:20 and again at 01:40 is the sound of kebyar, with mallets hitting the flat surface of the réyong’s lower rim rather than the tuned knob.

After a Jayasemara–like phrase is an eight–beat bapang at 02:04 reminiscent of bapang panasar in topéng mask dance theater. At 02:29 we are back to the Jayasemara–like kebyar themes for the conclusion.

19. Tabuh Panyelah

The word panyelah derives from selah ‘insert’, and this might refer to légong themes (in this case Lasem’s melody) being inserted into kebyar, or perhaps to the gending’s use as an intermezzo. But Beratha suggests the title reflects the old practice of inserting such instrumental interludes in between sung verses of kakawin during performances of palawakya. Again we hear the solo kendang tunggal drummer playing solo gupekan besik technique, using his hands and no mallet. At 00:14 a légong–style pangawak section begins with just a hint of the Lasem theme at the very beginning. The ugal plays the pola ‘structural form’ of palégongan but in a kebyar style.

At 01:05 we hear kotékan associated with pangécét légong played by the gangs. But the gangs’s oncangan and neteg at 01:54 joined by the réyong’s norot are certainly not in légong style. Again we hear a mix of gong
kuna interlocking with légong–like melodic phrasing and solo gupekan bapang drumming anticipating later refinements in the development of the kebyar aesthetic.

20. Tabuh Gari

Generally played as a penutup final piece in a program, Tabuh Gari is an aural signal for the audience that it is time to leave. This rendition bears no similarity to the better–known semar pagulingan, palégongan or gendér wayang versions, or the original version of Tabuh Gari in the classic gambuh repertoire, which uses it as introductory music. But the link with légong is in the use of a melodic theme from Léông Jobog heard at 02:20. Pande Madé Sukerta suggests that the single kendang drum played here is still common in northern Bali, even in semar pagulingan ensembles such as in the village of Sawan.

The work opens with légong–style kawitan and kotékan, and switches at 00:23 to neteg and noltol techniques referring back to gong kuna—and especially so in this case with the two kendang playing cedugan with mallets—and then at 00:37 into kebyar’s freer metrics. At 01:01 we hear a variety of hatél ensemble without melody, with two drums, klentong and cém–cém cymbals heard prominently, playing in the style of the kécak sections of jangér dance theater. We might assume that cém–cém were omitted from most of the recordings because they would dominate the signal picked up by the microphone. In this brief section they are played as a component of a quotation from another genre rather than as kebyar. The gong kuna style at 01:37 leads into a pangécét coming in at 01:50, which Putu Sumiasa likens to Léông Jobog. And so these earliest of kebyar recordings come to a close with a very légong–like melody and evenly–alternating kempar and klentong as if glancing back over one’s shoulder while moving on.

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• MPEG-4 excerpts from silent archival films by Rolf de Maré (1938) on this CD (World Arbiter CD 2011):

  I Marya teaching Kebyar (Igel Jongkok/Kebyar Duduk)
  I Marya teaching Igel (Kebyar) Trompong
  I Marya dancing Igel (Kebyar) Trompong

• Updates regarding ongoing research on the recordings of 1928 as well as silent film excerpts hosted on the World Arbiter and STIKOM-Bali websites: www.arbiterrecords.org and www.bali1928.net

  • I Marya dancing Igel Trompong with Gong Belaluan
    Filmed by Miguel Covarrubias circa 1930–34.
  • Ida Boda teaching lègong with the gamelan palégongan of Kelandis
    Filmed by Colin McPhee circa 1931–38.
  • Gamelan kebyar from Jineng Dalem in Singaraja, North Bali, featuring the trompong player I Gdé Lila. Filmed by Colin McPhee, circa 1931–38.
  • I Sampih dancing Igel Jongkok (Kebyar Duduk) with Gong Peliatan (A. A. Gedé Mandera, kendang). Filmed by Colin McPhee circa 1932–35.
  • Baris Poléng Ketekok Jago from Banjar Tembawu Kelod
    Filmed by Miguel Covarrubias circa 1930–34.
  • Baris Tunggal performed by I Gusti Ngurah Regug (Pedanda Rsi Agung Tegaltamu). Filmed by Rolf De Maré, 1938.
  • Céng-céng Kopyak from the Gong Gedé Sulahan. Filmed by Colin McPhee circa 1931–38.
  • Ngoncang: Munyiang Ketungan dengan Lu Seseh (Women sounding a wooden mortar with wood poles); Ngelesung Padi di Ketungan (Husking rice in a wooden mortar); Nebuk Padi dengan Petung (Husking rice on the ground with bamboo poles). Filmed by Colin McPhee circa 1931–38.
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Edward Herbst made his first visit to Bali in 1972 while working toward his B.A. at Bennington College, spending one year studying gendèr wayang and palégongan with the I Madé Gerindem in Teges Kanginan, gong–smithing practices and acoustics in Tihingan, Klungkung, and the inter–relationship between gamelan and dance–theater. He and Beth Skinner studied with I Nyoman Kakul, master of gambuh, baris, and topéng, while living with his family in Batuan. In 1980–81, Herbst spent fifteen months on a Fulbright in Bali focusing on vocal music performance with gamelan and dance–theater, studying with I Madé Pasek Tempo of Tampaksiring, Ni Nyoman Candri, and Pandé Madé Kenyir of Singapadu, I Ketut Rinda of Blahbatu, among others. He was commissioned by Sardono Kusumo’s experimental Indonesian dance theater company to collaborate as composer and solo vocalist on Maha Buta in Switzerland and Mexico as well as Sardono’s film, The Sorceress of Dirah, in Indonesia. After receiving a Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University he returned to Bali for four months in 1992 (funded by the Asian Cultural Council) to complete research for a book, Voices in Bali: Energies and Perceptions in Vocal Music and Dance Theater (Wesleyan University Press). He continues to balance research, lecturing and creative projects in Indonesia with his role in the U.S. as co–artistic director and composer for the performance company Triple Shadow. He is currently a Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology at Hunter College–City University of New York.
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