

MUSIC ~~AND DANCE~~
IN THE MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY
OF WEST MALAYSIA

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M.Phil 1972



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This thesis aims to survey the music of the various peoples that form the multi-racial society of West Malaysia. The music peculiar to each race and common to them all is discussed, with greater attention to the music of the aborigines and the Malays than to that of the other communities. The music of the aborigines is indigenous. That of the Malays belongs to the peninsula, although it is largely derivative and reflects influences from several areas, chiefly the Middle East, Thailand and Indonesia. No comprehensive study of the music of either the aborigines or the Malays is at present available.

The music of the Chinese and Indian communities, in contrast, was brought to the peninsula by the immigrants. It has been diluted, but it remains closely related to the music still performed in the homelands from which they came. As authoritative studies already exist of Chinese and Indian music (both North and South), only details immediately relevant to West Malaysia are included here.

Although the primary concern of the thesis is music, the close association of much of the peninsula's traditional music with dance and ritual made it impossible to write exclusively of that one art. Some account of the social and religious environment of the music has seemed important as has also descriptions of performances, now obsolete, which are known to have included music. In this way an attempt has been made to provide a representative survey of the place of music in the lives of the peoples of the peninsula in the past as well as at present.

The survey is still incomplete. Its area has proved more extensive than at first appeared, and every aspect of it warrants further investigation. It is hoped that this introductory study may indicate possible lines for future research.

Acknowledgements

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The research in Malaya was made possible by a grant from the Central Research Fund of the University of London.

The photographs of instruments in the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur have been included with the permission of that museum.

Throughout the thesis Malay words are given in their Romanised form. Three Dictionaries have been used:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Wilkinson, R. J. | A Malay-English Dictionary, Kelly and Walsh Ltd
Singapore, 1901 |
| " | A Malay-English Dictionary (Romanised),
Macmillan and Co. Ltd., London, 1959 |
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(Rev. and enlarged by
A. E. Coope and Mohd.
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Chapter I

West Malaysia and its Peoples .

West Malaysia is the most recent name given to the long narrow peninsula which stretches southwards from Thailand almost to the equator. On its east coast is the South China Sea, and on its west the Straits of Malacca which divide it from the Indonesian island of Sumatra. At its southernmost tip lies the island of Singapore to which it is linked by a causeway across the Straits of Johore, but from which it is separated politically.

Before the Japanese occupation of 1941-1945 there were three distinct groups of states on the peninsula - the Federated Malay States of Pahang, Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan, the Unfederated Malay States of Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis and Trengganu, and the two Straits Settlements of Malacca and Penang. Such a loosely knit group of states was ill-equipped to meet the post-war problems of South-East Asia, and in 1946 a plan was drawn up with the aim of promoting political unity. This envisaged a Malayan Union in which the Malay states, together with Malacca and Penang, would be merged into one unified state under a Governor-General. Such a union would have removed many of the powers of the Malay rulers and so was completely unacceptable to the Malays. Instead, in 1948 they agreed to a Federation of States under a High Commissioner. On 31st August, 1957, the situation changed again when this Federation of Malaya became

an independent monarchy with a sovereign elected quinquennially and a federal structure of government with a bicameral legislature.

Nine of the eleven states of the Federation had its own Malay ruler, the other two, Malacca and Penang, had governors. They all owed their final allegiance to the Paramount Ruler, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, elected by and from the Malay rulers, and to the Federation's Parliament in Kuala Lumpur. Malay was the national language, with English as a second official language until at least 1967. The official religion was Islam, but freedom of worship for people of other faiths was guaranteed by the Constitution.

Six years later, on 16th September, 1963, this Federation of Malaya joined with the three neighbouring British colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo (the name of which was changed to Sabah) to form a larger unit - the Federation of Malaysia. From this Federation Singapore withdrew on 9th August 1965, leaving Malaysia as a federation of thirteen states. The following year, 5th August, 1966, the Malaysian Government in Kuala Lumpur announced that the Federation of Malaya would henceforth be called West Malaysia, and that Sarawak and Sabah together would be known as East Malaysia. All the peoples in the Federation were now Malaysians.

In this thesis ' Malaysia ' is used as the name of this larger Federation as it has existed since 1965² and 'Malaysian' for all its peoples irrespective of their racial origins.³ The word 'Malay' refers to the members of the largest racial group.⁴

Their language, which is the national language of the Federation is officially termed Bahasa Malaysia.

It is with the music of West Malaysia, the former Federation of Malaya, that this thesis is concerned.

The Peoples of West Malaysia.

The position of the Malay peninsula, about mid-way between India and China and on an important trading route between East and West early made it the home of a variety of peoples. Later, the need for workers in the tin mines and on the rubber estates brought more immigrants into the country, with the result that West Malaysia now has a multi-racial population, with the Malays, Chinese and Indians (with Pakistanis) forming the three largest racial groups, and with several other small communities composed of aborigines, Eurasians, Europeans and members of other races, e.g. Jews and Filipinos.

Although similar in area to England, 50,915 square miles, the peninsula is comparatively thinly populated, for about four fifths of its surface area is covered with mountains, tropical forests, jungles and swamps.

The Malaysian Year Book 1970 gives the population as 8, 655, 299, distributed as follows:

<u>State:</u>	<u>Population:</u>
Johore	1, 326, 772
Kedah	936, 825
Kelantan	684, 554
Malacca	416, 795
Negri Sembilan	517, 451
Pahang	431, 747
Penang with Province Wellesley	761, 194
Perak	1, 656, 985
Perlis	118, 987
Selangor	1, 431, 707
Trengganu	382, 282

Although the Malays just outnumber the Chinese in the whole of West Malaysia, the Chinese are in the majority in Penang, Perak and Selangor. They tend to live in the states of the west and the south where the towns are found; the Malays are concentrated in the predominantly rural areas of the east and north. In all areas both races live side by side with each other and with members of other races, mixing together for many social, educational and trading purposes.

The Malays:

The word 'Malay' is an umbrella term given to all the people in the peninsula who profess the Muslim religion, conform to Malay customs, and speak Malay as their first language. They may be racial Malays, or people of other races who have 'entered the Malay world' (masok Melayu), by accepting the conditions just referred to, but especially that of becoming a

Muslim. The Malay is an orthodox Muslim of the Shafi'ite school.

The present day racial Malay has been described by Dr. R. O. Winstedt⁶ as

.....the Proto-Malay plus many foreign strains derived from intermarriage with Chinese from the Chou period onwards, with Indians from Bengal and the Deccan, with Arabs and Siamese.

The original home of the Proto-Malay was most probably in the neighbourhood of Yunan in China. From there it is thought that he migrated between 2,500 and 1,500 B. C. and spread down the peninsula to the southernmost coast. Some of the migrants remained, but large numbers crossed in outrigger craft to the Indonesian archipelago and some travelled as far as Easter Island and Madagascar. This theory⁷ is largely based on the quadrangular adze culture, accompanied by unglazed cordmarked pottery which has been traced from China southwards, from the simple adze-type with quadrangular cross-section and semi-circular edge found in Laos through an intermediate type frequent in the Malay peninsula, to the highly specialised pick-adzes of Java and Sumatra.

From about 300 B. C. the Proto-Malays who remained on the peninsula were pushed inland by new immigrants, also from the Yunan area and basically of the same race. That these Deutero-Malays had acquired a knowledge of metals can be seen from the bronze drums and bells found in Klang, Selangor. Like the Proto-Malays, many of them moved on from the peninsula to the islands of the archipelago.

To the descendants of these early settlers were added successive migrations of Malays from the Indonesian archipelago

who came back and settled at convenient harbours like Singapore and Malacca, or followed the rivers inland and formed the river states and settlements which are still the distinctive Malay portions of the country. In the 1947 census when the Malays (then called Malaysians) were separately tabulated for the first time, they included 188,000 Javanese, 20,000 Bajanese, 11,000 Menangkabaus, 15,000 other Sumatran peoples, 62,000 Bajanese and 7,000 Bugis. This was out of a total of 2,544,000 for Malaya with Singapore. The diversity of their places of origin does not however, affect the social solidarity of the Malays in the political sphere - although this solidarity is of a fairly recent growth.

The majority of Malays still live in village communities called kampongs, earning their livelihood from the land and the sea. They continue to work at a number of crafts, e.g. weaving and metal-work in gold and silver, and they form the largest number of people in administrative posts and the army.

Islam was brought to the peninsula from North Sumatra early in the fifteenth century, and took root there when Megat Iskandar Shah, the first ruler of Malacca, became a Muslim in 1414. It is now the state religion, but below the surface of the Malays' Islamic faith can be found strong strains of Hinduism, and deeper still, traces of the animism or shamanism of the earliest inhabitants of the peninsula.

The Chinese:

The fact that there are nearly as many Chinese as Malays in West Malaysia (37 per cent of the total population) is one of the

major factors influencing the political thinking of the area. The Chinese arrived in the peninsula at a very early period, but the first Malay mention of their presence is found in the Sejarah Melayu, the 'Malay Annals', a mixture of folk-lore and history from fifteenth century Malacca. The Annals tell how the Chinese Emperor sent to Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca a junk full of as many needles as there were people in China, and how the Malay sultan sent in return envoys with a cargo of sago, every bead of which was rolled by one of his subjects. For Mansur Shah they brought home a bride, Hang Liu. The five hundred gentry who accompanied her settled in Malacca, and gave the area of Bukit China its name.

At first Islam was not sufficiently strong amongst the Malays to prevent them from marrying with the Chinese. But when they became strict Muslims, the attention of the Chinese turned to Balinese and Batak slaves, and these became the mothers of a 'Baba' race. The Babas maintained their Chinese customs and kept their distinctive dress, but they lost their own language and spoke a pidgin Malay instead.

The basic interest of the early immigrants from China was trade, and most of them lived in or near the main ports, hoping to be able to return to their homeland when they had made sufficient money. Increasing numbers were attracted by the development of the tin mines, particularly in the mid-nineteenth century. As the numbers increased, so also did the variety of their occupations.

They have made a great contribution to the economic growth of West Malaysia, and most of the commerce is in their hands. They are the bankers, business men and shopkeepers and they own tin mines, rubber plantations, bus companies and factories. From the humblest of beginnings many of them have become millionaires. They are also well represented in such professions as medicine, the law and education.

Nearly all the Chinese immigrants originated in the South-Eastern provinces, Kwangtung, Fukien and Kwangsi, and represented a variety of linguistic groups, Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Tiechius, Hainanese, Kwongsai, Hokchiu, Hockchia and Henghwa. Kuo Yu is the official spoken language today. Their religion tends to be a mixture of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, together with homage to local deities (shen) which do not exist in China.

West Malaysia is now their home, but for some of them there remains a conflict of loyalties - loyalty to their ancestral home and its customs, and loyalty to the country of their adoption. With a decrease in the number of China-born Malaysians and less contact with the mainland of China, this conflict may be eased.

The Indians:

The third largest racial group, although considerably smaller than the previous two, is made up of Indians and Pakistanis. About nine-tenths of these, Tamils, Telegus and Malayalis are from South India; the remaining tenth come from North India and Pakistan -

Sikhs, Punjabis, Pathans, Bengalis, Mahrattas and Afghans.

To the local people all Southern Indians are called 'Klings' after the mediaeval kingdom of Kalinga, north of the Coromandel coast.

Although the term is really a tribute to their past greatness, the Southern Indians dislike it and regard it as a term of abuse.

Other Indians tend to be thought of as 'Bengalis', irrespective of their geographical or racial origins.

India was the first foreign country to make its influence felt in the Malay peninsula; this influence remains strong and throughout this thesis references are made to traces of Hinduism still found in Malay traditions and ritual.

During the first centuries A.D. Indians arrived from the ports of the Coromandel coast for the purpose of barter and trade. ⁹ Through their contacts with these visitors the local Malay rulers, who already had an established socio-economic organisation, began to realise that Indian concepts could help them to legitimize their political status, and to their courts they summoned brahmans and holy men skilled in protocol and ritual. It was this small but important group who introduced the Hindu culture which has had a lasting influence upon both the spiritual and material life of the Malays.

Not only Hinduism came from India. Buddhism was known in the north-west of the peninsula as early as the fourth and fifth centuries as is proved by inscriptions of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhists, together with a bronze Hinayana Buddha in the Greek style of Amaravati found in Kedah, and two Buddhist images of Gupta style from the Kinta

valley in Perak.

At first the Hindu and Buddhist contacts were limited almost entirely to the courts of the rulers and the ports, but their influence gradually spread further a-field, to be reinforced later by the establishment of the Mahayana Buddhist kingdom of Sri Vijaya, in the eighth century and Hindu Majapahit which conquered Sri Vijaya about the middle of the fourteenth century.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries merchants from Gujerat and Bengal began to infiltrate into the Straits of Malacca with their trade and the teachings of Islam. Then, several centuries later, with the establishment of Penang by the East India Company in 1786, and the return of Malacca to Britain from the Dutch in 1824, Indians again began to settle in the peninsula. But it was not until the end of last century when British administration had provided a measure of stability, and rubber planting was becoming a new industry that Indian immigrants were attracted to the country in large numbers. They tended to stay for an even shorter time than the Chinese, and until recently the Indian population was very fluid.

Nowadays, most of the Tamils, Telegus and Malayalis work as tappers on the rubber estates, on the roads and railways and in the Public Works Department. Sikhs can be found everywhere as watchmen. Increasing numbers of both Indians and Pakistanis are entering the professional classes as doctors, lawyers and school teachers.

A variety of languages is spoken by this community- Tamil (the most common), Gujerati, Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, Malayalam,

Punjabi, Telegu and Urdu. Most Indians are Hindus, although there is a fair sprinkling of Christians. The Pakistanis are Muslims and sometimes marry with the Malays.

In population statistics the Ceylonese are generally included with the Indians. Their occupations vary: some are clerks, others are jewellers, carpenters, barbers and labourers. The younger generation is well represented in administration and the professions.

The Aborigines:

The next largest group, estimated to be about 50,000 in number, is composed of the aborigines (orang asli). Their greatest concentration is in Pahang, Perak and Kelantan, but they can be found in smaller groups throughout the country in every state, with the exceptions of Penang and Perlis.

They are usually divided by ethnologists into three main groups, each with subdivisions. About these divisions there is not complete agreement, and in any case there has been considerable intermarriage amongst members of the various tribes and sometimes with the Malays. Nor is there one accepted set of names for the three groupings. The word sakai is frequently used by European writers, and indeed by the Malays themselves, as a generic term for all the aborigines or for one particular group of them - the Senoi; but the meaning of this Malay word 'dependants', 'retainers', 'subjects', makes it unacceptable to the aborigines themselves.

In this thesis the names used are those given to the three main groups by P.D.R. Williams-Hunt : Negrito, Senoi and Aboriginal Malay.

The Negritos:

The Negritos are considered to be the oldest and racially purest of the aborigines. They are chiefly found in the northern and eastern parts of the country, Perak, Kedah and Kelantan. Although they form the smallest of the three main groups, their estimated number being about 3,000, they subdivide into even smaller groups including the Kensiu, Kintaq, Jahai, Mendriq, Bateq and Lanoh.

Small, dark-skinned and woolly haired, they are nomads, with no buildings more permanent than the leaf wind-shelters of their family groups. Their communities are small, varying from a single family of four or six people to a group of related families numbering thirty or forty. They move over a large area, some of them ranging from North Kelantan through North Perak to South Thailand and back again. During their journeys they hunt small animals and gather jungle roots for food. Occasionally they find jobs for a few months in remote Malay kampongs, and some of them are beginning to practise agriculture. They are shamanists.

The Negritos are related to small groups of people found in the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, New Guinea and various parts of Indonesia. Their dialects have affinities with the Mon Khmer family of languages.

The Senoi:

The second main group, the Senoi, live in the central mountain range and its outliers, and number about 26,000. There are two main tribes, the Temiar in the north of the area and the Semai in the south, with other smaller sub divisions.

Amongst them are many different types, but generally speaking they are slightly taller than the Negritos, with cinnamon-coloured skins, wavy hair and finer features. They live in family units, sometimes in separate houses, sometimes with related families in a long house, and grow rice, millet, tapioca, bananas and perhaps a little sugar and tobacco in clearings called ladangs. When the soil is exhausted, they move and make another clearing elsewhere. They hunt animals which they catch in bamboo traps and snares, or kill with the darts tipped with ipoh poison blown from hollow bamboo pipes. They eat jungle roots and berries, animals, fish and their own crops. Like the Negritos they are shamanists.

The Senoi are thought to be related to primitive peoples in various other parts of South-East Asia - Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Indonesian archipelago. They are basically Mongoloid, although they display varying traits including Melanesian, Australoid and Nesoit. Their languages are probably related to the Mon Khmer family.

The Aboriginal Malays:

To the south of the Senoi, stretching down as far as South Johore are various tribes, the Belandas, Bেসisi, Mantra and Jakun, which make up the third group, the Aboriginal Malays, sometimes called Proto-Malays or even, Jakun. They have Indonesian and Mongoloid strains, and some have Melanesoid blood. There has been considerable intermarriage between them and other aborigine groups, and between them and the Malays.

Some of them live in the jungle on fruits and wild game; some, the Orang Laut, ' the people of the sea ', live in huts on the sea-coast or on boats and depend on fishing for a livelihood. Others follow a more settled way of life on rubber and tobacco plantations, and even enjoy such luxuries as radios and motor-cycles. They are animists, but from their neighbours they have learnt to invoke the Hindu deities, and some have become Muslims. Many of the Aboriginal Malays, whose basic language is an archaic form of Malay, have forgotten their original dialects and speak modern Malay.

A number of smaller tribes whose music will be mentioned later do not fit easily into any of the three main groups - e.g. the Semelai of Negri Sembilan, and the Jah Hut, Che Wong and Semoq Beri of Pahang.

Eurasians and Europeans:

The remaining large group of people in West Malaysia is made up of Eurasians and Europeans, in which, for purposes of statistics citizens of the USA are included. The majority of the small Eurasian community are of Portuguese descent and live in or around Malacca. This rich port fell to a Portuguese fleet led by Alfonso d'Albuquerque on 8th August 1511, two years after the first attempt to capture it by Deige Lopez de Sequeira had failed. The Portuguese needed Malacca in order to gain the monopoly of the trades in spice and silk based in the Moluccas and China, but they also had another aim - to convert the Muslims to Christianity.

Their rule over Malacca lasted about 130 years and their descendants still speak a patois based on mediaeval Portuguese, and practise the Roman Catholic faith.

Other Eurasians are of Dutch descent. In 1641 the Portuguese lost control of Malacca to the Dutch who came to the Malay peninsula with a single objective - trade. Their aim was to control all Asian trade by means of their sea-power, and for this they had to remove their one serious rival from South-East Asian waters. They remained in Malacca until 1795 when Holland was completely over-run by the French armies, and its ruler escaped to England. In the so-called "Kew Letters", he agreed to let the English take over all dependencies in South-East Asia to prevent the French from getting them. As a result of this the British occupied Malacca. The port was returned to Holland in 1814 by the Convention of London, but the Dutch did not take it back for four years, and then in 1824, it changed hands again when it was finally ceded to Britain by the Treaty of London.

Like the Portuguese, the Dutch were largely confined to Malacca and had little direct influence on the rest of the peninsula. Today their descendants do not form a separate community, but can be found scattered throughout the population.

The largest group of Europeans in West Malaysia consists of the British who have had close relations with the peninsula since Francis Light was appointed Superintendent of Penang by the East India Company on 17th July 1786. Nine years later British troops occupied Malacca, and as has been seen, this

port was finally ceded to Britain in 1824. In 1826 Penang, Malacca and Singapore were combined to form the Colony of the Straits Settlements, and in 1867 their administration became the responsibility of the Colonial Office. From 1873 onwards, British residents were appointed in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang to advise the Sultans and chiefs on all matters other than those relating to Malay religion and custom. English gradually became the language of government and business, and an English education was coveted by members of all races. With the declaration of independence for Malaya in 1957, Britain's role in the government of the peninsula came to an end. Today the British are chiefly employed in business, planting and mining, or in professional posts as doctors, lawyers, accountants and journalists.

Although the number of citizens of the USA living in West Malaysia is small, American influence is prevalent in many aspects of life, particularly in the south and in the urban areas of the west.

West Malaysia and Its Peoples

Footnotes

1. the island of Singapore was also a Straits Settlement
2. the word 'Malaysia' was originally used to refer to the whole area covered by the Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago
3. in references and quotations which pre-date the formation of the Federation of Malaysia the word 'Malayan' has been used to describe all the peoples of the peninsula
4. in the past the Census Reports of the Federation of Malaya and of Singapore used the term 'Malaysian' for this racial group - including both the Malays who regarded the peninsula as their homeland, and the Malay-speaking Muslims from Sumatra, Java and elsewhere who had become absorbed into this Malay population
5. pub. by The Straits Times Press (Malaya) Bd.
6. The Malays, A Cultural History, London, 1955, p.15
7. this theory of Dr. Heine-Geldern and Dr. Van Stein Callenfels is quoted by Winstedt, op. cit., p. 11
8. quoted by Winstedt, Malaya and Its History, London, 1958
9. Winstedt, p. 26, suggests that it was probably an Indian ship that brought an Attic vase of the 5th century B. C. to Perlis
10. An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines, Kuala Lumpur, 1952, p. 1. Williams-Hunt, an Adviser on Aborigines, married into a Temiar community.
11. often referred to as the Semang. Some writers sub-divide the group up into the Semang - the Negritos of the east of the peninsula and the Pangan - those of the West. But I. H. N. Evans, The Negritos of Malaya, CUP, 1937 p. 311, considers these terms confusing, and prefers to use the one word 'Negrito' for both. The terms Semang and Pangan have been retained in the section on the Music of the Aborigines when quotations from earlier writers necessitated it.

Chapter II

The Music of the Aborigines

Music occupies an important place in the lives of most of the aborigines (orang asli) of the peninsula. They have songs about their ancestors, their environment and their daily activities, songs for recreation and songs closely associated with their religion. Some of these are traditional, others are improvised to suit particular occasions. They often sing to themselves as they move about the jungle, and at night mothers lull their babies to sleep with a combination of humming, rocking and singing¹. Both men and women gather for communal dances in one of their larger houses, and they play a variety of musical instruments, almost all of which are made from the bamboo that is an integral part of their culture.

This chapter contains a description of the music, dances and musical instruments of each of the three chief groups of aborigines: Senoi, Negrito and Aboriginal Malay, both at the present time and as described by earlier writers.

(i) The Senoi:

Both the branches of the Senoi group a) the Temiar and b) the Semai have their own songs, musical instruments and ceremonial and recreational dances which are accompanied by both singing and instruments. The music of the Temiar is better known to me than that of the Semai, and more of it is available on record and tape. Much of the present interest in the Temiar was first aroused by the late H. D. (Pat) Noone² who was the first protector of Aborigines for Perak

and through marriage a member of their community. He was greatly impressed by the part music and dancing played in their lives and by the close connection between these arts and their religion. From the moment of birth right through their lives rhythm was of particular significance to them. In a letter home Noone told his parents that when a young child was born a rhythm was drummed close to its ear, softly at first and then progressively louder until it breathed ³.

Realising how important it was to preserve this music and make it available to scholars, Noone arranged for a dozen or so of the best known Temiar singers to meet together in a specially constructed long house at Grik, Upper Perak in 1941 to be recorded by the Malayan Broadcasting Corporation's mobile recording unit. This was just before the outbreak of the war with Japan when the future of the aborigines and their culture was uncertain. There was a degree of artificiality in the situation, for Temiar singing and dancing usually go together, but for technical reasons connected with the recording the dancing had to be omitted ⁴. Since then other examples of Temiar music have become available for study purposes, and on 9th August, 1962, I was present at an evening of recreational song and dance in the Temiar community of Penghulu Chawan at Kuala Kenrap on the River Nenggiri in Kelantan.

This section concentrates on the songs and dances of the Temiar, describes those of the Semai in less detail, and finally discusses any instruments of the whole Senoi group not already mentioned in relation to their singing and dancing.

a) The Temiar

Any study of the music of the Temiar involves some understanding of the religious beliefs which provide much of its inspiration.

As shaminists they believe in the existence of a spiritual world behind the material form of their jungle surroundings. Some of the spirits are associated with specific places or objects such as trees, mountains, rapids and waterfalls. Others, like the spirits of the dead, are free to wander about unimpeded. Some are evil, others good. The evil ones cause disasters like floods, crop failure and death; but the good ones are ready to act as man's guardians and directors. The link between these spirits and human beings is a member of the Temiar community known as a hala. He can invoke their protection through his gunig, a spirit-guide whom he meets when, during sleep his body-soul goes wandering in the jungle.

This gunig, having chosen the hala as a medium, offers to become his guardian, and give him a revelation of significance for the group. This may include a verse of poetry, the music for a song and dance, and even the decorations to be worn by the performers. If the hala performs the song and dance according to the specific directions he has received, he can summon his gunig to come and possess him. Some gunigs confer on him special powers with which he can affect the bodies of the performers, enabling them to withstand pain or undertake such feats as eating fire. Others endow him with healing powers which he can pass on by blowing cold breath through his clenched fists and slapping the sick person's body with the fragrant leaves intimately connected with the gunig. In exceptional cases the revelation may affect the future welfare

6

of the tribe or even people further afield.

Although the Temiar's beliefs are the inspiration for much of their singing and dancing, these activities are not limited to ceremonial or ritualistic occasions. A successful day's hunting or the arrival of visitors, indeed, almost any event provides a sufficiently good reason for them. At Kuala Kenrap singing could be heard around the settlement at all hours of the day, and there were lullabies in the long-house at night.

When the Temiar community gather together to sing, a fairly set pattern is followed. At one end of the house squat the instrumentalists, generally the women of the group, playing their bamboo stampers⁷. The bamboo stamper is a pitch percussion instrument consisting of a section of bamboo, one end of which is closed by the node. Stampers are played in pairs, the smaller one (higher in pitch) being held in the right hand, the larger and lower one in the left. They produce notes which are often an interval of a 4th or 5th apart when their closed ends are struck on a log of wood, the bamboo floor or any other resonant material⁸. The instrumentalists begin a steady beating, the beaters being struck alternately with one note, occasionally two notes, forming the basic pulse. Then from somewhere in the group a male or female solo voice sings the opening notes of a melody, and gradually the rest of the group join in imitating this opening phrase. Sometimes the beginning of their phrase overlaps with the ending of the previous one, and in so doing begins a

rudimentary type of polyphony. This may have had its origins in chance; it has now become a tradition.

Much of the Temiar solo-chorus singing is basically simple in its structure. Sometimes it is centred on a single note as in 'Hanjoi' (Temiar Dream Songs: side 1, band 1). Above a regular pulse beat out by the bamboo stampers a fifth apart  different rhythms are created by the syllables of the words used:



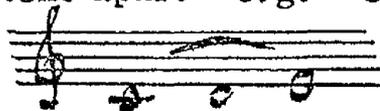
The recitation of the words is primarily on one note but the voices sometimes reach up to it from below:  or even: 

In 'Hanjoi' the response follows the announcement without a break and with no overlapping of parts.

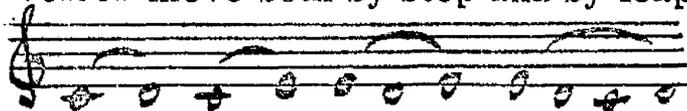
Some melodies have only two notes, as in the following example from Kuala Kenrap, the upper of the two acting as the focal point:



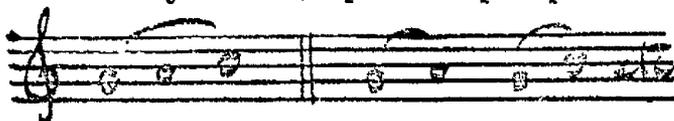
Other melodies, with the same range of a third use three notes, each a tone apart - e.g. 'Chinchem' (T.D.S. side 1, band 3);



Here the voices move both by step and by leap of a major 3rd:



and end their phrases on any of the three notes. At a later stage of the song this melody is transposed up a perfect 5th (bands 4 and 5):



This is a fairly frequent feature of the singing. Different patterns are formed by the three notes of other tunes, one of the most common being:



with the range of a fifth (e.g. 'Siku' T.D.S. side 1, band 6). From the first note the melody leaps up a perfect 4th to the other two notes which are a tone apart. The second note in this pattern is the focal point, with the third acting as an auxiliary note. As the lowest note is sometimes sustained by one voice whilst the other voices continue to sing the melody, intervals of perfect 4ths and 5ths are formed.

Different patterns of three notes are heard in 'Telei Bah Peb' and 'Dalam Guni' (T.D.S. side 2, bands 1 and 3). In 'Telei Bah Peb' with a range of a fourth, the first and second notes are a tone apart, and the interval between the second and the third is a minor 3rd - an important interval throughout the melody. The middle of the three notes is the focal note to which the others are drawn:



In 'Dalam Guni' the range is a fifth, with the two lowest notes a tone apart, and with a prominent interval of a perfect 4th. between the note which carries the main emphasis and the highest note:



'Bah Sain' (T.D.S. side 1, band 1) uses four notes over a range of a sixth:



Three of the notes, each a tone apart, form a cluster whose lowest note is a perfect 4th above the first note. The middle note of this cluster is the focal point, but there is also a strong pull downwards from the lowest note of the cluster to the first note of the pattern. As this initial note is frequently sustained beneath the moving notes intervals of perfect 4ths and 5ths (and more rarely major 6ths) are formed.

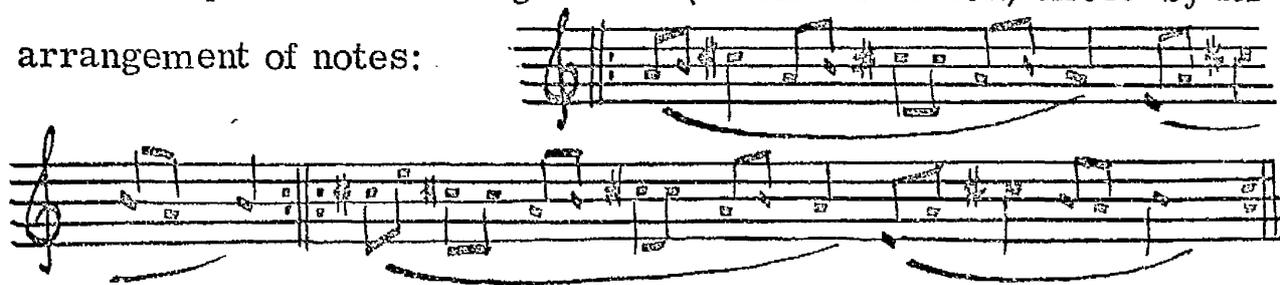
A development of this pattern is a five-note melody with the range of an octave (e.g. ' Alus' T.D.S. side 2, band 5), the octave of the initial note being added. The third note in this pattern acts as the focus of the melody, and the interval of the perfect 4th is strongly felt, both between the initial note and the first of the cluster, and between the middle note of the cluster and the highest note. The major 3rd is also prominent:



The Temiar nose flute melody (T.D.S. side 2, band 6) uses the same note pattern but extends its range below the octave:



Another five-note melody from Kuala Kenrap with the range of an octave produces a strong chordal(second inversion) effect by its arrangement of notes:



A six note tune from Kuala Kenrap is composed of three groups of two notes, each a tone apart, with two minor thirds linking the groups together. The minor 3rd is the most prominent interval in the melody, but the perfect 4th is also felt quite strongly. The rhythmic pattern used is more elaborate than others quoted so far, and the manner of its singing by the main soloist and female chorus produces an embryonic canon:

Male soloist

Female chorus

Drummers

etc.

One of the most effective canons from Kuala Kenrap made use of only two notes sung at the distance of a minor 3rd. After a short break in the singing the opening note of the melody was pitched a major 3rd higher, with the interval between the notes becoming a major 3rd:

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a canon. It consists of three staves of music, each with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The music is written in a simple, rhythmic style, using only two notes: a G4 and a Bb4. The first staff begins with a G4, and the second and third staves begin with a Bb4, illustrating the minor 3rd interval. After a short break, the first staff begins with a G5, and the second and third staves begin with a Bb5, illustrating the major 3rd interval. The score is marked with slurs and accents. Below the first staff, there is a drum part labeled "Stamps" with the notation "sina,". The score is written on a single page with a double bar line at the end of the third staff.

A more elaborate canon from Kuala Kenrap was built out of three notes:

Male solo

Female Chorus

The last two examples are both from Kuala Kenrap. The first melody 'Ligloos' has a more complex rhythm than usual, and is built on two minor 3rds., each linked by a tone, thus creating a minor 7th between the highest and lowest notes linking the phrases:

etc

The second example shows the structure of one of the song performances at Kuala Kenrap:

a - solo, A - all, B - all, C - solo, C - all;

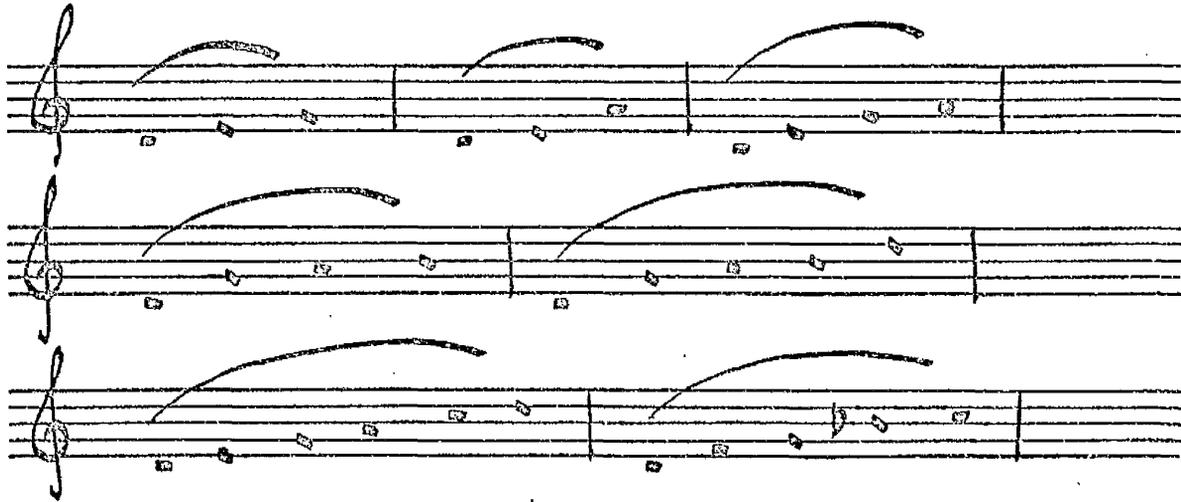
Aii - solo, Aii - all, B- solo, B - all, C - solo, C - all;

Ai - solo, Ai - all, B - solo, B- all, C - solo, C - all;

Ai - solo, Aii - all.

The basic melodic pattern proves to be: a ABC ABC ABC A

The following table summarises the note patterns from which all the melodies just quoted as examples have grown, and indicates their relationship to the pentatonic scale systems:



The stampers used to accompany the melodies usually play two notes at intervals of 4ths and 5ths. Although one of the stampers may share a common note with the melody their performance seems to bear no conscious harmonic relationship to it. The occasional chordal effect they produce appears to be unintentional. Normally they beat the pulses, but when excitement increases in a dance they sometimes give two beats to each pulse. Different patterns of accents and rhythms emerge during a performance:



These are comparatively few compared with the regular unaccented pulse beating that continues for most of the performance.

The songs have many subjects. An idea of some of them can be gained from the recording made by Noone:

Bah Sain: this song given to the hala, Bah Sain, by the spirit of the wind amongst the bamboos, tells the Temiar that the wind in the bamboos is the force that moves the airplanes they see flying in the sky.

Siku: a song from the spirit of the Siku mountains warning the Temiar who are helping to clear the jungles for the hill station of the Cameron Highlands of the possible dangers of contact with the 'White Strangers' :

White Strangers come from Kuala Lumpur,
From Singapore they come
From Ipoh in their motor cars up the Batang Padang,
But with them comes disease.

Ajin: a song given by a tiger spirit to a chief in the Ulu Nenggiri in Kelantan. Its message led his group to make a new settlement in Ajin, just over the border of the Cameron Highlands.

In addition to singing their traditional songs, most aborigines are clever at improvising verses for an occasion. Some observers consider the Temiar to be the most graceful of all the aboriginal dancers . Their dances take place at night, usually on the central floor of the group's long-house or another large house. This floor is made of thin strips of split bamboo laid criss-cross - sufficiently springy to give lift to the dancing and yet strong enough to bear the weight of a hundred or so people. Dancing for

recreational purposes lasts for only one night: a ceremonial dance may continue for three or four nights with the group's day-time activities going on just as usual. After the death of a headman or elder, there may be dancing for as long as three weeks.

The dances begin in exactly the same way as the songs. The bamboo stampers beat out a steady pulse and one of the community starts singing, his (often her) phrases being taken up by the rest of the group in chorus. In the recreational dances the soloist may be any member of the group: in the ritual dance it normally is the hala. Gradually individual dancers come onto the floor and begin circling around at a walking pace. This circular movement is usually anti-clockwise. At Kuala Kenrap the majority of the dancers moved this way.

At first the stampers beat out a fairly slow tempo, and the dancers' movements are correspondingly slow.¹¹ Their heads often droop,¹² and at first they may show no signs of pleasure in the dancing. As the tempo of the stampers quickens, greater excitement is conveyed to the dancers, and they begin to wave their hands and bend and unbend their whole bodies. Often, becoming more abandoned, they sway their bodies, shake their heads and stamp their feet without any uniform pattern or repetition of gestures until the whole house seems to be vibrating.

At this stage if, as at Kuala Kenrap, the dancing is for recreational purposes only, the performance begins to fade out and individuals leave the floor to make their way to bed. When, however, the dance has religious significance, the excitement increases,

accompanied by abandoned movements and the frantic beating of the stampers until the hala who is leading the dance suddenly leaps up and then falls back to the floor in the circle of dancers. The dance has been performed according to the instructions received by the gunig and the spirit has come to possess the hala who now has the power to heal and perform other remarkable acts.

Sometimes it is one of the other dancers who falls down in a trance and has to be revived by the hala who blows through crushed herbs in half-closed hands onto his tense muscles, and beats his body with palm leaves.

It is quite common for dancers in a trance to snatch the glowing embers from fires burning on the family hearths around the central dancing floor and begin to eat them. Sizzling steam and smoke pour from their mouths as they circle round, but no damage appears to be done to their tongues and mouths ¹³. This happens regularly in the Jinjang, a dance first performed many years before the second world war in a long-house in the mountains separating Perak from Kelantan. The dance is said to have proved so beneficial to the Temiar that it has now spread over all the northern part of the country. Other features of this particular dance are the movement pattern - two steps forward and one back - the circular swaying movements of the body with waving hands and stamping feet, and the way each dancer in turn bows with a flourish of ceremonial streamers in front of the drum.

Not all the aborigine dances have as much movement. Some of the women's dances e.g. the Chinachit and the Chachi are little more than hand and body movements with the feet firmly planted in

one place to singing from the men and the beating of bamboo stampers. For these movements the women often stand up just where they happen to be sitting; sometimes, however, they combine them with a slow walk in an anti-clockwise direction.¹⁴

In a male dance, the Kenanyar, a different step is introduced. As they move round in their circle, the dancers stop every so often and hop a few paces forwards before they continue in their circular movement. They also perform various hand and arm movements similar to those of the women in the Chinachit and the Chachi.

That Temiar dancing can be merry as well as solemn is indicated in Slimming's description of a dance for men and women at Lambok¹⁵. In this the women, holding hands in a circle, moved around in skips and jumps, whilst the men, also holding hands, formed an outer circle and whirled around in the opposite direction. As they did so, some onlookers began to chant, taking their time not from the stampers but from the beat of a gong. The circle broke and re-formed as onlookers joined in and tired male dancers extricated themselves, to rest against the sides of the long-house. Enclosed within the men's circle the women had no means of escape, and had to dance on until their foot-movements became 'erratic and wild'. By three o'clock in the morning their movements were losing grace, and there was so much shouting and fun that the dancing was developing into a rough and tumble with the dances becoming shorter, and with few people on the floor at any one time.

For their dances the Temiar paint their faces and decorate their bodies in a variety of ways. Although their festive dress is not

the chief concern of this thesis, it forms an integral part of the total picture of their dances, and so some details of it and of the dance dress of other aborigine groups are given in Appendix 3.

Accompanying instruments mentioned so far have been the bamboo stampers and a gong. The gong is not an indigenous instrument. When used by the Temiar it has probably been imported from a Malay kampong where they have been on a bartering expedition. Other instruments which are sometimes played to accompany dances are the drum, the jew's harp and the bamboo zither. Of these the drum is the instrument most frequently used.

b) The Semai:

The songs of the Semai follow the same musical pattern as those of the Temiar. After a short introduction of varying length from the bamboo stampers a male or female soloist commences to sing, this opening phrase being taken up by the chorus of mixed voices without a break between the solo and the response. Like the Temiar the Semai are shamanists. They sing about their environment¹⁶, their activities and their illnesses, one of their songs being dedicated to the Jungle Spirit of Health. Their beliefs are, in many ways, similar to those of the Temiar, although different terminology has been used by writers in describing them. The terminology and transliteration of Semai words in the next five paragraphs are those used by R. K. Denton in his case study The Semai, a Nonviolent People of Malaya.

In this he states categorically "there is no question that the Semai actually do get melodies in dreams"¹⁷. An east Semai man fell deeply in love with a girl living further upstream. She did not reciprocate

his feeling, and he mooned in misery for weeks until he dreamed that she gave him a melody. His depression immediately disappeared. "Another man has her body" he said, " but I have her ruai". This concept of the ruai is fundamental to an understanding of Semai songs. Bentan says that the ruai is located just behind the centre of the forehead, and that it is described by the Semai in the following three ways: 1) as a human being, the image of the body it inhabits, about three quarters of an inch tall: sometimes it assumes the form of an animal , 2) as a little bird, 3) as a timid child. At night ruai leave the body and travel around. When doing this, they meet other ruai , and their experiences are manifested in dreams of people, animals or birds. Sometimes a ruai falls under the sway of an 'evil spirit' or 'nyani'. Only people who are halaa' and so have the ability to deal meaningfully with the spirit world, can send ruai to seek out the nyani that cause sickness.

A man becomes halaa' by being given a melody in a dream: the dream figure which supplies this melody is usually a ruai, but it may also be a kaloog ' a formless entity that maintains life, will, vitality, consciousness ¹⁸ , belonging to an animal or sometimes to a person or nyani. Winds and rivers may give melodies in dreams since ' the wind is the airplane of nyani and the river their steamboat. ¹⁹ The giver of the melody then becomes the gunig of the dreamer, and when the dreamer sings the melody, the ruai or kaloog of his gunig will come to him. He can then ask it what nyani are causing a given affliction, and speaking though or to him, it will give him the answer.

When a halaa' dies, his gunig looks for a new 'father'.

Frequently, the gunig appear in the dreams of a brother or son of the dead halaa' and ask him to accept them by holding a special sort of performance called by Dentan 'a sing'. 'Sings' which also include dancing, are arranged in order to bring about cures, when home remedies and other efforts have failed. They take place at night so that the ruai gunig will not be afraid to come, and usually last for two nights. The halaa' leads the singing, accompanied by the women striking their bamboo stampers against a log of fire-wood or house-pole in much the same manner as the Temiar, although only a relatively small proportion of those present join in the singing.

It is essential for one or more of the dancers to go into a trance. In the east of the Semai area it is the adolescent men who dance until they fall into a trance, and remain in it until the halaa' sprinkles them with water from his magic whisk. In the west, the halaa' himself may go into a trance, with the gunig speaking through him in strange, strangled voices and aiding the diagnosis and treatment of the sickness in the person awaiting a cure. If the two-nights 'sing' fails to cure the patient, one lasting six nights is held.

Ceremonial dances are performed less frequently by the Semai than by the Temiar. Two of the best known are Domber, named after the spirit of a rocky pool in the mountains of north-west Pahang state and Jenu-Lak Timok, given by the spirit of a waterfall on the Telom river. Their chief dance, Ba Asik, is for recreational purposes. The men begin to sing first, followed by the women: in the same order they start to dance, both sexes moving around in their circles. As each dancer places his or her hands on the shoulders of the person

there is little of the hand and arm movement so characteristic of Temiar dancing.

A Semai dance from the Batang Padang area of Perak has been described by Williams-Hunt²⁰ as the 'nearest approach to a rugger scrum' he had seen. Its accompaniment was provided by a Malay gong and drum. Two or three girls with their arms around each other's necks moved in an anti-clockwise circle with a running, hopping movement with one short step and one long. Other girls joined them and then the men clung onto the outside, pushing one behind the other until there were up to fifty people all whirling around together. From time to time individuals lost their grip and were thrown off with considerable violence : Williams-Hunt himself was once badly winded by a large girl who landed on top of him!

It is interesting to compare these descriptions with that of a 'Sakai' dance in the Ulu Kinta area of Perak some eighty or so years ago.²¹ After a drum had been beaten for five minutes, one or two men got up and began a dance based on a curtsey to each drum beat, whilst making 'grotesque gestures' with their hands. After half an hour or so of this the men sat down and began chanting a song which consisted of a repetition of the names of a number of mountains, rivers, etc. of the Kinta watershed²². This lasted for about an hour, and then the women came forward to perform. They did not move about, but just went through certain movements where they stood. They first clapped their hands in time to the beats of the drum, repeating cries that sounded like 'sough, sough, sough,' and then 'chaep, chaep, chaep', with deep curtsies at every drum beat. Then dropping their hands to their sides.

they turned their bodies from the hips upwards from side to side, swinging their arms round loosely once to every beat, and making deep curtsies as before. After this had been repeated about six times, they stood still except for the curtseying, and placing one hand akimbo, held the other out with its palm open. The forearm was now turned in time to the drum beat, presenting the palm alternately upwards and downwards with a very slight and graceful movement which continued until the end of the song.

All dances, together with their singing accompaniments and special facial decorations cease for the mourning period of one to two months after a Semai's death. Nor are the dead person's close relatives or fellows from the settlement allowed to play musical instruments, especially wind instruments which are said to resemble the voice of malevolent nyani associated with death and graves.

Musical instruments of the Senoi:

Both the Temiar and the Semai have many musical instruments in common; four of these have already been mentioned in connection with the songs and dances, the bamboo stampers, the drum, the jew's harp and the bamboo zither. Of these only the stampers and drum are used with any regularity.

The drum :

Nowadays the drum found in Senoi settlements is often the Malay rebana, probably obtained like the gong on bartering expeditions to local kampongs. The indigenous Temiar drum was made from a hollowed-out tree-trunk, with the skin of a gibbon(siamang) or some

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other small animal for its single head²⁴. According to Hale²⁴ the hollowing of the barrel of this type of drum was effected by burning as well as chopping, the process being continued until the barrel was about 1/2" inch thick. The skin of the head was stretched and tightened up to the required pitch by means of ratan cords and wedges. No measurements are given, but those quoted by Blacking²⁵ of a Temiar drum with a head of monkey-skin in the Perak Museum are, for the oval top 30.5 x 27 cm., and for the height 50 cm.

The jew's harp:

The jew's (or jaw's) harp - sometimes called genggong - is made of bamboo, with a frame and tongue in one piece up to 20 cm. long. Its sound is produced by causing the small free tongue of the instrument to vibrate, either by jerking a string attached to one end of the frame, or by plucking the end of the frame itself. Attached to the string there is often the small bone of an animal²⁶ or a porcupine quill. To these methods of sound production Blacking²⁷ adds a third - twanging the 'tongue' with the finger. The air in the hollow of the player's mouth acts as a resonator, and by varying the amount of air in the mouth, different harmonics are reinforced.

Another simple Temiar instrument called rangoin and similar to the jew's harp in construction and playing is made from the outer shell of the mid-rib of either the bertram or langkap palm.

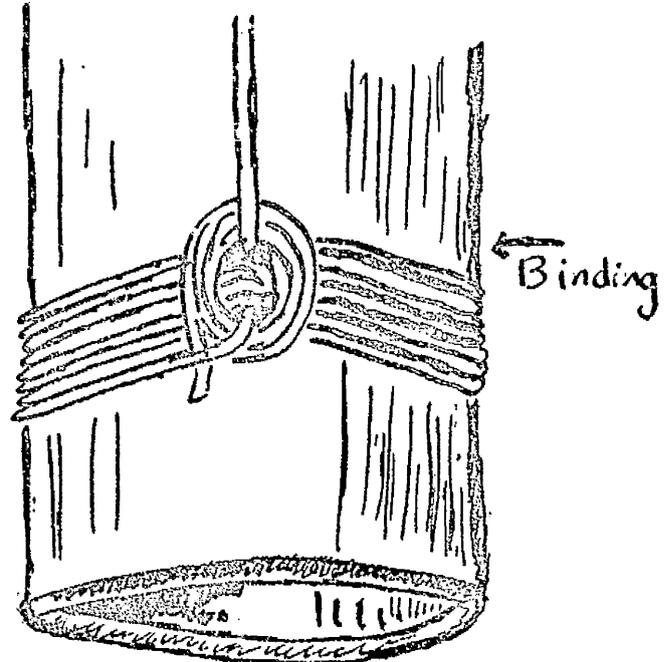
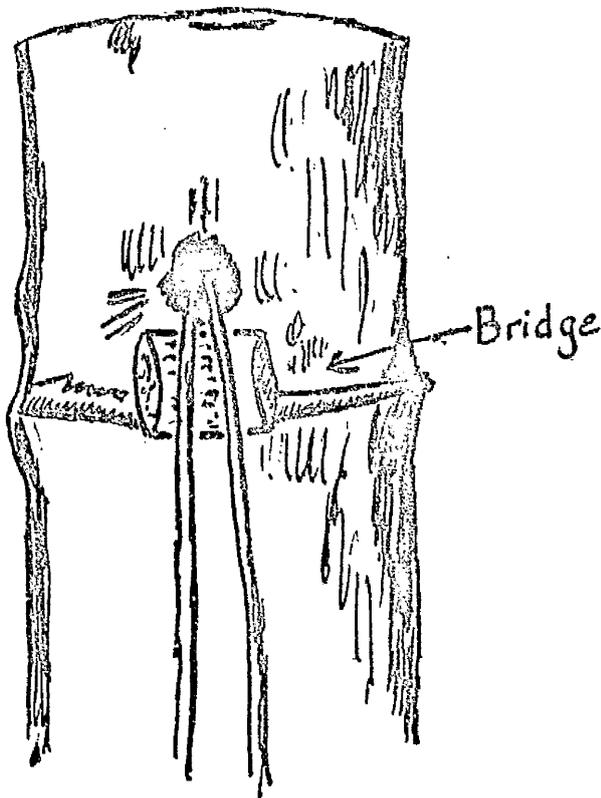
The bamboo zither:

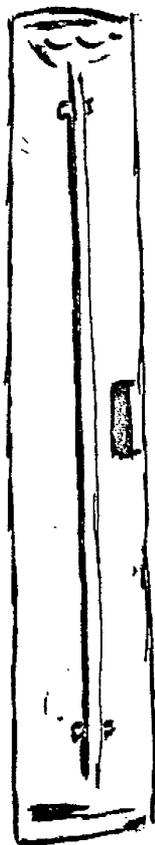
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In its simplest form the bamboo zither consists of a large segment of bamboo from which narrow, parallel strips of the bark are cut out lengthwise so as to remain attached at both ends.

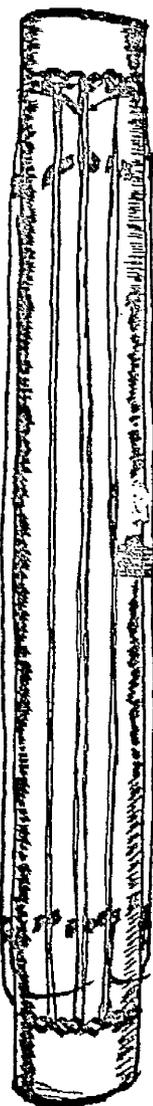
Over each end of the bamboo tube there is a strong ratan ring, partly to prevent the instrument from splitting, partly to stop the strings from breaking away at their extremities. Each of these strings, which vary in number from one to seven, is given the necessary tension by raising it on two wedges acting as bridges, one at each end. The instrument is tuned by moving the wedges about.

In rather more sophisticated examples of the instrument the ratan or fibre strings are attached to the bamboo tube by the method shown
29
in the following illustrations:





One stringed
bamboo zither



More sophisticated
bamboo zither

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Balfour describes the ends of the strings as being 'finished off ornamentally in a scroll', and adds the following note from Annandale: 'The ornamental scrolling of the strings is very characteristic of the instruments of the Sakais and Semangs, differentiating them from those of the Malays, Siamese or Samsams'.

There are small holes beneath the pair of strings in the cavity of the bamboo, and small pieces of wood stuck onto the bamboo act as frets. The number of strings is usually two, but there are instruments with one string and others with three. Most of the strings are of ratan, but four of the Ple-Temiar instruments from the Piah Valley in the Perak Museum collection described by Blacking³¹ have strings made of resam, and one in the Muzium Negara has two wire strings. Although the strings are usually plucked, they are sometimes beaten with pieces of bone or hard wood. In the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, one zither has a small crudely fashioned bow, made of a slender and much bent slip of bamboo with a single fibre string roughly fixed to it.³²

A variety of names is given to the bamboo zither. Two zithers in the Williams-Hunt Collection in the National Museum, Singapore, (49.111 and 49.116), both two-stringed, are labelled kerim, and a third, (Z.1969) which is three-stringed is labelled buloh herchăpi. As all these instruments came from Pahang they are likely to be Semai instruments. Another fairly common name is keranting. All bamboo zithers in Muzium Negara are called kereb.

Skeat's Cambridge collection has a simple 'string' instrument called suchok aribong³³. This consists of a bamboo joint for a sounding-

board, along which three strands are strung.

Flutes:

Both groups also have transverse mouth and nose flutes made of bamboo. The distal end of the transverse mouth flute is always open, its proximal end being closed by the natural septum of the bamboo.

Although the flute's size and diameter varies, the number of 'stops'³⁴ (holes other than the blowing hole) is always three. The two Semai transverse mouth flutes in the Williams-Hunt Collection in the National Museum, Singapore, have different names - Panyong and Lei'o Bangsi,³⁵ the latter being played only in the fruit season. The Temiar transverse flute in the same museum has no special name.

The transverse nose flutes are also made of bamboo with their blowing holes in the node at the proximal end. They usually have four stops.³⁶ Skeat says that the holes in the nose-flute were made by taking a small dry stick, lighting one end in the fire, and then blowing out the flame and applying the glowing charcoal point to the bamboo, blowing with the mouth meanwhile to keep it alight. The flutes are held so that the air from the nostril passes almost at right angles to their length. For the purpose of playing, one nostril is often plugged with a wad of tobacco, grass or leaves.³⁷ Nose-flutes listed by Blacking, all from Senoi groups, vary in length from 30.4 cm. to 43.2 c.m., and in diameter from 1.1 cm., to 1.6 cm. Both the Semai nose flutes in the Williams-Hunt Collection,³⁸ are decorated, and both are called pensol.³⁹ It has been suggested by Williams-Hunt that the pensol nose-flute may possibly be unique to the Semai group. This is not so. Slimming⁴⁰ says

that the nose-flute was particularly common amongst the Temiar of the Betis valley, and includes a picture of a Temiar playing one. The recording 'Temiar Dream Songs from Malaya' also includes an example of nose-flute music on Side II, Band 6.

Two other wind instruments are played by the Senoi:- a type of bamboo recorder and a smaller transverse mouth flute. The bamboo recorders have seven to ten holes or more, and according to Blacking⁴¹ produce a series of notes similar to a 'typical Western scale'. The smaller transverse mouth flute has one stopping hole only at the proximal end made by piercing the node.⁴² Blacking says that by stopping this, or leaving it open, two notes, usually a fourth apart can be produced, but Skeat⁴³ claims that it can produce three notes, and that it is played by holding the palm of one hand over the open end, and the thumb of the left hand over the small hole in the other end. The two flutes of this type in the Williams-Hunt Collection⁴⁴ are both described as whistles called Tu-ôl. One is 11.8 cm. long and 2.2 cm. in diameter, the other, 11.7 cm. long and 1.7 cm in diameter.

Percussion:

A simple percussion instrument of the Perak Sakai (Senoi)⁴⁵ described by De Morgan consisted of two small slivers of bamboo whose flat sides were clashed together to make a sound like that of castanets. Called sok yet, they were 38 cm. in length by 3 cm. in breadth.⁴⁶ The Sakai claimed that this custom was borrowed from the Siamese.

Wind organs:

Some of the Senoi devise instruments upon which the wind can play. Those of Selangor and Perak have a 'wind organ' made of a long

bamboo with a slit in each internode. These bamboos are lashed to the top branches of trees and give out musical notes when the wind blows over them .

(ii) The Negritos:

Both branches of the Negrito group , the Semang and the Pangan, have their songs, their dances with singing and their instruments, but less of their music is available on tape. They told Evans that musical entertainments were only indulged in during the fruit season, the time for rejoicings amongst the Negritos in general. At other times they had few instruments in their dwellings, those of the previous season having been broken or thrown away.

Like the Senoi they sing as they move through the jungle, and when they gather together for their communal singing many of their songs, like those of the Senoi, reflect their shamanistic beliefs. They fear the spirits of the dead, and when the Semang bury a corpse they hope to avoid trouble from the departed spirit by singing the following prayer:

Go first
I afterwards,
Do not give rain,
Do not give storms, 52
Do not give lightning or thunder .
53

Schebesta tells how when he was camping close to the old graveyard in a deserted Malay village one of his Jehai men sang throughout the night because he was afraid of the ghosts of the dead Malays.

A dozen or so Semang songs were recorded on a phonograph by Skeat , and with the aid of Dr. R. J. Lloyd, he made a study of them both from the phonetic and musical point of view. The Semang

themselves said that their song-dialect was different from their spoken language , and Skeat found that the words were frequently lengthened by one or more syllables to fit the music. When the songs were repeated, the singers freely altered the order of the lines, inserted new ones and omitted others. Their love of repeated words and sounds showed itself in one way or another in almost every line. One of the songs sung to Skeat by an old Semang, To'Gělugor, was about a monkey called 'kra': this name ended every line.

Another song, 'The Song of the Ripening Fruit' , had six accents to the line, four belonging to its variable part and two to the invariable refrain. The versification was always based on a given number of accents and nearly always upon the repetition, either at the beginning or end of the line of certain variable words or phrases. Lloyd points out that the final syllable of a word which seldom carries the accent in Malay here carries it more often than any other, and that although the lines often end in identical words actual rhymes do not appear to be sought.

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He thought the music of the songs was very simple , and described one of them, 'The Song of the Fruit-buds' , as ' simplicity itself', with the time well kept and the four accented syllables of each line coming in on the exact beat of the music with the regularity of marching:



The Perak Negritos had a habit of singing words strung together at random, their pleasure or sorrow being shown only by the nature of the words and melody. If they were feeling miserable they would just go through the names of all the rivers, mountains and hills. This practice is already noted amongst the Senoi. If they were happy they would sing about flowers, birds and small insects. On returning from hunting they sang appropriate words about wild animals, the forest, their weapons and their captures. After a death in the tribe, they repeated words meaning 'death', 'decay', 'fire', and the name of the dead person. Often they would string together words with reference to the sound only. If the word was too short for the measure, they prolonged it by adding long drawn-out nasal syllables such as ang, eng, ong, ng. Sometimes, during their social gatherings they sang about the pursuit of a particular animal as a sort of charm, hoping this would help them to catch it in the future.

It would appear that the way in which the Negritos perform their songs resembles that of the Senoi. Maxwell, describing a performance of songs by the Perak Negritos says that five male singers sat together in a circle facing inwards, one man leading the singing, and the others following, usually a note behind. He found the general effect monotonous as the performers sometimes chanted together rapidly on the same note for nearly a minute, with the range of the whole melody probably not exceeding three or four notes. Three of the men played accompanying instruments. One struck bamboo stampers (green and recently cut) on a wooden log, and the other two

each struck a piece of bamboo in his left hand against one in his right,
 'after the manner of the Malay 'cherachap' or castanets ' Their
 singing like that of the Senoi, often develops a rudimentary polyphony.
 M. Kolinski gives an interesting example of this from the Moni, a
 Negrito tribe from the North of the peninsula .

Hauptsängerin (♩ = 184-200) 11-3 14

Chor von 3 Frauen

The musical score consists of four systems, each with two staves. The top system is labeled 'Hauptsängerin (♩ = 184-200)' and 'Chor von 3 Frauen'. The first system has a tempo marking of 11-3 and a measure number of 14. The music is in 3/4 time and features a polyphonic texture with multiple voices. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The bottom system ends with a wavy line indicating a continuation or a specific musical effect.

Sometimes the subjects of the songs force the singers to become actors identifying themselves with the beings they sing about. In one song supposed to be sung by the Chenoi, divine beings who work in nature and are the powers behind many growing and acting things, the singers deck themselves with garlands of flowers and move round gaily and boisterously as they sing:

They hang down, hang down, the long garlands from the brow
 The young man runs, the children run;
 The voice of the nightingale sounds, the nightingale on the gopal,
 White and dappled.
 They hang down, hang down, the long scattered rain-clouds,
 They drift, the unmarried man runs, the maiden runs
 The married man runs, the old man runs,
 The garlands drift and turn, 63
 The young man runs, the maiden runs, the young man runs.

64

Bowra shows how the art of dramatic song among the Semang is closely allied to religion so that the singers take the part of the minor deities called Chenoi, a higher God called Chemen, a shaman or bidog who is thought to be a tiger acting as an intermediary between gods and men, and a lesser Chenoi who appears as a pheasant. Within the main structure of this religious drama at its most elementary stage there is room for a certain amount of improvisation and adaptation.

Bowra concludes his study of Semang songs by saying:

The strength of such songs comes from an unquestioning belief in the presence of divine beings on the earth among men and women, whose actions are inspired and guided by them and receive through them a divine sanction. The primitive conviction that divine beings are at work everywhere is displayed in a concrete form, and we see what advantages it brings. Such songs are to primitive peoples as indispensable as the myths which they represent, just because they show what the imminence of gods and spirits means to the sentient and sensitive human self. They catch aspects of divine activity in the world, and what begins by being a myth and therefore sometimes obscure and remote becomes part of human experience and displays its worth in the setting of mankind. 65

During his period as Adviser on Aborigines, William-Hunt noted that the Negritos seemed to have lost their own characteristic dances and to have picked up those of the Temiar, by whose standards they were clumsy performers. Even the descriptions of Negrito dances by earlier writers do not suggest any really unique features, although both the dances witnessed by Skeat⁶⁶ and called by him 'choral dances' (siwang), were performed by a very small number of women. The Kedah Semang told him that only their women were in the habit of dancing,⁶⁷ and dancing also seems to be confined to the women of the Perak and Kelantan Negritos.

The dance he saw at Sungai, Mat Sam, a tributary of the Kelantan river, was performed by two Pangan women to the accompaniment of singing - 'a somewhat monotonous chant' - and a bamboo 'guitar', the keranting, played by one of the men. At Siong in Kedah the performers were two or three Semang women and a girl, but there was quite a large accompanying group - two men playing the bamboo stampers, a nose flautist, and one or two men beating time by knocking sticks together. Sometimes the musicians sang songs, sometimes they just played an accompaniment on their instruments. When they sang, it was in the way already described, with a solo voice to begin followed by others taking up the words which were evidently well known.

The women's steps in both dances are described by Skeat as graceful, 'the knees being bent, the body turned partly round, and the arms either hanging loosely and slightly swaying from side to side, or else stretched forward and swayed in time to the music'. The Pangan women moved to and fro and round in a small circle, but the Semang

women of Kedah did not move from where they stood. Although the Semang dance took place during the daytime at Skeat's special request, the night is regarded as the correct time for such dance performances.

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Williams-Hunt says that the Lanoh Negritos attribute the outcrops in their district to a group of their ancestors who danced in the day-time and were turned into stone, and Annandale⁶⁹ was told by a group of Negritos that they were ashamed to dance by daylight. When I visited a Negrito settlement in Kuala Lah, Kelantan on 5th August, 1962, the women could not be persuaded to sing or dance. They must wait, they said, until their men-folk returned from hunting in the evening.

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A dance witnessed by Annandale⁷⁰ at Grik in honour of the wild areca palm was performed by men only. Six men squatted on the ground, two playing 'bamboo stringed instruments' (bamboo zithers) and the other four beating the ground with bamboo pipes. Two others wore dancing crowns made of alternating bands of rhizomorph (urat batu) and strips cut from a green pandanus leaf, plaited in such a way that a broad fringe was left standing up above the plaited part. After squatting for a while with the rest and joining in their 'monotonous' singing in which Annandale failed to distinguish any rhythm or time, these crowned men began to dance. The chanting of the chorus now took on a sense of time and rhythm, but there seemed to be no co-ordination between the two dancers who used only a very limited space as they moved their arms in the air and swayed their bodies from side to side to the time set by the stringed instruments. When one or other of them

knelt on one knee or squatted on the ground, their hand movements continued. They had no fixed steps in common, but one of them usually advanced with two long paces and a short one which was abruptly terminated by drawing the toe of the right foot up to the left heel. From time to time they joined the musicians in their singing.

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Skeat suggests that the most remarkable dance performance of the Perak Semang was the dance-drama witnessed by De Morgan. A young girl began to dance in the middle of a circle. At first she moved slowly with a sort of polka step, but without turning round, and then began to wave her arms and direct her hands behind her back. She went two or three times round the circle, indicating by this that she was looking for a husband in the forest. A suitor soon appeared and danced round her, singing of flowers, birds and insects. As she moved backwards the suitor followed her, asking for her hand, but to no purpose. He was followed by two more suitors, but they, too, were refused. At this point three other young girls arrived and the three suitors quickly deserted their first love to flirt with them. They were promptly accepted and danced around with their conquests. The first girl then went from group to group trying to regain her late suitors, but with no success. She stopped in the middle of the circle crying loudly, and repeating such words as 'Death' and 'Malediction' 72 After dancing round for about ten minutes one of the men of the rival groups returned to her, and she was obliged to accept the humiliating position of a second wife 73 .

Musical instruments of the Negritos:

Three Negrito instruments which accompany dances have already been mentioned - the bamboo stampers, the nose flute and a simple percussion instrument consisting of two sticks similar to the Malay cherachap .

Percussion:

Another percussion instrument producing a pitched note and used in the accompaniment of their songs by the Semar of Siong was a long bamboo internode, 91.5 cm or 122 cm. in length and 7.7 cm or 10.2 cm. in diameter, whose open end was beaten with a palm-leaf fan. The lower end of the bamboo which rested on the ground was closed by the node, and the upper end, evenly cut off, was left open for the beater. This was made by folding the leaf of the palas (licuala) palm into the shape of a fan, measuring about 30.5 cm. in length by 12.7 cm. at the broadest part, and then lacing and relacing it across with a strip of ratan to stiffen it and keep it in its proper shape. This beater was struck sharply against the upper end of the bamboo which usually rested on another piece of wood or on the performer's knees .

An even simpler percussion instrument for accompanying the singing and dancing of the Menrik Negritos of the Nenggiri River, Kelantan, was a beam about four yards long, hanging up at both ends and struck by 'cudgels' . This produced a high-pitched note. Balfour describes a percussion instrument like the movable toy animals of the Malay and Siamese children in the Patani states which was used by the Semangs of Rhaman in their musical entertainments, for beating

time to the music and setting the rhythm. This he calls a Toy Squirrel (tupai). It was made of light wood to represent a squirrel with movable limbs, mounted upon a stick. When the stick was waved to and fro the squirrel flew backwards and forwards, striking the stick. The stick could also be struck against the palm of the left hand. How far this was used by the Semang of the peninsula is not known.

Bamboo zither:

The bamboo zither, described in connection with the Senoi is also occasionally used, to accompany singing. It is usually a two-stringed instrument with the strings attached as in the illustration on p. 53.

Jew's Harp:

The jew's harp of the Negritos is quite small, but is similar in construction to the jew's harps already described. The string attached to its handle is generally made of twisted vegetable fibre, and the handle itself is often the small monkey's rib or a porcupine quill.

Flutes:

The Negritos have both transverse mouth and nose flutes. The mouth flute is made from a segment of bamboo and has three stops in addition to the mouth hole. As in the Senoi mouth flute the distal end is usually open and the proximal end is closed by the natural septum of the bamboo. Both ends may be closed. It is often decorated with incised patterns, and is sometimes called peningyong. Annandale mentions that on several occasions he noticed young men with a transverse flute stuck in their belts when they were travelling, and

that he heard the Negritos playing their flutes in the jungle. At a dance he attended at 'Grit' (Grik?) however, they did not play them, but used them as percussion instruments, beating them vertically on the ground in time with the bamboo zithers.

Blacking lists no nose flutes amongst the Negritos and Balfour also discovered none. Skeat, however, describes the nose flute of the Kedah Semang as being about twice the length of the mouth flute, although it had the same number of stops - three. Evans agrees that the Negritos had a nose flute and describes a Lanoh transverse nose flute with three stops and a hole of similar size and in the same line for the nostril. This was close to the proximal end which was open. The distal end was partially closed by a node, but a hole had been roughly broken through the septum of this. When Evans asked a young Kintak Bong if he played the nose flute, the boy just transferred the transverse flute he had already been playing with his mouth to his nose, using one nostril, the other one not being stopped in any way.

An instrument described by Evans is a type of flageolet with five stops which he found amongst the Kintak Bong in 1935. This appeared to be a composite instrument made up from two sections. Of these the proximal portion was the shorter, and from its darker colour seemed to be the older of the two. Evans thought it originally had no connection with a musical instrument, but was the short outer-tube section attached to the mouthpiece of a blow-pipe. The distal length with the five stops on its dorsal aspect had been somewhat flattened by paring the outward surface with a knife. The end had been

shaved down to fit into the proximal tube , and the splice was covered with gum to prevent leakage of air. The instrument's distal end was open, and its proximal end was closed by a wooden plug, except for a slight passage which led to a newly cut whistle-like opening on the ventral surface.

Other instruments:

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Two other simple instruments are described by Evans.

One was a type of 'earth drum' used by the Negritos (probably mostly Lanoh) of Ijok, Selama. This was made by digging a hole about a foot and a half square in the ground and stretching over it a piece of tree bark tied between two short posts driven into the earth on either side of the hole. The other was the hll-roarer of the Kinta Bong , used as a toy by the children. This was called by them bebalng, a version of berbalng, the name given by the Malays to their musical windmills. The Kinta Bong told Evans that this was the 'ghosts' jew's harp.

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Balfour describes another instrument which he calls a musical clapper (genggong Sakai), made by a Malay who said that it was used by the Orang Sakai (i. e. Semangs) of the district in conjunction with their bamboo zithers and toy squirrels. It was fashioned from a cylinder of bamboo , 38.8 cm long and 3.5 cm. wide. For half the length two portions of the bamboo were cut away to leave two long and nearly flat vibrating tongues. On either side of the cylindrical part of the bamboo an elyptical hole was cut through about 11.4 cm. from the end, and at right angles to the plane of the two tongues. The bamboo between the holes and the bases of the tongues was split. When the instrument was struck upon the thigh, the split edges jarred together, and the two tongues vibrated. The sound was modified by closing one

or both of the lateral holes. It rather resembled a tuning-fork in principle, but was peculiar from the fact of having stops.

Balfour says that an identical instrument from the Philippine Islands has been described by Dr. A. Schandenburg under the name buncacan, and Annandale adds the following note:

Should it prove to be a real Semang instrument and to be peculiar to the Malay peninsula and the Philippines, it would be a most interesting link between the Semangs and the Negritos of these islands.

(iii) The Aboriginal Malays:

This group is made up of a number of tribes, but information is available about the music of only a few of them, chiefly the Bেসি, the Mantra and the Jakun. Also included in this section are some details about the music of the Semelai, a difficult tribe to place ethnically as they have physical affinities with the Aboriginal Malays but speak a language akin to that of the Senoi. From the small amount of information that exists, it would appear that singing and dancing play an important part in the lives of many of the Aboriginal Malays. They too have musical instruments. According to Skeat, the songs of the Bেসি were often acted by the singers, and from them he was able to form a good general picture of the life, ideas and customs of this tribe. Their melodies were very simple, consisting of three or four notes only, and were sung with spirit and verve. Unfortunately Skeat has left no transcriptions of these tunes.

He was told that the songs should be sung in a certain order, but no-one could give him this for more than the first ten -

1. Siamang, the gibbon; 2. Pulai, a soft-wood tree;
3. Merbau, a hard-wood tree ; 4. Kuang, the flying fox ;
5. Bangkong, a wild jungle-fruit; 6. Gabang, ditto ;
7. Redan, ditto; 8 Kledang, ditto; 9. Kabau, ditto;
10. Mah hedet hum, the little folk's bathing song. To these Skeat adds another list of twenty songs all about animals or birds with no ascertained order, except that the one called Lang, the kite, always came last, together with the names of twelve more - but he had no words for these.

The subjects and words of some of the songs of the Bেসি and Mantra (who also acted their songs), together with the dress of the performers, suggested to Skeat that they might have been designed mainly for the purpose of trying to increase the kindness of nature.

A different type of song was the Bেসি Trumba, the Song of Tribal Origin, an attempt of the tribe to keep a record of its history. Each of its lines is complete in itself, so that where there are two or more place names in a line they always occur together and in the order given, but the order of the lines may vary. Part of this song seemed to preserve the tradition of the old tribal boundaries and Skeat believed that it supplied a clue to the long string of place names that often occurred in the songs of the Negritos and the Senoi of Perak.

The songs listed above were all more or less definite compositions known to every member of the group, but others were improvisations with no recognisable metre, e. g. Song of the Monkey-Hunters. Some of these improvisations described in detail the various

processes involved in the preparation of their game for food, and
of the different kinds of seasoning used. ⁹⁵

The Jakun of Johore also had songs which they had either learnt from their ancestors or improvised themselves. In a great many of them Skeat says they proceeded by thirds and fifths, ⁹⁶ probably meaning that the melodies were built up from these intervals.

The songs of the Semelai are usually sung by a solo voice followed by a chorus, but unlike the songs of the Senoi and Negritos are unaccompanied. Into them topical events are introduced. One, ⁹⁷ sung by men only, tells of the trouble caused by the Communist terrorists who stole their animals and fruit and threatened their people:

We have often repeated our forefathers' stories of the trouble of their time. Now we have troubles of our own which we can see for ourselves and we wonder what is going to become of the Semelai tribe?

Another popular song of the Semelai is The Song of the Burong Buay ⁹⁸ Stewart Wavell says that he heard it sung many times by lone Semelai in their canoes on the Lake of Changing Colours at Tasek Bera, and gives the following translation of it:

We hear the bird's song in the jungle
And we call it the Song of the Burong Buay.
We do not know which bird is singing
But when we sing the same way
We call the song too - the Song of the Burong Buay.

From questioning the Semelai, it seemed to Wavell that the Burong Buay was "a never-never bird, a symbol of fleeting happiness, a blue bird which entices the weary traveller ever onwards searching for the fulfilment of his dreams. "

An interesting song sung only by Semelai men introduces

frog sounds to establish its rhythm .

I have found no details about the songs of the Mantra which were associated with dancing, but that they did sing on other occasions is suggested by the remark of Logan ¹⁰⁰ that when they were troubled in mind their only resource was to comfort themselves by singing.

The Aboriginal Malays included dancing at their feasts . The chief feasts of the Bেসি were held annually when the rice began to bloom, and then at the beginning, middle and end of the harvest. ¹⁰¹ The head of the tribe opened the banquet by burning incense and chanting an invocation to the tribe's ancestors and to the wild beasts and demons that attacked the crops. Then the Bেসি of both sexes decorated themselves with flowers and fragrant leaves and sang and danced throughout the night. The ceremony was called Berentak Balei - 'Drumming upon (the floor of) the Tribal Hall. ' This name probably came from the use of the bamboo stampers; elsewhere Skeat ¹⁰² talks about another ceremony, 'Rentak Balei, ' Stamping on (the floor of) the Tribal Hall' where bamboo stampers called ding tengkhing ¹⁰³ or 'quarrelling bamboos ' were used. Generally it was the Bেসি men who danced, although from time to time the women were encouraged to join in. Many of the dances involved acting by the men who suited their gestures to the words.

The Mantra had a special month, January, when they gave themselves up the enjoyment of music ¹⁰⁴ . A large balei was constructed for their wine feasts and to it all the members of the tribe from the country around were invited. On entering the balei they danced around three times with their hands akimbo, and then sat down to partake of

betel-leaf. After a meal with liberal helpings of tampoi wine, the dancing proper began, continuing all night and often to the middle of the next day. One of the men sang a verse, generally impromptu, answered by one of the women. Holding each other's hands the women danced together in the centre of the hall with the men dancing round them. The dancing consisted of a shuffling and stamping of the feet, and the only noticeable difference in movement between the men and the women was that the latter swayed their hips to and fro at every step. The instrumental accompaniment was provided by tambourines, drums and flutes.

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According to Williams-Hunt the Aboriginal Malays have now adopted rather shoddy variants of Malay dances, but he mentions a 'purely aboriginal dance' he witnessed in the Bentong district of Pahang in 1950 when one man ran about on hands and knees making dog-like noises.

Musical Instruments of the Aboriginal Malays.

Bamboo stampers:

The bamboo stampers, ding tengking, have already been mentioned. At a Besis feast attended by Skeat where these were played by two performers there were two sets of three each, the sets being of gradually diminishing sizes. The two largest tubes which gave the deepest notes were called lēmōl (male) or kuyn (father), the two intermediate ones kēdol (female) or gendē (mother), and the two smallest, kēnon (child) or kētōt (grandchild). Skeat was told that these 'child' tubes were held in reserve to replace any other that got damaged. One of the rhythmic patterns played by the Besis consisted of one high note struck by the

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right hand, followed by three low notes struck by the left hand in common time, the first note receiving the strong accent.

Drums:

Of all the instruments of the Aboriginal Malays, Skeat thought that the drum was perhaps the most important. It was, he believed, found only in the homes of the tribal chiefs, and could be regarded, to some extent, as their insignia of office. This would account for the extreme reluctance of its owner to part with it. ¹⁰⁸

Some Aboriginal Malay drums differ only slightly in material and shape from Malay drums. The one in the National Museum, Singapore, from Tasek Bera, Temerloh, which has a diameter of just over 30 cm. and a depth of 14 cm. is very similar to the Malay rebana, and is in fact, labelled Rebanaq. Some Aboriginal Malays also use the gendang. The Muzium Negara had a drum in its collection which is called gendang, but which has only one membrane which is held on by strong ratan circlets kept taut by a series of wedges.

In the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology there is a double-headed drum like the gendang, purchased by Skeat from a chief of the Blandas. ¹⁰⁹ About 76 cm in length and 12.7 cm. in diameter, it is made out of the trunk of a big screw-pine. Its two heads of mouse-deer skin are held in position by strong ratan bands. Ratan strings are fastened to the edges of each skin and under these edges there are wedges to brace up the strings and drum heads before playing. This drum was played by the hand only.

¹¹⁰ Blacking lists a related instrument; a 'tambourine' with a fish-skin tympanum, the diameter of the membrane being 16.5 cms and

the depth of the instrument 6.3 cms.

Like the Senoi and the Negrito, the Aboriginal Malays also play the bamboo zither, the jew's harp and the flutes.

Bamboo zither

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According to Skeat, the Besis maintain that keranting the name of their bamboo zither, is derived from the name they give to a twig or stick - ranting, but this derivation is questionable. Amongst the Mantra the instrument is called k'ranti,¹¹² and there are other forms of the name -- keruntong and kerotong. It is quite likely, as suggested by Skeat, that the word keranting, with its derivatives, is onomatopoeic, intended to suggest a twanging sound. An Aboriginal Malay zither in the National Museum, Singapore,¹¹³ with seven strings, is called Sirdam.

The number of strings on the bamboo zithers of this group varies: some have one, some three and some seven. The general construction of the instrument is the same as that of the zither of the other aborigines, except that more often there is a strong ratan ring over each end of the bamboo tube.

Jew's Harp:

Nor does the jew's harp of this group differ in construction from those already described. On it the Mantra imitate the chebau bird and with it the Mantra of Malacca attracted their game. The Jakun instrument in the Williams-Hunt Collection is called geng-gong.¹¹⁴ The Semelai have a kind of jew's harp made from a leaf of the langkap palm called ginggong. Another name often used for the jew's harp amongst the Aboriginal Malays is rengoin.

Wind instruments:

The transverse mouth and nose flutes, too, are similar in construction to those already described. Of the three mouth flutes in the Williams-Hunt Collection, two are called nabat (one with five, the other with seven holes), and the third, with five holes, Lei'o Padang. Blacking makes no mention of nose-flutes amongst the Aboriginal Malays, but Skeat says that the Bেসisi had a nose-flute which was very much shorter than that of the Semang, the nose-flutes he obtained in Selangor being little more than half the length of those from Kedah.

Like the Senoi, the Aboriginal Malays play a form of bamboo recorder.

The Semelai have a primitive type of serunai, a straight-blown bamboo tube almost 23 cm. long with a piece of grass wedged in one end as a reed. On a recording made by Radio Malaya (1953-5) this instrument is made to imitate the crying of a child.

Two other blowing instruments listed by Blacking are pan-pipes from Rompin River, Pahang, made of rolled coconut leaves pierced at the top and joined by a bamboo sliver, and a trumpet of pandanus leaves from the Orang Ulu of Johore.

String Instruments:

An interesting string instrument of the Semoq Semelai (Pahang) in the National Museum, Singapore, is a primitive type of rebab with a half coconut covered by a prickly skin as its belly. It has a small foot and a total length of 76.5 cm. This instrument may have been borrowed from the Malays, but it is not common amongst them.

The Aboriginal Malays also play a type of violin . The
 violin exhibited in the same museum is called 'violah', and comes
 from the Seremban district of Negri Sembilan. It is carved out
 of jelutong wood, probably with the skilful use of a parang. This
 relation of the western fiddle may represent cultural contact with
 the Portuguese going back five hundred years: it retains the Western
 name, violah, or its derivative, biola. In some cases it is a passable
 copy of the violin, in others its resonating chamber is just a rectangular
 wooden box.

Wind organs:

The Mantras had an Aeolian bamboo instrument which they
 placed on the tops of the highest trees in January, the month when
 they gave themselves up to the enjoyment of music and the wind blew
 strongly. Made of long pieces of bamboo it had holes of varying sizes
 between the nodes, so that different musical sounds were produced
 when the wind passed over them. The larger the bamboos and the
 stronger the wind, the louder was the music. At other times, the
 Mantras made a kind of fife with small pieces of bamboo which they
 also placed on the tops of trees like a weathercock.

Similar instruments, variously called Aeolian bamboos or
 wind-organs were used by the Besis who lashed them vertically to
 the tops of trees. The slits cut in them produced musical notes when
 blown on by the wind, and these could be heard for more than a mile when
 the wind blew strongly. The wind-organs could be stopped at will by
 turning them round with their backs to the wind. As well as providing
 music they helped guide the aborigines home through the jungle.

Another instrument of the same variety is the berbaling, the musical windmill, made of wood and bamboo which has already been mentioned. Williams-Hunt says that these berbalings are placed on the highest trees around the ladangs and 'produce a "who whoo" noise interposed with creakings, from the propellor's wooden spindle, as they rotate in the breeze'. The Semelai musical windmill in the National Museum, Singapore has a 'male' flute -ding senkiung remol at one end of its rotor blade (155 cm) and a 'female' flute - ding senkiung kedu at the other. These berbalings are thought to be effective in preventing the entry of ghosts into a village.

Music of the Aborigines (Footnotes)

1. P.D.R. Williams-Hunt, An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines, Kuala Lumpur, 1952, pp.28
2. H.D.Noone, a graduate of the University of Cambridge was appointed Field Ethnographer for the Federated Malay States Museum in 1931 and first Protector of Aborigines for Perak in 1939. He married a Temiar girl called Anjang.
3. quoted by D. Holman, Noone of the Ulu, p.16
4. eleven songs were recorded: Bah Sain, Hanjoi, Chinchem, (three songs from a cycle accompanying the Chinchem dance), Siku, Telei Bah Peb, Bah Motos, Dalam Guni, Ajin and Alus. They are available on a commercial disc, Temiar Dream Songs from Malaya, Ethnic Folkways Library Album, No.P.460, 1955.
5. for further detail, see Noone's 'Introduction and Notes' provided with Temiar Dream Songs from Malaya. These gunigs are available to most Temiar men; some halas claim several.
6. Appendix 2 gives the origin of Chinchem, a song and dance which affected the welfare of a tribe.
7. 'bamboo stampers' or 'stamping tubes' are the names usually given to these instruments by Western organologists, but other names are used. Skeat and Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, London 1906, Vol 1 p.411, refer to them as kowetniss or tuntong (or more correctly tuang-tuang). Both the names tun tong and tuang-tuang are also given to a bamboo cylinder with a mouth-hole used as a conch - Skeat and Blagden, op.cit., Vol 11, p.855. In the catalogue of Skeat's collection in the University of Cambridge's Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology they are called ding-tengk-heng, and another name for them is chenatok (at the performance of Senoi dances in honour of General Sir Gerald and Lady Templer, Kuala Lumpur, 12th May, 1954,) - yet another name is chat tong. This is the name given to the stampers in the Muzium Negara.
8. J. A. R. Blacking. 'Musical Instruments of the Malayan Aborigines,' Federation Museum's Journal, Vols I and II, 1954-5, p.38. Fn. 4, says that bamboo stampers are played by striking their open ends on the ground or on some resonant material. That is contrary to my own experience and all the pictures of performances I have seen clearly show the open end at the top of the stampers (e.g. Skeat and Blagden, op.cit., Vol 11., picture opposite p.137).
9. J. Slimming, Temiar Jungle, p.61, London, 1958 had no doubt about this.

- 9 cont. As Assistant protector for Aborigines he saw the dancing of many groups.
10. In recent years groups of Temiar have been taken from their settlements to dance during the daytime at entertainments for V.I. Ps or during national festivals.
 11. Holman, op.cit., p.56, quotes Pat Noone as saying to his brother, Richard, "The basic pattern of this circular type of dance is always the same. It begins with a slow, rhythmic movement which relaxes the bodies of the dancers and gives them the heightened co-ordination and elation the Temiars call the hab of the dance."
 12. ibid., p.54. "Several women were weeping as they danced, their limbs heavy, it seemed, with an ineffable sadness."
 13. See E.D.Robertson, Foreword to Temiar Dreams Songs from Malaya.
 14. Slimming, op.cit., p.172
 15. ibid., p.172
 16. A. Hale, 'On the Sakais', JAI, 1886, Vol.XV. p.296, describes a song from the Ulu Kinta region composed entirely of natural objects and places in the area. Both the original and its translation are given by Skeat, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Vol.1, p.630.
 17. R.K.Dentan, A Non-violent People of Malaya, New York, 1968. p.85
 18. ibid., p.107
 19. ibid., p.85
 20. op.cit., p.29
 21. Skeat, op.cit., p.137, quoting from Hale. 'Sakai' seems to have been a term used by early writers for the Senoi group as a whole. The area in which this particular dance was seen suggests that it was a Semai dance, but certain of its features are reminiscent of the Temiars' Chinachit and Chachi.
 22. cf. fn.16 above.
 23. Slimming, op.cit., pp.61 and 62, mentions a drum with a head made of pig skin, played with flat hands.
 24. quoted by Skeat and Blagden, op.cit., Vol.11, p.136b.
 25. op.cit., p.38. Fn.5
 26. in Skeat's 'Sakai Series' Collection in the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology the cord of the jew's harp has the rib-bone of a monkey attached to it. (Catalogue No.976).

27. p. 43
28. called bamboo 'harp' or 'guitar' by Skeat, Vol 11, p.134
29. this method of attaching the strings to the bamboo is illustrated by Che' Abdul Ivahad in Blacking, p. 39 , 2A and 2 B - a Senoi zither from Batang Padang, Perak, (No.190/O4 A). The same method is used by the Negritos: see photograph opposite p.120 (no. 8), of I. H. N. Evans, The Negritos of Malaya, CUP, 1968, (new impression).
30. H. Balfour, Musical Instruments, Liverpool 1904, p.18
31. Blacking, p. 40: instrument nos. 1998/O6A, 1998/O6 B, 1999/O6 A. 1999/O6 B.
32. No. B. I. 20 131 . H.14, purchased from Leonard Wray Junior in Nov. 1891.
33. Catalogue No. 974
34. the Senoi transverse mouth flutes with three stops listed by Blacking, p. 47, vary in length from 38.4 cm. to 63.5 cm., and in diameter from 1.4 cm. to 2.2 cm.
35. 49.116 and 50.205
36. p.135. using information supplied by Wray. As all the relevant information about music in Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula was supplied by Skeat, his name only will be mentioned when material from that book is referred to. Unless otherwise stated, all references are to Vol . II
37. p. 51
38. 49.16 and 50/102
39. op. cit., p. 30
40. op. cit., p. 138; picture opposite 103
41. p. 51
42. flutes of this type listed by Blacking (p. 50), all from the Senoi, vary in length from 9.5 cm. to 14.9 cm. and in diameter from 1.7 cm. to 3.5 cm.
43. p. 135
44. 49.116 and 50.116 both from Pahang.

45. J. Morgan, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie xxvi, p.172, quoted by Skeat, p.134. De Morgan writes about the Sakai without distinguishing between the two branches of the Senoi. It is likely that the instrument referred to was used by the Semai.
46. Skeat, p.134 Fn.1, sees no reason for the Sakai to go to the Siamese for so simple an instrument. This may be so ; it is nevertheless interesting to see how closely the description of the sok yet fits the Thai grap khu, which consisted of a section of bamboo cut in half, smooth and polished, 40 cm. in length and 3-4 cm. in breadth. The pieces are struck together to beat the rhythm in certain songs and dances.
47. H. S. Kelsall 'Wind-organs' JRASSB Vol xxiii, p.69. These wind organs are sometimes known as buloh perinder (i. e. the plaintive bamboo): there are two models in the Skeat Collection -Catalogue nos. 707 and 708
48. Skeat p.126, and Evans, The Negritos of Malaya, CUP 1937, p.120, call these 'choral dances'
49. op. cit., p.118
50. Evans 'Notes on the Aborigines of Lenggong and Kuala Kenering' J.F.M.S.M., Vol V. No.2. pp.67-8, says that when they were walking in single file in the jungle he sometimes heard them keeping up a 'rising and falling chant of considerable sweetness '.
51. see I. Evans, Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. C. U. P., 1923, pp.158 and 171
52. C. M. Bowra, Primitive Song, London 1962, p.91, quoting from P. Schebest Die Negrito Asiens, Vienna, 1957, Vol II, 2.169
53. P. Schebesta, Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya, London, 1929, p.119
54. see Skeat, p.127. Some of these records were exhibited at one of the soirées of the Royal Society in 1901 - but I have been able to find no trace of them.
55. the texts of the five Semang songs collected by Skeat in Kedah and Patani are given in Pagan Races. Vol 1, pp.627-8 and in translation in Vol.11, pp.128-30. The phonetic transcription of these songs is also given in Vol.1, pp.627-8
56. quoted by Skeat, pp.128-130
57. Skeat, p.133 quoting De Morgan
58. Bowra, op. cit., pp.157-8, quoting from O. Eberle, Cenalora, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1955, 127-8.

59. W. E. Maxwell, 'The Aboriginal Tribes of Perak,' J. R. A. S. S. B., iv. 1879, p. 48, quoted by Skeat, p. 131
60. the songs described by Maxwell on p. 49 were Lagu Gias, the tune of the Gias (Gayas) tree, an enumeration of fruit-bearing trees, and of the favourite mountains and forests of the tribe; Lagu-Chenaku, the tune of the Chenaku (or B'lian), the name given to a man who conceals his identity as a tiger under the semblance of a human form; Lagu Prah, the tune of the Prah, a song sung when the prah fruit is ripe; and Lagu Durian, the tune of the durian fruit, a song in praise of the durian.
61. cf. Evans, The Negritos of Malaya, p. 118, when he describes the use of the 'castanets' at a singing performance by Kintak Bong Negritos at Ulu Selama, Perak, 1921.
62. Kolinski: Die Musik der Primitivstämme auf Malaka, Anthropos Band xxv, 1930, p. 619, e. g. 9. Kunst, Metre, Rhythm, Multi-part Music, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1950, p. 41. M. E. 35 quotes the same example at a different pitch but ascribed it to Marius Schneider, and calls it 'embryonal canonic polyphony of the Moi-tribe.'
63. Bowra, op. cit., p. 239, quoting from Schebesta, Die Negrito Asiens, Vol II, 2. 230
64. ibid., p. 51
65. ibid., p. 243
66. op. cit., p. 126
67. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 48 agrees this to be so, and Schebesta, Among the Forest Dwarfs, p. 273, says that it is the women only of the Menrik Negritos, Nenggiri River, Kelantan who dance.
68. op. cit., p. 28
69. N. Annandale, Fasciculi Malayenses Anthropology Pt. 1 London, 1902, p. 21
70. ibid. Grik is in Perak, so apparently it is only in Kedah that the dances are restricted to women.
71. p. 135. quoting from De. Morgan ' Voyage d'exploration dans la presqu'île Malaise', Bulletin de la Société Normandie de Géographie, tome viii, 1886 p. 282. But Evans, The Negritos of Malaya, p. 122, thinks that this was not a Negrito dance and says that De. Morgan's use of the term 'Semang' (Negrito) was extremely loose. He does not, however, suggest any other group of aborigines to which it might be attributed.

72. this has a ring about it of some of the Perak Negritos songs.
73. Evans, The Negritos of Malays, p.250, says that amongst the Negritos it is allowable, but not common, for a man to have more than one wife.
74. Skeat p.122. Skeat gives illustrations of the fan-shaped beaters opposite p.122. A picture of the instruments in use amongst the Kensieu is included by Schebesta in Among the Forest Dwarfs, lower illustration facing p. 201.
75. Evans, op. cit., p.124. quoting from Schebesta, Among the Forest Dwarfs, p.273
76. op. cit., p.14. (no.40) This instrument was actually made by a Malay.
77. the three Negrito bamboo zithers listed by Blacking, p.40, are all two-stringed; so is the instrument described by Evans, op. cit., p.118, obtained from the Bateg Negritos of the Cheka River, and from 'Grit' (Grik?) Upper Perak, described by Balfour, Musical Instruments, Pt. II, p.18. In Musical Instruments, London, 1966, Sybil Marcuse lists a heterochord tube zither with 2 or 3 strings of the Orang Semang under the name T'i. She quotes as her authority, C. Sachs, Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens, Berlin, 1915.
78. e.g. the jew's harp in the Williams-Hunt Collection (50.285) is 10.5 cm. long and 1.4 cm. wide. It is labelled 'Yanggoin'.
79. Evans, op. cit., picture opposite p.158, shows a Lanoh Negrito flautist with a jew's harp hanging from his nose quill. This quill becomes the handle of the instrument during playing. Blacking, p.45, lists a Negrito jew's harp in the Perak museum from Ijok, Selama, Perak with a porcupine quill attached which is used as a hairpin.
80. the three transverse mouth-flutes of the Negritos listed by Blacking p.47, vary in length from 47.4 cm. to 54.0 cm., and in diameter from 1.5 cm. to 2.1 cm.
81. Blacking, p.47, lists a flute from Lenggong, Perak which was closed at both ends, but thinks it was probably unfinished. However, Balfour, op. cit., p.15, describes one of the instruments from the collection of Annandale (no. 43) as having its proximal end plugged with wax and its distal end closed by a node; and Evans, op. cit., p.119 says that the transverse flutes he purchased from the Kintak Bong and the Lanoh were closed at both ends by nodes. In the Kintak Bong flute, part of the adjacent internodes were left beyond the nodes at either end.
82. Balfour, op. cit., p.15, a note from Annandale.
83. p.16
84. p.123

85. p.119
86. p.120 , but Schebesta op.cit., plate opposite p.249 upper figure, shows two short instruments held flageolet fashion. These are being played by the Mentri, Schebesta's name for the Kelantan Negritos.
87. ibid. , p.117, c.f. with this 'earth drum' the monochord, gendang batak of Balfour's Musical Instruments, p.16 , no.45. It is formed of a strip of cane tied at each end to a pointed peg; below the centre of the string is a pot-shaped hole, and over this a sheet of upik on which rests an upright short stick acting as a bridge. A note from Annandale says that this form of monochord was common amongst Malay children in parts of Jalor and Rhaman, but that he had not heard of its existence in any Sakai or Semang tribe.
88. Musical Instruments, p.14, no.41
89. A.Schandenburg, Zeit.f.Ethn.XVII , p.550
90. the word Jakun is sometimes used to include all the Aboriginal Malays.
91. p.145
92. Skeat gives the original words of all the Bেসisi songs he collected in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor, with line-by-line translations in Vol.I. pp.635-674, and in translation only in Vol. II. pp.147-164, In Vol.I, pp.674-5 he adds an improvised song about the hunting of the Coconut Monkey, and in both volumes, the Song of the Sick Child.
93. the original version of this song, with line-by-line translation is given by Skeat in Vol I. pp.686-8. A freer translation is included in Vol.II, pp.165-7. Skeat also found a few scraps of the trumba songs of the Bেসlandas of Selangor, but he says (Vol.I.p.688) that the Bেসlandas appear to have embodied the facts they wanted to remember in maxims and proverbial sayings rather than in songs.
94. Skeat. p.168
95. Skeat, Vol.I. pp.123-4
96. p.172
97. recorded by the Malayan Broadcasting Corporation at Batang Padang, Perak, in 1953.
98. S.Wavell, The Lost World of the East, London , 1958 pp.155-6. The Song of the Burong Buay was recorded by Radio Malaya at Tasek Bera, 1953.

99. recorded by the Malayan Broadcasting Corporation at Tasek Bera, S. Pahang, 1953-5,
100. J.R. Logan ' The Superstitions of the Mintira, J. I. A. E. A. Vol. I. Singapore 1847. p. 330
101. Skeat, p. 144
102. p. 141
103. Blacking, p. 38. Fn. 4, lists two Bেসি bamboo stampers from Tamboh, Kuala Langat, Selangor, called Ding Teng Kheng . Skeat's catalogue gives no. 972, ding-tengk-heng, as a 'Sakei' instrument.
104. H. Borie, trans. P. Bourien, ' On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula, London Vol. iii. 1861, pp. 79, 80
105. J.R. Logan ' The Orang Binua of Johore, ' J. I. A. E. A. Vol. I. Singapore, 1847. pp. 260, 261
106. Williams-Hunt, p. 30
107. p. 141
108. it would also be the counterpart of the nobat drums of the Malay rulers.
109. Catalogue no. 971
110. Blacking, p. 38. Fn. 5. does not distinguish amongst the groups within the comprehensive category 'Aboriginal Malay', and so it is not possible to ascertain to whom this instrument belonged. The predominant group in the area from which it came - Rempin River, Pahang, are the Jakun.
111. p. 142
112. Borie, ' On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula ' pp. 79, 80
113. Williams-Hunt Collection, 50.176
114. Williams-Hunt Collection, 50.179; geng-gong is an onomatopoeic name.
115. Skeat, p. 168, was informed by Logan that one of the musical instruments of the Mantra was the salong. No details of this instrument were given and Skeat wonders if it was another spelling for suling . If so it would be a type of flute.
116. Williams-Hunt Collection, 50.174 and 50.15 - Nabat; 50.171, Lei'o Padang.

117. p. 143

118 Blacking, p. 52 lists three recorders -two from Pahang and one from Negri Sembilan.

119. ibid., p. 45. Fn. 1. The pan pipes were in the Perak Museum, the trumpet in the Raffles Museum. Similar trumpets are made on the island of Flores, and in certain Balkan countries -see J. Kunst: Cultural Relations between the Balkans and Indonesia, Amsterdam, 1954, p. 4. Figs. 13 and 14.

120. Williams-Hunt Collection 50.

121. S. Wavell, The Naga King's Daughter, Allen and Unwin, London, 1964, p. 26. mentions aborigines in Negri Sembilan who played the home-made violin. It was well-shaped, and had fibre strings. See also Borie, op. cit., p. 294, and T. J. Newbold, Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, Vol II, London, 1839, pp. 413-414

122. Skeat, p. 171, quoting Borie, pp. 79, 80

123. Skeat, p. 143, and Fn. 1

124. Williams-Hunt p. 30.

Chapter III

The Music of the Malays

1. The Nobat Bands

In four of the states the distinctive music associated with the Malay court is that of the nobat or naubat, the royal band. There are nobat bands at Alor Star, Kuala Kangsar, Klang and Kuala Trengganu, the royal towns of Kedah, Perak, Selangor and Trengganu.

The nobat instruments are regarded with respect by the Malays, and only privileged people, usually with hereditary rights, are allowed to play, or even handle them. This attitude of respect may well be linked, albeit unconsciously, with their religious beliefs for the royal band provides a meeting place for the three religious forces, Islam, Hinduism and animism, that have influenced their thinking and moulded their character. At present they are Muslims: the nobat band has strong Islamic associations, for it had its origins in the Muslim countries of the Middle East. Before Islam reached the Malay peninsula Hindu influence was strong there, and traces of it still remain in many areas of Malay life, from the bersanding ceremony at weddings to the elaborate ritual at a ruler's enthronement. In introducing the nobat to their courts the Hindu rajas of the peninsula were following the practice of rulers in India where the nobat instruments were used both at palace ceremonies and in temple worship. Beneath both these layers of Islam and Hinduism in the Malays, there is a strong stratum of animism. Many of them continue to believe in the existence of a variety of spirits and it is in the nobat that some of these are thought to live.

In order to understand the significance of the nobat to the Malays it is necessary to know something of its origin and history.

The actual meaning and derivation of the word nobat remains open to conjecture. One theory traces it to two Persian words nau - nine and bat - items, and accepts nine as the traditional number of members of the band. These, in theory, were the players of the eight instruments - one gendang nobat, one nafiri, two negara, two serunai, and two gendang, with one non-playing leader. There is insufficient evidence to confirm this theory. As is indicated by the following lists, the number of instruments in a nobat band varies from state to state:

- Kedah: one negara, (nahara), two gendang, one nafiri, one serunai, one gong. An additional item is the Maha Guru, an ornamental staff, which must always be present when the band plays (7 items)
- Perak: one nenkara (negara), one gendang nobat, one gendang kecil, one nafiri, one serunai (5 items)
- Selangor: one lengkara, two gendang besar, two gendang kecil, one nafiri and one serunai (7 items) 3
- Trengganu: one nenggara, two gendang nobat, one nafiri, one serunai, one pair of kopok - kopok (6 items).

In none of these bands is there, at present, a total complement of nine items. Moreover, it is unlikely that every Sultan's band would have had exactly the same number of instruments if the ruler's status was related to the size of his band. Wilkinson suggests that it was unwise for one Malay sultan to bestow his full nobat on another, as the ruler's dignity was measured by the size of his band, and Professor C. Hookyaas pointed out to Kunst that the sub-rulers of the Malayan peninsula were not allowed to possess the complete Malaka (sic) orchestra, but had to ensure that their ensemble had at least one

instrument less than that of their overlord.

Nor had the number nine any particular significance for the royal bands of other countries. In Egypt during the thirteenth century the band of Sultan Baibars I (d. 1277) comprised forty great kettledrums (kusat), four drums (duhul), four reed-pipes (zumur) and twenty trumpets (anfar)⁶.

The imperial naubat band of India also contained a very much larger number of instruments, as is shown in the list given by the⁷ sixteenth century writer, Abdul Fazl 'Allami :

8

Of musical instruments used in the Naqqarahkhanah, I may mention, 1. the Kuwargah, commonly called damamah; there are eighteen pair of them, more or less; and they give a deep sound. 2. The naqqarah, twenty pair, more or less. 3. The duhul, of which four are used. 4. The Karana is made of gold, silver, brass and other metals; and they never blow fewer than four. 5. The surna, of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The nafir, of the Persian, European and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The sing is of brass, and made in the form of a cow's horn; they blow two together. 8. The sanj, or cymbal, of which three pair are used.

Over sixty instruments are listed there. Three centuries⁹ later, Willard lists the instruments of a full Indian 'Noubut Khanuh' as:

.....two pairs of Nuqqaras, one pair of large Noubuts, one Quna, one Toruy, one pair of Jhanjhs, two Surna, two Nuy, two Alghoza, one Roshun Choukee Surna, and one pair Qulum flutes, and flageolets.

Nine however is a significant figure in the Turkish band.

Dr. L. Picken of Jesus College, Cambridge, has pointed out to me that from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century the largest out-of-door Turkish band for ostentatious display was nine-fold, with nine drums,

nine shawms, nine trumpets and nine kettledrums.

A possible derivation of the word nobat, may be from nauba¹⁰ or nawba (pl. naubat). This has been traced by Farmer to the Abbasid Court. In the Kitab al-aghani (Book of Songs) of Al-Isfahani (d. 967) the name, nauba, appears for a company of musicians. The same name was also given to an important musical performance and composition, consisting of a suite of movements performed by the musicians in succession (nauba, nawba), at special hours on particular days. Each of the musicians tended to specialise in one particular type of music, and when these types were combined together, the complete performance was known as a nauba. Up to the fourteenth century, the nauba had four movements, qaul, ghazal, tarana and furu-dasht. A fifth movement, mustazad, was added in 1379 by Ibn Ghaibi, while at the court of the Jalayrid Sultan of Ab 'Iraq, Jalal al-Din al-Husain. Each of these were vocal movements preceded by an instrumental prelude, tariqa.

11

Farmer suggests that the word nauba may also have originated from the circumstances that the performances of individual musicians or groups of musicians were given at specified times. Nauba was, for instance, the name given to the periodic playing of the Caliph's military band at the five hours of prayer. It would appear, that the one word nauba was used for the performers, their composition and their performance.

This military band included among its instruments the surnay (shawm), the buq al-nafir (large metal trumpet), the dabdab (kettledrum) the gas'a (small kettle-drum), the sunuj (cymbals) and the tabl al-markab

or 'mounted drum', which may have been similar to the naqqara. Although these instruments were not always played together, a drum was included in every combination.

This band was usually called tabl khan (khana), the first element in the name indicating one of the important drums, the second referring to the band's quarters in camp or town where it played. A notable exception is found in the Alf Laila wa Laila (The Arabian Nights),¹² where the band is called the nauba. In times of peace, the chief function of this nauba was to perform certain pieces of music at specific hours of the day, to sound the daily time signals and to appear at official ceremonies. During a war it played continuously throughout the battles. Whilst the music lasted the armies fought on, and even those who had retreated are said to have returned to fight as long as the nauba were still playing. Although the nauba of The Arabian Nights included a variety of instruments - trumpets, horns, cymbals, reed-pipes and drums, it was a drum (kusat, kettledrum or tubul, another drum) that was usually given the most important function.

The military band, with its sounding of the nauba gradually became one of the most important emblems (maratib) of the caliph's sovereignty and was jealously guarded. Lesser rulers were, however, beginning to ask for the privilege of the tabla-khana and the nauba, and when the caliph conveyed regality on subject rulers it became customary for him to present a kettledrum or other drum to them with such symbols of authority as a diploma, banner or standard.¹³ The type of instrument and the specific form of the nauba was determined by the recipient's rank. When 'Adud al-Daula, said to be the first

monarch to obtain these musical honours, was granted them by the Caliph Al-Ta'i'in 979 , he was allowed only the three-fold nauba at the obligatory hours of prayer-daybreak (subh), sunset(maghrib) and nightfall('ashd) . The five-fold nauba was reserved for the caliph. And when the Caliph Al-Muqtadi (1075-1094)conferred on a provincial governor the great kettledrums(kusat), he gave him permission to sound the five-fold nauba within his province, but only the three-fold one in the camp of the sultan. The large kettledrum kus (pl. kusat) had now become established as an important member of the tabla khana .

In times of mourning it was customary to refrain from sounding the nauba . When Caliph Al -Muqtadi lost his son Mohamed in 1087 he forbade the beating of the drum at the hours of prayer, and when Satah al-Din suffered a reverse at the hands of the Crusaders, he abandoned the nauba until he had won a victory .

The nobat of the Malay peninsula is closely related to the tabl (nakkara, nauba) khana of the Middle East in composition and function. Both bands share the same basic instruments, and amongst these a drum generally receives the greatest respect. The Malay nobat has always been a mark of the ruler's sovereignty and an essential part of his official regalia. It sounds certain time signals and performs at specific places in court ceremonies, particularly at the installation of rulers. During periods of mourning its instruments remain silent.

The first record of this nobat is in the Sejarah Melayu -

The Malay Annals , a partly fictitious and partly historical account

of life in fifteenth century Malacca. This indicates that the nobat was used there during the reign of Sultan Muhammed Shah(1424-1441).
 The nobat drum, the drum of sovereignty,¹⁵ was an important item at all the court ceremonial, and when it was beaten (mengadap nobat) the major chiefs were placed to the left of the gendang drum , (gendang nobat?) and the minor chiefs to its right. (Ada pun jika pada mengadap nobat barang orang besar-besar dari kiri gendang: barang orang kecil, dari kanan gendang).¹⁶ In the seated position the left of the sultan always ranked higher than the right. In a procession it was exactly the opposite, and so the kettledrums and other drums were on his right and the trumpets on his left.

Rulers from other states came to Malacca to do homage to the succeeding rulers and to ask for the drum of sovereignty (hendak memohonkan nobat) , thus showing their allegiance to the Malacca sultanate. Amongst these was the Rajah of Kedah:

Sultan Mahmud Shah accorded to him the drum of sovereignty (di-anugerahi nobat) and at the same time presented him with robes of honour as befitted his rank. The rajah of Kedah then returned to Kedah where he had the drum of sovereignty beaten !
(maka baginda pun nobat-lah di Kedah) .17

It appears that the nobat was not normally beaten for its new owner until he arrived back in his own state.

Even when Sultan Mahmud Shah had been dispossessed by the Portuguese and was in exile at Bentan, rulers from neighbouring territories continued to pay him homage. One of these was Raja Abdul of Siak. Sultan Mahmud Shah had him installed as Raja ' by beat of drums'¹⁸
(di-nobatkan) bestowing on him the title of Sultan Khoja Ahmad Shah.

And when the Sultan of Pahang came to Bentan to marry the Sultan's daughter he was at the same time proclaimed ruler to the beat of the drum of sovereignty (di-nobatkan) ¹⁹ .

To the drum other instruments were added:

The Seri Bija 'diraja (was then commanded by Sultan Mansur Shah to reside in Pahang and) was accorded the privilege of the drum of sovereignty (gendang) with clarionet (serunai) and trumpet (nafir)..... When he was outside the precincts of Malaka and had passed (pulau Besar) he had the drum of sovereignty beaten (di-nobat-lah) . 20.

Other instruments were also used for the arrival and departure of the envoys from princes. The Annals show that Sultan Muhammad Shah had evolved an elaborate court ritual prescribing, among other things, the honours with which envoys from the princes and their messages should be received. When a letter was delivered from a state of equal importance, like Pasai, it was received with full ceremonial regalia (? big drum) trumpet, kettledrums (nafiri, nakara) as well as two white umbrellas and other non-musical items. To a letter from any other state less respect was accorded - only the big drum (gendang), the 'clarionet' ²¹ (serunai) and a yellow umbrella.

For the installation of a chief the Raja gave an audience such as was customary on the arrival of an envoy. If he was not of the rank to be borne by horse or elephant he came on foot with umbrella, gendang and serunai ²² . When he was taken home in procession a variety of instruments accompanied him :

...in some cases the only instruments used were the drum and clarionet, in others the trumpet was added, and in yet other cases there were kettledrums and white umbrellas as well (ada yang bergendang serunai)

23

sahaja, ada yang bernafiri, ada yang bernagara.)

The gendang seems to be considered an inferior instrument to the nagara. The text suggests that kettledrums (nagara) like white umbrellas, were costly pieces of equipment, for it continues:

. . . . though in former days it cost money to get white umbrellas and kettledrums: even yellow umbrellas and trumpets were hard to procure.

The silence of the royal band on occasions of mourning is mentioned twice in the Sejarah Melayu:

Sultan Muzaffar Shah was informed that the Bendahara had taken poison and was dead nor for seven days and seven nights did he allow the royal band to play. (baginda tiada nobat) .24

And when Sultan Mahmud Shah heard of the death of the Raja of Pahang ' for seven days the royal band was not allowed to play
25
(baginda tiada nobat) .

In both these passages Brown translated nobat as 'royal band'. From the Malay text it is not clear whether it was just the nobat drum or this drum with its accompanying instruments that was meant. As it is likely to have been an instrument or instruments which played regularly every day this points to the drum, even if other instruments were added to it from time to time.
26

A period of seven days appears to have been the usual length
27
of the silence, but in an eighteenth century history of Perak mention is made of silence for twenty days ordered by the sultan as a mark of mourning. A sultan may also order the nobat to be silent for five or seven days after the death of one of his chiefs. This silence was originally kept so that the dead man's spirit should not be guided back to its home: it is now accepted just as a mark of respect.

In Perak too, there is a tradition that the Sultan must remain motionless during the performance of the nobat at his installation. ²⁸

It has been suggested that this tradition is connected with the Thai Buddhist belief that an ability to sit rigidly for hours is the sign of the commencing deity of a king. But in Perak the tradition is observed only during the playing of the nobat, and is more likely to be related to the Islamic tradition of maintaining respectful silence during the nobat performance, two examples of which follow.

When in 1289, Othman I was made a prince by 'Ala' al-Din, he was invested with various emblems of rank including a drum. At the ceremony absolute silence was demanded during the performance of the nauba. Later, during the reign of Muhammad I (d.1421) this compulsory silence was abolished. ³⁰ The same practice was noticed in the chief town of the Eastern Sudan, Makdashaw, by the fourteenth century traveller, Ibn Battuta. At the Sultan's palace he listened to the tabl khana, which consisted of drums, (atbal), horns(buq), trumpets (anfar) and reed-pipes (surnayat). During its performance, 'nobody stirred or moved. ^{31.}

At present, the only time signals sounded by the nobat bands of West Malaysia are those at the beginning and the breaking of the fast each day during the fasting month of Ramadhan (bulan Puasa,) but at least one of the bands was used to wake up the royal family. An account ³² given by a member of the Perak royal family in 1878 tells how, when a baby of the household cried at about four o'clock (dinahari) in the early morning, the women nursing it sang the following pantun:

Tetak kranji buat-kan tiang	Fell the <u>kranji</u> and make a pillar,
Burong nuri terbang sa'kawan	The parrots are flying in a flock ;
Naubat ber-bunyi hari handak siang	The <u>nobat</u> is sounding, for the day is dawning,
Bangun ungku mas tempanan	Wake up my golden princeling.

Although the nobat no longer sounded to wake up the prince its original function as a time signal was recalled in the singing of this ³³ pantun. It is interesting to conjecture whether the playing of music by European military bands at reveille (sunrise) and retreat (sunset) owe their origins to the time signals of the tabl khana.

No drum in the Malay nobat bands of the present day is given the name tabl, but the word has passed into the Malay language, especially ³⁴ with reference to the installation of rulers. Both nobatkan and tablkan have been ³⁵ used for this purpose, and the word in current usage is pertabalan. The name of the music played at the installation of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is Raja Bertabal (His Majesty is installed).

Not only is there no drum in the bands called tabl: only one of them now has a drum actually called nobat or naubat. This is the Perak band with its gendang nobat; but even here it is the nenkara (negara) which receives the greatest respect amongst the instruments. Whatever it might have been in the past, the gendang nobat is now only the larger of the two common double membrane gendang, the smaller one ³⁶ being called gendang kecil.

In all four bands the chief drum is the kettledrum known variously as negara or nahara (Kedah), nenkara or negara (Perak), lengkara (Selangor)

and nenggara (Trengganu). Although the Trengganu kettledrum is called nenggara, it is interesting to notice that two Trengganu princes, Tengku Mustapha bin Ismail and Tengku Sri Utama Raja Tunku Besar Mahmood Ibni Sultan Zainal Abidin in a conversation with Stewart Wavell in 1962 referred to it as nobat.³⁷ This again poses the question of the identity of the nobat drum of sovereignty which plays such an important part in the ceremonies described in Sejarah Melayu.

As has been seen, various names were used in Islamic countries for the military band - nawba khana or nakkor (nakkara, naqqara), khana as well as tabl khana; and in India the place where the naubat is played is sometimes referred to as naubat khana, and sometimes as naqqara khana. This suggests that the words nobat (naubat) and negara (naqqara) might be interchangeable when referring to drums. But this does not explain the existence of both the naubat and the two langkara in the nineteenth century Selangor nobat, or the pair of nubuts and two pairs of nuqqaras in the Indian noubut described by Willard. It seems that nobat and negara are names of different drums, however closely these might be related.

In the list of instruments given in the Naqqaragkanah of Ain I Akbari there were eighteen pairs of drums producing a 'deep sound'. These were called kuwargah or demamah, and were in addition to twenty pairs of naqqarah.³⁸ The damamah was also called nahabat or naubat, and was related to the kuwarga or kurga naqqara, the largest of the kettledrums of the Arabic world.³⁹ It travelled to India as a result of the spread of Islamic culture. The picture of it in Ain I Akbari (Plate VIII) shows it standing almost as high as a man's shoulders. Each of the drums

in the pair was beaten by a separate player with his own pair of sticks.

The same picture shows a pair of naqqarahs, similar in construction and shape to the negara of the Malay nobat. If these naqqarahs can be equated with the negara, might the missing nobat drum have borne a resemblance to the kuwargah? Assuming that these large drums were of a corresponding size, replacements for worn instruments may have been difficult to obtain.

The third type of drum mentioned in the list of Ain I Akbari - the duhul - is the drum most closely corresponding to the gendang of the West Malaysian nobat.

To a further question there is, as yet, no answer. Was the nobat drum related in some way to the present gendang raya and rebana besar? The gendang raya is the name given to a signal drum, and the rebana besar, very similar in shape but larger in size, is traditionally associated with royal occasions, and is always played at the ceremonies surrounding the installation of the supreme ruler, although not during the installation itself. Both drums are modified kettledrums.

That the nobat of West Malaysia is closely related to the naubat of India and the tabl khana of the Middle East seems certain; according to the Sejarah Melayu it was the ruler of Bentan (now called Riau), Wan Seri Benian, who first instituted the drum of sovereignty, a practice which was followed by other Rajas. When she installed her adopted son, Seri Teri Buana, as her successor, the drum of sovereignty was again used (maka di-nobatkan di-Bentan akan ganti baginder⁴⁰). In due course Seri Teri Buana established a city at Temasek to which he gave the name

of Singapura and it is probable that he was installed as ruler there to the sound of the same instrument. But the Annals do not explain how the nobat was taken from Singapore to Malacca.

One link between the two towns is Megat Iskander Shah, who, at the beginning of the fifteenth century left Singapore where he had been ruler to become ruler of Malacca. Formerly known as Permaisura, he was a prince of Palembang who had gone to Singapore after his rebellion against the Javanese rule over Sumatra had failed in 1390. Having murdered the ruler of Singapore, his host, he himself ruled the area from 1390-1395 when he was driven out by the Siamese whose vassal state Singapore was. He fled to Malacca which he ruled from 1403-1414 as Permaisura, and then from 1414, when he embraced Islam, until 1424 as Megat Iskander Shah.

Even if he had known the nobat in Singapore it is hardly likely that he would have taken it with him when he fled: more likely that he introduced it to Malacca when, on marrying a daughter of the Sultan of Pasai, he became a Muslim and turned Malacca into a Muslim state. The Sultan of Pasai was himself a convert to Islam, and at his conversion it is probable that he adopted the symbols of royalty common to Muslim rulers. ⁴¹ On his own marriage and conversion Megat Iskander Shah may have felt the need for a similar badge of office.

His son, Muhammad Shah, also married wives likely to be acquainted with the nobat culture, his first, a princess of Rokan in Sumatra, his second, the daughter of a Muslim Tamil merchant from Pasai. If his father did not introduce the nobat to Malacca, Muhammad Shah must have done, for, as has been seen, it was during his reign that its

use was first recorded .

Malacca has no nobat now. The tradition probably died there when the Portuguese assumed control of the government. But before this, the Rajah of Kedah had visited Sultan Mahmud Shah to do homage and ask for the drum of sovereignty. It was presented to him, and so we can assume that the Kedah nobat is the oldest of the four royal bands still existing in the peninsula.

42

The Kedah Nobat.

At the present time this nobat consists of six instruments: a negara or nahara, played with two small canebeaters; two gendang, about 20 inches long and 13.1/2 inches in diameter, played with the hands, a nafiri, a long silver trumpet, 33 inches long; a serunai, 17 inches long, and a gong. Another item of this nobat, not a musical instrument and solely ornamental, is the bamboo staff, 5ft. 11 inches long wrapped in royal yellow. This is called Maha Guru (maha: great; guru: teacher; - both Sanskrit words). Its guardian is recognised as leader of the band, although the music's tempo is established by the player of the negara. This is the only nobat of the four with a non-playing member. Four of its instruments - the negara, gendang, nafiri and serunai are common to all the nobat bands, although the names of the negara and nafiri vary .

The negara of the Malay nobat is a hemispherical kettledrum with the larger diameter at its head. It is made of metal and its head is laced with cords. When played it stands on the ground, slightly inclined towards the player, in the same position as that of the naqqarahs in Plate VIII of Ain I Akbari. The Trengganu kettledrum has certain differences which will be described when the nobat of that state is discussed.

The origin of the kettledrum has been traced to the Middle East where it had two forms. ⁴³ The older one, seen on a relief of about 600 A.D. at Taq-i Bustan in Persia shows a small shallow bowl drum standing on the ground and being struck with one or perhaps two sticks. The earliest evidence of a larger kettledrum comes from Mesopotamian miniatures of the twelfth century A.D. The first of these shows an instrument which, instead of being rounded, has the flat bottom of a pot-drum and suggests that the larger kettledrums were derived from primitive pot-drums. Later the kettledrum was rounded like an egg, perhaps so that it could be carried more easily on the back of a horse or camel. In the miniatures two drums of different sizes are sometimes played simaltenously - standing on the ground and inclined away from the player. The oldest kettledrum beaters had a hook form, but later they were only slightly bent or sometimes straight, with a knob or point at their end. The last change of shape to be seen in these miniatures is from the egg shape to the more or less hemispheric shape with the larger diameter at the head that is exemplified in the present-day negara. The egg shape is typical of pottery drums, the hemispheric of metal drums.

The second type of drum common to the nobat bands is the gendang, the double-membrance cylindrical drum described in Chapter III 2.

The long silver trumpet, nafiri, is clearly related to the Arabic nafir. ⁴⁴ Farmer says that whereas the Arabic word buq was generic for both horns and trumpets, it was used specifically for the conical tube types, the cylindrical tube instrument being called nafir. He also claims ⁴⁵ that this name, nafir (pl. anfar) was not known until the eleventh century.

From the Alfa Laila wa Laila, we learn that a horn-player "blew" (nafakha) the buq, but that a trumpeter "blasted" (saha, lit. "split") the nafir, and Farmer thinks it possible that these terms indicated the distinction between the sounds produced by the conical bore horn and the cylindrical bore trumpet. Neither the Malay nafiri nor the Indian nafir supports this theory, since they both have a conical bore.

The serunai of the Kedah nobat is of the same general construction as the serunai described in Chapter III 2 - with six frontal holes and one rear hole. Its double-reed is fixed into a metal staple and it has a small pirouette. Its lower third, the bell, is of metal, and it is not as highly decorated as the usual Malay serunai.

The instrument of the Kedah nobat which is unique amongst the Malay bands is a large suspended gong with a central boss. The gong is not generally found in the royal band of other countries. It may possibly have been introduced into the Kedah nobat because of its religious significance. Buddhist influence from India reached Kedah as early as the fourth century A.D. and the state has also had close associations with its neighbour Thailand, a Buddhist country. In Buddhism the gong has strong links with temple worship and ritual, and its inclusion in the nobat which is also associated with ceremonies having religious significance would be understandable. But it must also be added that the gong is mentioned in the Sejarah Melayu ⁴⁶ in a list of instruments amongst which the instruments of the nobat band take order of precedence. In fact, the gong is placed first in the list '.....daripada gong, gendang, seruani, nafiri, nagara, gendir, berangsang, merdangga peri, rana sekata, giring, selukat, chelempong, bangsi, suling, kopak, cherachap tiada sangka bunyi lagi.'

The Kedah instruments may only be played by privileged men, three of whom have special titles. The leader is called Kalur Besar, the next in seniority, the Penghulu, and the third in importance, the Kalur Kechil. The remaining members are just Orang Nobat⁴⁷. Their duty is regarded with such respect that they are exempt from payment of land rent on any property they possess.⁴⁸

The Kedah nobat plays at least ten distinct musical arrangements called man. Each of these has its own name: Lagu Genderang Perang, Lagu Belayar, Raja Burong, Lagu Sepindin, Lagu Lumat (or Lamat), Lagu Gendang Ana, Lagu Sedau-na⁴⁹, Lagu Melau-la, Lagu Mambang Berkayoh, and Lagu Berlimau.

It has not been possible⁵⁰ to discover the derivation of the word man. Linehan suggests that it may be a shortened form of the Sanskrit word, mantra, - magical incantations, and observes that man in the Cham language has the same meaning. He further suggests that the man were intoned in pre-Islamic days and then accompanied by instruments. Gradually the intoning was abandoned and the word man was transferred to the tunes played by the instruments. The tunes played by the nobat nowadays certainly do not sound as if they were accompaniments to intoning, but they may have been altered very considerably. Although it was not usual for the Islamic royal bands to be associated with singing (the volume of sound produced by the largest of them would preclude this), one exception is known. The military music of the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id (d. 1355) at Baghdad, included singers with the band of tubul, anfar, bukat and surnayat.⁵¹ Willard⁵² refers to a form of ancient composition in

Sanskrit called mun, but he had not actually heard it and gives no further details. This, too, may have been related to the man of the present Malay nobat, - but at present this must remain conjecture.

These man are played at various royal occasions and ceremonies such as the installation of a ruler, and also for about five minutes to signal the breaking of the fast each evening during bulan Puasa. The nobat tower stands on the lawn between the Sultan's office and the State Mosque at Alor Star. When the Sultan lived in the old palace behind the Balai Besar the nobat was played on the balcony over the main gate, an interesting link with North India where it was customary for the naubat to be played over the gateways to palaces and temples.

It was the Kedah nobat which played at the installation of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the first King of Malaya, on September 2nd., 1957, and since the creation of Malaysia it has played at the installation of all the Supreme Rulers. As their Majesties, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Raja Permaisura Agong enter the Balai Rong Seri the nobat plays Raja Berangkat. - 'His Majesty Enters'. After the installation ceremony which includes the receiving by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong of the Keris Panjang di-Raja, the reading of the document of oath and the people's acclamation with the three-fold Daulat, the man played is Raja Bertabal - 'His Majesty is installed'. The third man is the Lagu Genderang Perang - the tune of the signal drum of war. At the installation of the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong this was played during a salute of twenty-one guns. As their Majesties leave the Balai Rong Seri at the end of the ceremony Raja Berangkat is repeated. The names of two of these man - Raja Berangkat and Raja Bertabal, neither of which is included in the list of the traditional ten

man , are associated only with installation ceremonies.

The Perak Nobat

When Mudzafar, the elder son of Sultan Mahmud Shah of Malacca by a Kelantan princess, became the first Sultan of Perak it is possible that he took with him a nobat so that he could be installed to its sound. 53
 A more fanciful version of its introduction to Perak comes in a story from that state called 'The Legend of the White Semang.' 54 This tells how Nakhodah Kasim was sent from Johore to look for a suitable place for settlement. At Tumung in North Perak he met a Semang girl, and to his amazement, when she cut herself, her blood flowed white. He married her, and they adopted a daughter, Tan Puteh, who after Kasim's death became mistress of Perak. As he lay dying he told her how he had come from Johore where Sultan Mahmud was his master and directed that a Raja should be sought in that country. Tan Puteh commanded Tan Saban, who was both her minister and her adopted child, to open negotiations with Johore, and as a result of this a prince of that kingdom's royal house who traced his descent from the old line of Menangkabau, sailed for Perak to assume the sovereignty. Among the insignia of royalty he brought with him were the gendang (gandang) nobat , the nafiri, the sarunei and the bangsi. At Kota Lumut he was formally installed as Sultan of Perak under the title of Ahamad Taj-uddin Shah, and one of the daughters of Tan Saban was given him in marriage.

The present nobat of Perak has five different instruments. These are the nenkara or negara, 15.1/2 inches in diameter and 15 inches high; two gendang - the gendang nobat 19 or 20 inches long and 12 inches in diameter, and the gendang kecil, 18.1/2 inches long and 11 inches in diameter,

one nefiri, a finely ornamented silver trumpet, 31 inches long, and a serunai made of horn and silver plated. When Linehan interviewed some 55 of the past and present members of the Perak royal band in July, 1949 he was told that although the band then had fourteen players, only six of the instruments had any real significance - the negara, the two gendang two nefiri, one old and one modern, and the serunai. Although the negara once had to be made of a special kind of wood, this was no longer necessary. As far as the informants knew, these drums were never made of metal.

56

Winstedt refers to a fanciful tradition about the materials from which these instruments were made. The serunai was said to be fashioned from the hollow stem of a nettle, and the heads of the royal drums from the skins of lice. It is interesting to notice that natural material with magic property is often associated with Malay royalty in both West Malaysia and Sumatra, for the lice and nettle stalks mentioned above are also associated with articles belonging to the Sultan of Menangkabau. His shield was said to be made of the skin of a louse, and his palace pillars of nettle stalks. If the nobat entered the Malay peninsula from Sumatra, it is probable that these allusions to natural materials with magic properties travelled with it.

The instruments wrapped in yellow satin, are kept in a glass case in the palace, Astaniah Iskandaria, at Kuala Kangsar. On ceremonial occasions they are played in a small fenced enclosure in the room in which they are kept, next to the throne room.

57

This nobat has a repertoire of twelve man. The Misa Melayu contains a list of sixteen tunes played by the Perak royal band. The

original eight tunes were said to have come ' out of the sea ', and the
 58
 other eight were added by Perak. Wilkinson gives a description from
 the Perak Annals of the installation of a Perak Sultan in A.D. 1756,
 which suggests that only seven man were played at an installation

in the presence of all the princes, nobles, warriors and
 people the band, including the drums and the silver trumpet
 played seven tunes. When the seventh drumming (tabal) was over
 the princes, nobles and people lifted their hands aloft and cried
 'Daulat' - Your Highness - may God lengthen your days upon the
 throne of Perak.

As in Kedah, the nenkara is regarded as the principal instrument,
 but in Perak, unlike Kedah, its player is recognised as the senior member
 of the band, and its leader. Only certain members of the Sultan's staff
 are allowed to play, or even touch the instruments. These people are
 all known as Orang Kalau or Orang Kalur, and their leader has the
 traditional title of Dato Sri Guna. The derivation of the words kalur and
kalau is obscure. Wilkinson defines susurgalur as ' tracing back ', e. g.
 59
 a pedigree, and Linehan wonders if the orang kalur (kalau) were men who
 had to do with genealogies - genealogists. This seems hardly likely.
 Another suggestion by Linehan is that the Cham word kalau is the same as the
 Malay word, pulau, meaning island, and that the kalau were ' men of the
 60
 islands '. Winstedt says that according to the Malay Annals the orang kalur
 were descended from a follower of Raja Surau who came out of the sea, and
 61
 as has been mentioned, the Misa Melayu claims that the original eight
 tunes of the Perak royal band ' came out of the sea. ' Perhaps these
 stories add some strength to the suggestion that the words kalau and pulau
 are related.

It was the leader's duty to air the instruments from time to time, when they were placed in a kiosk encircled by fowls' feathers stuck in the ground. Any young prince or chief who crossed that line was caught by the band's leader and taken before the ruler to be fined twenty five dollars. This fine went to the Orang Kalau . Although the players received no salary they had the right to levy a tax of twenty five cents a year on every Perak family. Another of their duties in the nineteenth century was to collect a capitation tax of fifty cents from every household for the Bendahara. The fees they were entitled to collect were known as beman. ⁶² Linehan suggests that this name was given to them because they were taxes paid for the privilege of having the man recited , (bea - customs, dues).

Magical properties are thought to belong to those instruments which are closely connected with the jin kerajaan , the guardian spirits of the state. In 1896 when the state's regalia was moved to Singapore because of the Perak War, the peasants attributed the bad harvests and the diseases amongst their cattle to their absence. Spirits are believed to live in the royal drums and trumpets ⁶³ , and until quite recently the tiger familiar continued to play a part in the ceremony for conjuring them up , his survival in a Muslim community being explained with some ingenuity.

He was invoked in complimentary phrases inspired by the knowledge that 'Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet, is the Lion of God and by the assumption that the Malayan lion is the tiger ! Oblivious now of his role as a ghostly shaman, Perak peasants rank him today with the Boy with the Long Lock of Hair, the Blackamoor Boy, the Young Hornbill, the Hoverer in the Sunset and 'Omar Ummaya, the mythical hero of an Arabian romance! ⁶⁴

The varied genies of the royal trumpets include Brahma, Visnu, Indra, the prophet Solomon and the caliph 'Ali. Some, with such names as 'the Princeling of the Rolling Sea' and 'Four Children of the Prince of the Iron Pestle' have associations with local legends, but most of them have Sanskrit and Persian titles which come from Malay translations of popular romances from the Deccan.

According to an account of the ceremony for the feeding of these spirits who live in the instruments ⁶⁵ the Sultan's palace was thronged with musicians, each invoking his or her familiar. The State Shaman, called Sultan Muda (Junior Sultan) sat veiled, holding a bunch of grass, whilst the chief musician (biduan) called on the guardian genies of the state in order of preference, asking them to descend and bring with them their thousand attendant spirits. At the entry of each spirit into the grass the chanting and the drumming stopped.

The next morning, the Sultan Muda accompanied by his assistant and their drummers took rice-paste, turmeric and censers, and went to direct the building of a nine-tiered pyramid which was to be surmounted by an image of Jatayu. Hanging from the pyramid were palm-leaf boxes of rice, cakes, sugar-cane and bananas, and on the highest tier was placed the severed head of a pink buffalo surrounded by water vessels. On another altar built on sixteen posts there were offerings for spirits not connected with the destinies of the state, and two bamboo cressets containing food for the spirits of Muslim miracle-workers.

At dusk the Sultan Muda waved from the top of the pyramid, and other magicians waved from the altar and the cressets. After the assistant State Shaman, the Raja Kechil Muda had fallen into a trance and climbed up to the mat spread out for him, twelve musicians beat their drums, and chanting invocations invited the genies to leave the spirit world and enter the posies and jewelled curtains prepared for them. The sound of their instruments was answered by the drums and trumpets. The two chief musicians then did obeisance to the regalia, offered delicacies to the 'thousand genies' and onto the drums and into the trumpets poured drink that ' vanished miraculously as though imbibed'. This practice of making offerings to the spirits of the band is no longer continued.

At his installation the Sultan of Perak walks round his estate seven times to the sound of the nobat , and then sits motionless while the band plays a certain number of man a specified number of times, the number of man being decided by the sultan himself. Winstedt ⁶⁶ says that this should not exceed twelve or be less than seven. Any movement on the sultan's part during the playing was considered extremely inauspicious.

Other occasions on which the Perak nobat used to be played are listed by Winstedt as the marriage or circumcision of a ruler's heir, the removal of the insignia from one house to another, the beginning of the Fasting Month and the feast at the end of it- Hari Raya Puasa , the Feast of Pilgrims -Hari Raya Haji , the visits of the ruler to the river for ceremonial ablutions and prayers, the bringing of water from the river for ablutions at a ruler's wedding, birim halil - a ceremony

on the Feast of Pilgrims when the ruler arranged rajas and chiefs in order of precedence, the death of a ruler or his wife, of the Raja Muda or his chief wife, or of the Bendahara, and his chief wife. To this list of occasions Linehan⁶⁷ adds the pelas negeri ceremonies .

The Selangor Nobat:

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According to the Misa Melayu and statements from the Orang Kalau interviewed by Linehan, Selangor received its nobat from Perak. A communication received by me from Mohd. Yusoff Haji Amin, Private Secretary to HRH The Sultan of Selangor (6.x.69) states that it was only after the installation of the first Sultan of Selangor, Sultan Sallehuddin at Perak that Selangor had a nobat of its own. It is not certain if the nobat instruments were actually given by Perak or if the installation by Perak was the authorisation needed by Selangor to use the nobat as the emblem of rank and sovereignty. The instruments then acquired continued in use until the reign of Sultan Muhammad, the third Sultan of Selangor. During the reign of his successor, Sultan Abdul Samad, the nobat could not be used as the orang kalau had all died and their descendants had not been trained for this particular work.

For the coronation of Sultan Alaidin Sulaiman Shah in 1903 Raja Mahmud bin Tengku Panglima Raja was commanded to go to Perak to beg his Highness the Sultan of Perak for the loan of nobat instruments and their players. After three days Raja Mahmud returned with eight orang kalau and their instruments. Before the coronation of Sultan Hisamuddin Alam Shah in 1939, improvement was made to the nobat instruments and the missing nafiri was replaced by a new one.

However, the players had again to be borrowed from Perak. During Sultan Hisamuddin's reign the Selangor government made provision in 1950 for the payment of salaries to the nobat players, but recruitment continued to be made in Perak.

The present nobat band consists of a lengkara, a nafiri, a serunai, two gendang besar and two gendang kecil: its lagu include ⁶⁹ Ibrahim Khalilullah, Raja Berangkat and Arak-arakan. ⁷⁰ Skeat's account of the Selangor royal band in the nineteenth century gives a different list of instruments: the big state drum or naubat beaten at the king's coronation, the two small state drums, gendang, the two state kettle-drums, langkara, the state trumpet, lempiri, or nempiri, and the state 'flute', serunai, to which he suggests a bangsi should perhaps be added.

These instruments were seldom, if ever, moved. If anyone but the orang kalau attempted to play the lempiri he was likely to be struck dead. Even the orang kalau were allowed to sound it only at the proper time and season (e.g. at the proclamation of a new sovereign) for it was the home of the State Demon, Jin Karaja'an, who became so angry when wrongfully disturbed that he took delight in killing his disturber, Anyone who brushed past it hastily was fined a dollar, even if it were the Sultan himself. Dangerous spirits were also said to live in the naubat, the two gendang, the langkara, the serunai and the state k'ris, called b'rok berayun in Selangor.

Such fear was inspired by these stories that the trumpets and drums were kept in a small galvanised iron cupboard on posts about three feet high in the middle of a lawn outside the sultan's residence at

Bandar. When they were kept in the house itself very strange phenomena are said to have occurred. Drops of perspiration formed on the trumpet when a leading member of the royal family was about to die, and during the re-thatching of the house at Bandar a raja who accidentally trod on the barrel of a drum, died. When a hornet's nest formed inside a drum no Malay was willing to risk his life getting rid of it, and the Chinese who accepted the duty died a few days later. To this list of disasters Skeat added a minor one of his own. Soon after the sultan had taken the trumpet from its yellow coverings for his benefit, he was seized by a sharp attack of malarial influenza.

The Selangor nobat continues to be played when circumstances demand, e.g. it was heard at the wedding of the sultan's second daughter to the son of the Raja of Perlis on 25th September, 1971.

The Trengganu Nobat:

The nobat of Trengganu consists of a nenggara, held slightly tilted forward by one man, and struck with strips of ratan by another, two gendang nobat, one larger than the other, a nafiri, a serunai played by the head musician and the kopok-kopok, a pair of small cymbals. This last instrument seems to be unique to this nobat.

All the three drums are heavily encased in silver and decorated with delicate foliated designs: they have the type of tuning keys that are associated with Western military drums, fifteen for each head. Both the silver casing and the tuning keys make the Trengganu drums unique amongst those of the Malaysian nobat bands. The nafiri, serunai and kopok-kopok are also made of silver, but are of a different workmanship and have different decorations.

The nobat plays in a special tower, the Balai Nobat over the entrance to the Istana Maziah facing the river mouth in Kuala Trengganu. It performs on such royal occasions as the installation of a sultan, and during Ramadhan it plays for ten minutes each evening before the ending of the feast.

The present nobat was first heard as the royal band of Trengganu in 1918, but its drums are older than that. They came from the Riau-Lingga islands, where the royal family had been closely associated with Trengganu's royal family for over a century. Trengganu had borrowed the Lingga nobat on several occasions, one of which was the wedding of Tengku Muhammed, the eldest son of Sultan Zainal Abidin III of Trengganu (1881-1918) to a daughter of Sultan Abdul Rahman of Lingga. When, in 1917, Sultan Zainal Abidin acquired the nenggara and the two gendang from Sultan Abdul Rahman, then living in exile in Singapore, players were brought to Trengganu from Dak in the Lingga islands to teach the traditional tunes to the new players. The nafiri and serunai were left in Singapore, and new ones were made by Trengganu silversmiths for the wedding of Tengku Muhammed's daughter to Tengku Abdul Majid of Singapore. It was on this occasion in 1918 that the nobat was first heard in public, when it was played for forty days and nights at the Istana Maziah.

The reason for encasing the drums in silver has been given by surviving members of the Lingga royal family, who, themselves, had received it from eye witnesses. They said that the original drums were made of wood, and were used regularly by the rulers at Penyengat, the royal capital of the Riau-Lingga islands until Sultan Sulaiman's death in 1883. As Sulaiman left no heir the islands were administered for

two years by his cousin , Tengku Embong Fatimah and her Bugis husband, Yan Tuan Muda Raja Yusof. During this interregnum the capital was frequently visited by the Dutch resident who was always ceremonially greeted by the nobat. On the first two occasions he suffered violent stomach pains and so on the third he took a Dutch medical officer with him. Again he was attacked by severe pains for which the doctor could find no medical explanation.

Local Malays became convinced that a connection existed between the playing of the nobat and the illness, and with this the doctor finally felt forced to agree. Since Tengku Embong could not be asked to stop the drumming, the suggestion was made that Lingga should be given another nobat of such fine workmanship that it would be an acceptable substitute for the instruments causing the illness. The Dutch authorities in Batavia commissioned the best silversmiths available to make and decorate the drums . This they did, following the traditional shapes but encasing them in silver and adding tuning keys. There seems to have been no suspicion that the new instruments might produce the same results as the earlier ones.

These drums were first used in 1885, at the installation of Raja Abdul Rahman , son of Tengku Embong, to the sultanship of Lingga, and the original drums were stored away in a palace room.

Having an independent frame of mind, the new sultan discontinued the practice of receiving the Resident with the beat of drums, and a little later declared the gold and tin mines of Singkep which were of such potential value to the Dutch to be his own private property.

At first the Dutch took no action, but in 1911, they sent an ultimatum with an escort of warships and an offer to the sultan of 70,000 rupiahs a month for himself and his ministers if he would surrender his authority and the ownership of the mines. He refused, choosing instead to abdicate to Singapore. With him he took the silver instruments of his nobat, and it was these drums that were acquired from him by Sultan Zainal Abidin III.

Details of the rules governing the playing of the nobat of Riau-Lingga during Sultan Sulaiman's reign are given by Alwi bin Sheik ⁷²Alhady who was brought up in Riau. His comments serve to emphasize many of the points already raised in connection with the peninsula bands since the Sultanate of Riau-Lingga was the direct inheritor of the old Malacca royal tradition. He says that a complete chapter has been devoted to the subject because the nobat was greatly honoured by the Malays of old, and meant very much more to them than the State Band does to the present Malays.

Certain customs concerned the respect due to the sound of the nobat and so, symbolically, to the ruler himself:

a). Immediately a person heard the sound of the nepiri (nafiri), which was considered the most honoured instrument of the nobat, however far away, he must stop what he was doing and sit down with great respect as though in the presence of the sovereign, remaining like this until the end of the third blowing of the nepiri. To ignore this custom was to show disrespect to the sovereign, but was not punishable. If, however, anyone passed in front of the nepiri while the nobat was being played outside the palace compound, the offence was punishable. (It is surprising to discover

such respect being paid to the trumpet, rather than a drum).

b). If a person walking inside the Kota (compound of the Palace or Audience Hall) suddenly heard the nepiri , he or she must immediately sit and bow down to show respect as if in the sovereign's presence. After three repeated blasts of the nepiri came the guroh (drumming sound) of the nengkara , at the end of which he might lift his head, but not stand or move. Only after the third drumming might he get up and go on his way. Anyone disobeying this rule was punishable by a fine of enam suku (one dollar and fifty cents), imposed by the Chief or Penghulu Nobat himself.

There were only four people for whom the nobat might be played - the ruling monarch, the crown prince, the bendahara and the temenggong - the last two people being high-ranking dignitaries. Any other person must have special permission from the sultan. For each of these four people the nobat played differently. For the king, there was a period equal to not more than eleven blasts of the nepiri , for the crown prince a period equal to not more than eleven blasts, for the bendahara nine blasts , and for the temenggong seven blasts .

No-one was allowed to reproduce the nobat as a whole , nor individual instruments, particularly the nepiri, without the ruler's permission, for the nobat was the sign that a monarch was reigning in the country. This applied equally to the crown prince, except on the occasion of his own accession. Even then he could make, or order to be made only the gendang, nengkara and serunai , and he could only repair or replace any part of the nepiri that was damaged or out of order .

The most important regulation tunes of the nobat were:

'Ibrahim Khalilullah, played for the ruling monarch alone during the ceremonies of installation; Menjunjong Duli paying obeisance to the monarch; Iskandar Shah Zulqarnain, commonly known as Arak Arak or Lagu Ria and usually followed by Lagu Perang, played during the sultan's procession to and from the Audience Hall and Balai Panchapersada, 'tiered bathing pavilion'. Whilst preparations for the bathing were being made the nobat played Lagu Perang (also played on the morning of Hari Raya Haji). During the actual bathing Palu Palu was played, and after the sultan had returned to the palace and was donning his robes of state, the regulation tune was Seri Istana.⁷³ Other tunes came from Perak and Indragiri.

The nobat performed every evening up to the time of the Maghrib Prayer at about 7 p.m. When it was due to start playing the chief gendang beater, called Leila Sengguna, summoned the band by sounding a token beating on the gendang. When it was time to start the players came forward and lined up in their proper places with the chief player Leila Perkasa, who blew the nepiri standing alone in the front. Immediately behind him stood the two nengkara players, in the third line the beaters of the big gendang and the two smaller drums, gendang peningkah, with Leila Sengguna as their leader. In the fourth line stood the serunai and bangsi players, and in the fifth line the rest of the band - the beaters of the kopak and cherachap.⁷⁴ When the players were all in their places the Leila Perkasa blew the nepiri three times, and this was immediately followed by the drumming of the nengkara, also three times. Then came the beating of all the

gendang, and following this the second drumming sound (guroh) of the nengkara. Only then did the nobat begin to play the required tune. The maximum period the nobat might play was the time taken by the nepiri to complete its thirty-two blasts. The performance was completed by the sounding of war beats on the gendang.

The traditional formation (adab) of the nobat players was obligatory only during the playing of Ibrahim Khalilullah and Iskandah Shah. When the nobat played Seri Istana or tunes while the sultan was bathing at the Panchapersada the players were allowed to sit, but in exactly the same order as for standing. At other times it was left to the discretion of the Leila Perkasa and Leila Sengguna to determine which procedure to adopt.

The nobat also played on Malam Juma'at (Thursday evening) at the time of the 'Isha prayer about 8.00 p.m. Probably its busiest time was immediately after the commencement of the Ceremony of Installation had been announced. Then it played regularly seven times daily.

There is no nobat in Negri Sembilan but the list of regalia at
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Jelevu given to Skeat by Ungku Said Kechil included the royal drums - gendang naubat, said to be headed with the skins of lice (kulit tuma), the lempiri or nempiri, the royal gong, the royal kechapi and the royal rebab. Each of these instruments was said to emit a single chord of twelve notes when played, a multiplication of notes which Skeat adds is quite in accordance with the tradition of royal instruments in Malay romances. We are told of Raja Donan's magic flute: ' The first time

(that he sounded it), the flute gave forth the sounds of twelve instruments, the second time it played as if twenty-four instruments were being sounded, and the third time, it played like thirty-six different instruments. ' 76.

It was claimed that the instruments came into existence of themselves in Menangkabau, that 'rain could not rot them , nor sun blister them', and that anyone who ' brushed past them' (di-lintas) would fall to the ground. Two of the instruments, the gendang naubat and the lempiri are traditional nobat instruments , and their magical properties recall those attributed to nobat instruments in Perak and Selangor.

Kelantan, which was added to the possessions of the Malacca state during the reign of Mahmud, has no nobat . The ceremonial instruments kept in the Balai Besar at Ko ta Bharu with other items of the royal regalia are often referred to by local Malays as nobat instruments. This is understandable, as they are now reserved for ceremonial occasions and like the instruments of the nobat are played for the installation of the sultan by men possessing hereditary rights, but their names indicate associations with other performances. The complete collection consists of a pair of large gendang (gendang bersilat), jantan and perempuan , with stands and hooked beaters, a pair of smaller gendang (gendang makyong jantan and perempuan, two rebab, two serunai, besar and kecil, and seven gongs of different sizes called by the following names : tarian aasek, tetawok makyong, tetawok bersilat and mong.

Although Johore has no nobat of its own, it is clear from the account given by Alwi bin Sheikh Alday, that a nobat was used there for

at least one funeral - that of the Duli Yang Maha Mulia Almarhum Sultan Abu Bakar at Johore Bahru in 1895. Might it have been borrowed from Riau-Lingga of which Johore was one of the dependencies?

On the day of the royal funeral, but before the internment, the new monarch was proclaimed in the Balairong Seri. In a special section of the Balai the nobat band was in full strength and in mourning, with the two gendang and the two nengkara wrapped in white cloth. The arrival of the heir apparent, the Yang di-Pertuan Muda or Putera Mahkota, was accompanied by the beating of the nobat. This ceased to play when all the arrangements were completed and the people were in their correct places. After the proclamation the Lord Chamberlain, the Dato' Bentara Dalam cried 'Daulat Tuanku' three times, echoed by all both inside and outside the Balai. Immediately after this came the beating of the nobat and the raising of the Royal Standard from half- to full-mast. The Yang Maha Mulia accepted his appointment, all again shouted 'Daulat Tuanku' three times and the prayer of blessing, do'a selamat, was read. The nobat then played its final tune, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired.

After this proclamation the coffin was taken in procession to the mausoleum with the members of the nobat in full ceremonial dress and in mourning following immediately behind the Master of Royal Ceremonies and Processions (Dato Birachana). As soon as the coffin was carried into the mausoleum the nobat played an appropriate tune.

Further information relevant to the Malay nobat may soon become available as the result of the recent discovery in the Library of

Congress of Hikayat Patani. This apparently contains the detailed description of a royal orchestra consisting of more than forty instruments, many of which were made of gold. As the Malay kingdom of Patani was populous and prosperous it is likely that the entertainment at its court reached a high level of artistic attainment.

The Nobat Bands

1. during this ceremony the bride and her groom sit motionless on a decorated dais as king and queen for the day, receiving the homage of their subjects - the assembled guests.
2. vide Tunku Nong Jiwa, Raja Badri Shah and Haji Mubin Sheppard, 'The Kedah and Perak Nobat, Malaya in History, Vol 7, No. 2. 1962 p. 11. R. J. Wilkinson, 'Some Malay Studies, JRAS MB X Pt. 1, 1932, p. 82, gives the same list of instruments, and adds the epithet 'royal' to the trumpet (nafiri) and the two kettle-drums (negara). He makes no mention of a leader, although he also defines the word nobat as meaning nine items.
3. this list given to me by the Private Secretary to HRH The Sultan of Selangor (1969) differs slightly from that of Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1900, p. 25, which is described later in this section.
4. op. cit., p. 83
5. J. Kunst, Some Sociological Aspects of Music, Washington, 1958 p. 6
6. H. Farmer, Tabl Khana, Supplement to The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden, 1938, pp. 217-222
7. Ain I Akbari, Calcutta, 1873, Vol I. pp. 50-1
8. in Islamic countries the military band was variously known as Nawba Khana, Tabla Khana and Nakkor or Nakkara Khana.
9. N. Augustus Willard, 'A Treatise on the Music of Hindoostan' from Hindu Music from Various Authors, Calcutta, 1882, p. 94
10. The New Oxford History of Music, Vol I, p. 452; also The Encyclopaedia of Islam iii, pp. 55-7, and The Minstrelsy of "The Arabian Nights", Hinrichsen, 1945.
11. A History of Arabian Music, London 1930, pp. 153-4
12. The Minstrelsy of "The Arabian Nights", p. 7
13. it is interesting to notice that in 1683 Sir James Turner says of kettledrum "The Germans, Danes and Swedes permit none under a baron to have them unless they are taken from the enemy in battle." (quoted by Kunst, Some Sociological Aspects of Music, p. 3)

14. C. C. Brown, Sejarah Melayu, Singapore, 1952, Introduction, pp. 7 and 8, points out that 'The Malay Annals' is a popular mistranslation. Sejarah means 'genealogical tree', and the royal command to the author was to write a story setting out the descent of Malay Rajas with their customary ceremonies. The author wrote this story as he had received it from his grandfather and father, assembling in it the tales told by men of by-gone days for the greater pleasure of his lord and king. In this section I have used Brown's translation when describing the nobat in fifteenth century Malacca. For this translation he used the text of Sejarah Melayu (Raffles M. S. 18, Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London) edited by Winstedt (JMBRAS XVI, Pt. 3. 1938). Page references with brackets are to Winstedt's edition; without brackets to Brown's translations.
15. Brown translates nobat to mean both the single drum of sovereignty as here, and also the ensemble of instruments of which the nobat is one item. In Fn. 57 he mentions four types of reference to the nobat in Sejarah Melayu:
- i). when rulers of neighbouring countries come to Malacca, hendak memohonkan nobat (pp. 163, 176, 197 - cf. also p. 206);
 - ii). when a ruler was installed, di-nobatkan, (pp. 59, 120, 168, 204);
 - iii). for the ceremony described as mengadap nobat (pp. 87 and 202); and
 - iv). as a sign of mourning (baginda tiada nobat, pp. 93 and 168). He suggests that in i, ii and iii, it looks as though the reference is to the big drum, gendang nobat, only. He doubts the accuracy of Wilkinson's definition of nobat - Royal band of nine items (from the Persian nau-bat), but agrees that there are indications that the nobat may have included other instruments than the gendang, e.g. di anugerahi Sultan Mansur Shah payong, gendang, serunai dan nafiri, p. 120, l. 32. He thinks it likely that in iv above the reference may be to a royal orchestra.
16. (87), 57
17. (163), 137
18. (204), 181
19. (210), 187
20. (121), 93
21. (85), 55 to the full ceremonial regalia of trumpets, kettledrums and two white umbrellas Brown adds (? big drum). The Malay gives no warrant for this addition. It is nevertheless strange that for a lesser person the gendang should be used (if by gendang is meant gendang nobat when it is omitted from the regalia of the more important envoy).
22. (85), 56 . Again the gendang is used for a lesser dignitary
23. (86), 57
24. (93), 64

25. (168), 143

26. in his 'Catalogue of Musical Instruments' from Hindu Music from Various Authors, Calcutta, 1882, p. 262, Colonel P. T. French, writing of the Nobut ('the largest kettledrum used in India') says
'.....a performance upon the drums alone forms part of every period of playing throughout the day, though they accompany the pipes and trumpets in all other music executed'.
27. Misa Melayu, ed. Winstedt, Singapore, 1919, p. 88
28. Wilkinson, Some Malay Studies, p. 79, relates an interesting story concerning this tradition. At the installation of Sultan Idris of Perak, the widow of Sultan Ali put a pad on his shoulder where the gold chain of Alexander's sword rested. She told him that the ghostly enemies of the State would be likely to pull at the chain so as to get him to make some unlucky movement. Wilkinson quotes the Sultan's own words: "All this is mere superstition, of course, but I humoured her. And I am bound to add that I felt three inexplicable tugs while the band was playing the seven man."
29. Winstedt, A History of Perak, Appendix E. JRASMB XII, Pt. 1. 1934
30. Farmer, Supplement, The Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 220
31. ibid., p. 219, quoting Voyages d'Ibn Battuta, Paris 1853-8, ii 188
32. quoted by Wilkinson, Notes and Queries, JRASS B, 1886, p. 74
33. W. Marsden, The History of Sumatra, London, 1811, p. 270, tells how the Sultan of Menangkabau used to be woken to the sound of the gendang nobat.
34. in these words nobat and tabl appear to be interchangeable.
35. Sheppard, 'The Nobat', Malaya in History, Vol. 4. No. 1. p. 22
36. in the pair of gendang used for various Malay performances, the larger instrument is normally called gendang besar (or ibu). In the Perak band there is little difference in size between the gendang nobat and the gendang kecil. This is clearly shown in the photograph on p. 9 of Malaya in History, vol 7. No. 2, and appears to contradict the measurements given on p. 10 of the same journal; gendang nobat, 29 inches long, gendang kecil, 18.1/2 inches long. (It would seem that the figure 29 must be a misprint for 19 or possibly 20.)
37. this conversation is recorded on Tape 16 of the tapes made by the Cambridge Expedition to South-East Asia in 1962.
38. S. Marcuse, Musical Instruments, London, 1964, s. v. damama

39. Russia also has a very large kettledrum called nabat (pl. nabati)

40. (59), 29

41. Wilkinson, Some Malay Studies, pp. 83-4, quotes the account of the of the drumming of the Sultan of Pasai, given in the Chronicles of Pasai:

When the appliances (alat Perakas) for a king's installation had arrived and an auspicious day had been reached, the warriors and people all came to the Court. The Sultan put on his robes of state. . . . for he was now to be installed king by beat of drum (di-tabalkan). The warriors were drawn up in successive lines facing the nobat Ibrahim Khalil; the chamberlains stood up and saluted; and each official did what was his duty. Then the drum of installation (genderang tabal) was beaten; all the music struck up; the installation gun was fired; and the warriors and people did homage and obeisance by crying out "O King, Live for Ever, thou Shadow of God upon Earth (daulat dirgahayu shah alam azil Allah fi'l-alami).

42. see Tunku Nong Jiwa, Raja Ba'ri Shah and Haji Mubin Sheppard, op. cit., p. 10

43. C. Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, London, 1940, p. 250

44. 'The Music of Islam', New Oxford History of Music, I, p. 443

45. The Minstrelsy of 'The Arabian Nights', p. 33

46. Sejarah Melayu, ed. W. G. Shellabeer, 4th edition, Singapore, 1950, p. 100

47. The name kalur will be discussed later in connection with the Orang Kalau of Perak.

48. Sheppard, 'The Nobat', Malaya in History, Vol. 4. No. 1.

49. possible translations of the titles of the tunes:

Lagu Genderang Perang - the tune of the signal drum of war
Lagu Belayar - the sailing tune, Raja Burong - prince bird,
Lagu Sepindin (?); Lagu Lumat (Lamat) (?) lumat means fine, soft (of earth); Lagu Gendang Ana - tune of the small gendang;
Lagu Sedau-na (?) Lagu Melau-la (?); Lagu Membang Berkayoh
 the tune of the spirit of paddling - (?) Lagu Berlimau - the tune of lime-juice (?) (berlimau really means 'to use lime-juice in washing.'

50. W. Linehan, The Nobat and the Orang Kalau of Perak, JRASMB, xxiv. Pt. 3, 1951. pp. 60-68

51. Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 220

52. op. cit., p.101

53. Linehan op cit., p. 60, points out that although the beginnings of the State of Perak do not date back earlier than about 1528, A.D., the rulers are traditionally descended through a son of the last Malay ruler of Malacca and the kings of ancient Singapore from the legendary founder of the house of the Malay kings, one of the princes who appeared miraculously on the mountain, Bukit Siguntang, in Sumatra.

54. quoted by Maxwell, The History of Perak from Native Sources, JRASSB, IX, 1882.

55. Linehan, op. cit., pp. 64-66

56. The Malay Magician, p. 10

57. p.155

58. Some Malay Studies, p. 84

59. op. cit., p.66

60. A History of Perak, p.160

61. p.155

62. p. 67

63. at present there is only one trumpet. Considering the great respect paid to the nobat instruments in Perak it is surprising to find (Swettenham, Malay Sketches, London, 1895, p. 215) that the 'antique silver trumpet of the regalia' was blown from the prow of the barge carrying the Sultan's principal wife from Kuala Kangsar to Pasir Telor to collect turtles' eggs.

64. Winstedt, The Malay Magician, London, 1961, p. 58

65. ibid., pp. 69-71, from an account written for Winstedt by Raja Haji Yahya of Chendriang.

66. A History of Perak, p.159

67. op. cit., p. 63

68. pp.149-150

69. arak-arakan: berarak-to march in procession

70. Malay Magic, p. 25

71. see Haji Mubin Sheppard, Guardian Spirits of the Nobat, STA, 1967.

72. Malay Customs and Traditions, Singapore, 1962, pp. 78-86

73. names of the lagu may be translated:

Arak-arak: berarak - to march in procession

Lagu Ria: joyful tune

Lagu Perang: battle tune

Palu-Palu: palu - striking with stick or bar or other rigid cylindrical object.

Seri Istana: the pride of the palace.

74. Alwi bin Sheikh Alhady calls this a ' sort of tambourine'

75. Malay Magic, p. 27

76. ibid., where Skeat is quoting from Maxwell, Raja Dona, JRASSB, XVIII, p. 253

77. . pp. 117-126

78. the discovery of the Hikayat Patani was brought to my notice by Sheppard's mention of it in his paper, Ma'Yong - The Malay Dance Drama given at the International Conference on the Traditional Drama and Music of Southeast Asia at Kuala Lumpur, 1969.

2. Musical Instruments of the Malays

A. IDIOPHONES

- i. Angklung
- ii. Chanang: Chelempang (Cha-lempong, Chaklempung)
- iii. Cherek (Cherachap)
- iv. Gambang gangsa: Gambang: Gambang tali
- v. Kertok (Keretok)
- vi. Kesi (Gersek)
- vii. Mong
- viii. Suspended gong: tetawak (tawak-tawak)

B. MEMBRANOPHONES

- i. Gedombak
- ii. Geduk
- iii. Gendang
- iv. Marwas (Maruas)
- v. Rebana and Redap: Rebana Berarak and Rebana Riba
- vi. Rebana Besar; Rebana Ubi, Rebana Kechil (Rebana Anak) Rebana Kechubon⁹

C. AEROPHONES

- i. Serunai
- ii. Tentuang (Tentuang tandok)

D. CORDOPHONES

- i. Gambus
- ii. Rebab

E. Obsolete or Rare Instruments

Collections of Instruments

A. IDIOPHONES.

(i) Angklung

The angklung is a type of sliding rattle in which two, three or more bamboo tubes move with percussive effect within a slender bamboo frame. Part of the wall of the upper half of each of the tubes is removed, leaving a long tongue of bamboo which is tuned to resonance with the cavity of the lower half closed at the bottom by a node. The cross-bars of the frame pass through holes in these tongues allowing the tubes lateral freedom of movement; the bottoms of the tubes fit into, and move freely along the grooves in the base of the frame.

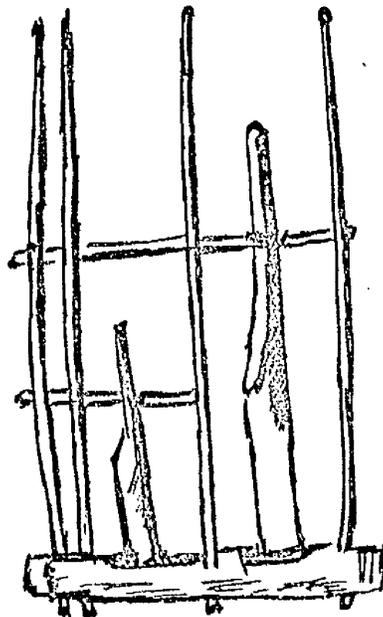
When the angklung is rattled gently the sliding tubes strike the ends of their grooves and make a bright percussive sound. As the tubes are usually tuned in octaves a number of instruments are needed to produce a melody, each player being responsible for one note and its octaves.

In West Malaysia, the angklung is almost exclusively used to accompany the kuda kepang dance.

This instrument is widely known throughout Indonesia . Kunst ¹ says that it could be found in Java, Madura, Bali, parts of Sumatra and Borneo, but that it was most common in the Sundanese mountain districts. Writing over half a century earlier, Crawford ² states that this 'wind instrument' was confined to the mountains of Java, particularly those of the western end of the island. There forty or fifty mountaineers could be seen 'dancing in wild and grotesque attitudes, each individual playing

upon an Angklung, himself and the instruments decked with feathers' .
 3
 Commenting on its use in Bali, McPhee notes that a single or quickly repeated double tone (note) was preferred to the tremolo 'tone' customary in Java. The frame could be given a single jerk, causing each tube to knock against one end of its groove only, so producing a sharp, staccato tone, or it could be shaken so that the tube knocked once against each end of the groove, giving an accented tone with a fainter echo. . . .

1. Music in Java, The Hague 1949, Vol I. p. 361
2. 'Music and Dancing' History of the Indian Archipelago Vol I, quoted in Hindu Music from Various Authors, Calcutta, 1882, p. 298.
3. C. McPhee, Music in Bali, Yale, 1966, p. 234



(ii) Chanang:Chelempong, (Cha-lempong, Chaklempung)Chanang:

This percussion idiophone is a small gong, usually made of brass, but sometimes of other materials. Cuisinier¹ says that the chanang used for the wayang kedek in Kelantan were made of bronze or copper, and a pair in the Muzium Negara (MI. 22a & MI. 22b, 1963) Kuala Lumpur, are made of iron.

The sides of the chanang slope slightly inwards towards their base, and all the instruments I have seen have a central boss. Jeanne Cuisinier, nevertheless, describes the chanang of the wayang kedek as being without this boss, and Wilkinson (1959) defines the chanang as a 'gong with a shallow rim and no boss (or only a very shallow one).' These gongs are usually played in sets of up to six, the number of players depending on the size of the set - a set of six often having three players. With their central boss facing upwards, they are suspended horizontally in a rectangular wooden frame by cord, or thin wire, which passes through two pairs of holes in their rims. Sometimes they rest on crossed cords, sometimes they are just placed on a mat or other soft material on the floor. They are struck with a wooden beater, paluan,² the head of which is bound with rubber.

The chanang is now chiefly used by Kelantan Malays in the instrumental ensembles for the wayang kulit, manora and putri. The verb chanangkan as defined by Wilkinson (1959) suggests another function for individual chanang: 'summoning (or proclaiming) by beat of gong.'

Chanang is also the name given to the medium-sized gong with a central boss of the Achinese of Sumatra and the Dayaks of Borneo. Similar gongs are those of the bonang of Java, the trompong of Bali, and the kháw.ng wong yai of Thailand.

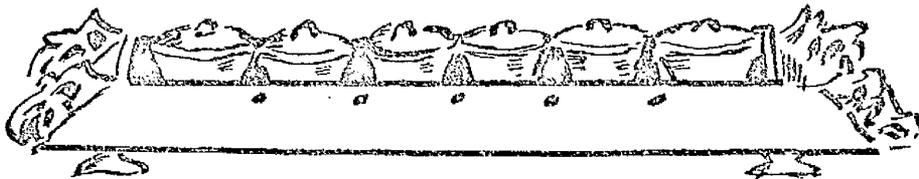
Chelempong (Cha-Lempong; Chaklempung)

This instrument is similar to the chanang. The names seem interchangeable, but chelempong in its various forms is given more frequently to the gongs of this type from Negri Sembilan. The chaklempung from that state in the National Museum, Singapore, consists of six small gongs lying on a wooden frame (papan meranti), and made of tembaga kuning-scrap brass with pure zinc added, one portion of zinc to eight parts of scrap brass.

It is claimed by the people of Negri Sembilan, many of whom are of Menangkabau descent, that the instrument originated in Sumatra, in the three territories of Luak Agam, Luak Lima Puloh and Batu Sangkar, known collectively as Tanah Datar. Tradition states that during the installation of Tunku Laras in Menangkabau he suddenly disappeared. On his reappearance he said that he had been abducted by a beautiful fairy to a wonderful fairyland where he was given royal treatment and heard a special melody played on four small gongs and a big rebana. These small gongs were called Cha-lempong or Ta-lamong.

Chalempung (or Chelempong) is the name still given to the bonang type gongs of Siak, Jambi, Palembang, Menangkabau Rejang, Benkulen and the Lampong districts of Sumatra.

1. Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, Paris, 1957, p. 61
2. palu: to strike with a stick
3. J. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol. I, p. 160, In Ethnomusicology, The Hague, 1959, (3rd edition) p. 57, Kunst points out that whereas in Siak, central Sumatra, the chelempung is a metallophone consisting of a range of either five or ten horizontally placed gongs, in West Java it is a bamboo idiochord with one or two strings, and in Central Java a form of heterochord zither with thirteen double strings.



Chelempung

(iii) Cherek (Cherachap)

The cherek is a simple percussion instrument consisting of two thin pieces of bamboo which when struck together, make a pair of concussion sticks. Another name for it is cherachap, or cherachap laut. It is chiefly used by the Malays as a rhythmic accompaniment to ma'yong and menora, both of which performances are limited to the northern states. W.W. Skeat¹ says that it was also used in Lekun (or Lakun) , Mendura and Mek Mulong -performances which are now obsolete.

1. Malay Magic, London, 1900, p. 517

(iv) Gambang Gangsa : Gambang : Gambang Tali :

The word gambang is used for both a metallophone and a xylophone.

Gambang Gangsa: ¹

This is a metallophone consisting of a number of iron bars resting over a wooden resonator by means of pins passing through holes at their ends. The resonator is usually boat-shaped and flat-bottomed. The instrument is played with a rapper with a wooden head and a thin iron rod for its handle. It is chiefly used in the instrumental combination for wayang kulit.

Gambang :

The name gambang is also given to a xylophone of the same basic construction, but with bars of wood lying across a rough, rectangular trough and cushioned on two pieces of rope. A simple gambang may have only six bars, a more elaborate one up to twenty. This instrument is also played with a wooden-headed beater. It is a member of the joget gamalan.

When Skeat mentions a gambang dua-b'las as a member of the instrumental ensemble for lekun(lakun) and wayang kun, it is not clear whether he is talking about a metallophone or xylophone with twelve (dua belas) bars.

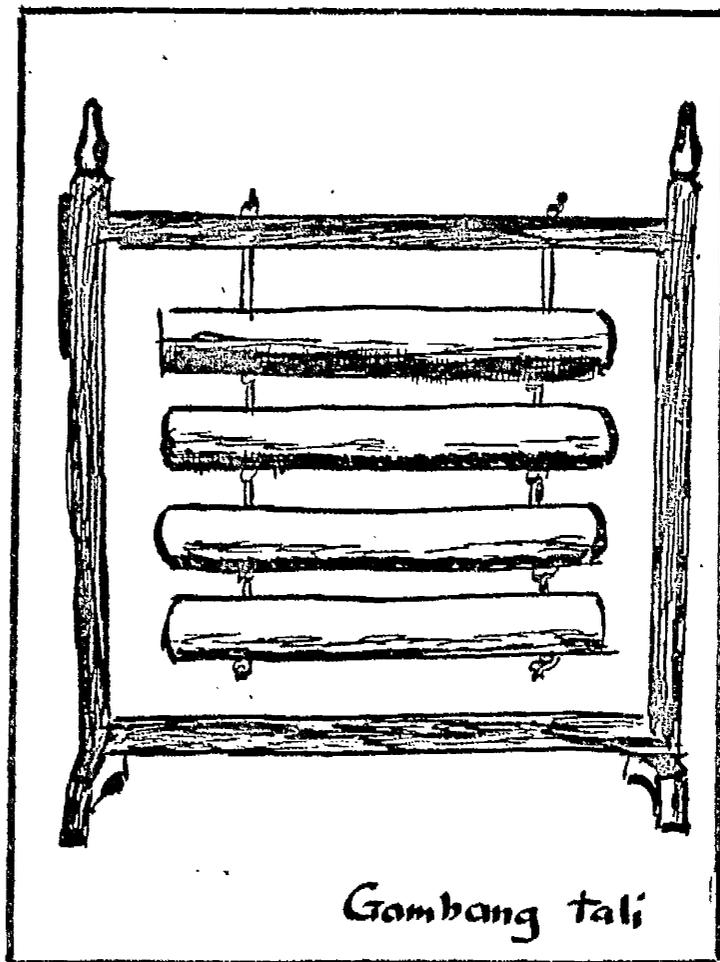
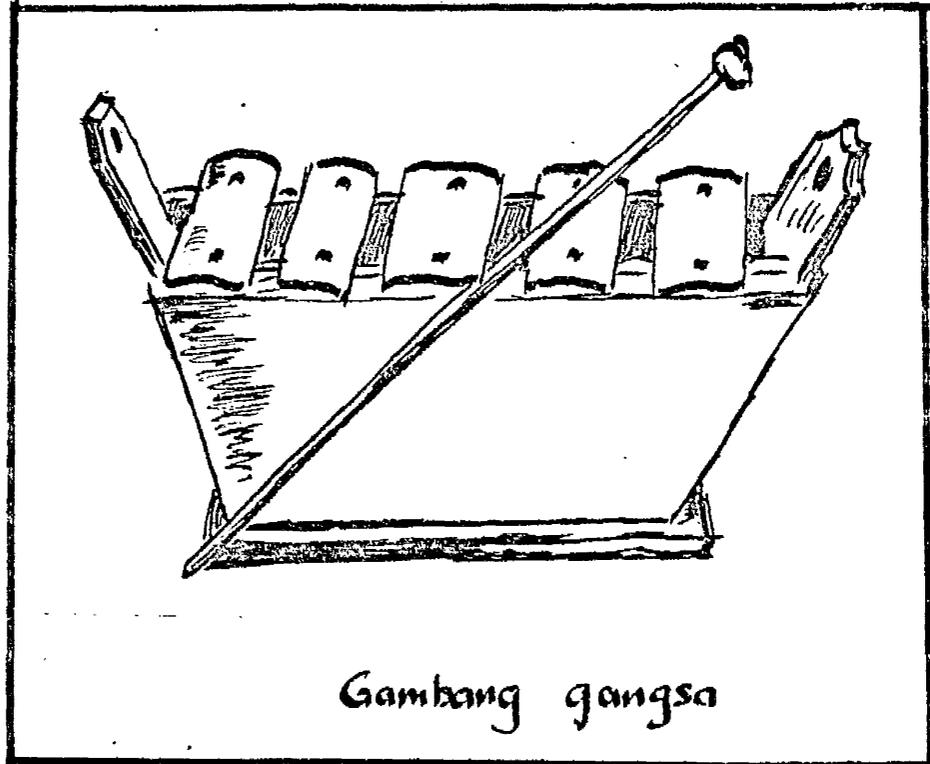
Gambang Tali :

A fairly rare form of gambang in West Malaysia is the gambang tali. It is a suspended xylophone made of tubes of bamboo suspended

horizontally in a rectangular wooden frame by two ratan strings. These strings are tied to the top and base cross pieces of the frame, and pass through the tubes near their end. The beater has a wooden head. Suspended xylophones are also called kertok-kertok and kertok buloh.

The name gambang, and probably the two trough instruments seem likely to have come from Indonesia. Wilkinson(1901) describes⁵ the gambang as a 'musical instrument of ancient Java' and Kunst traces the name through Old Javanese literature -e.g. it is mentioned several times in the Malat, the earliest date of which is late Majapahit (14th century). The gambang gangsa was a saron of Java, now obsolescent with fourteen or fifteen bars: the gambang kayu is a Javanese trough xylophone with a number of graduated bars of teak or other wood (usually sixteen or twenty-one) lying across a wooden trough (grobogan)⁶, and secured by pins. The gambang of Bali is described by McPhee as a large bamboo-keyed xylophone. In West Java the suspended xylophone is called tjalung.

1. gangsa: Skr. bell-metal, bronze.
2. a photograph of the simple gambang in Taiping Museum, received by me in 1957 was labelled gamlan. Had this name become attached to it because of the association of the gambang kayu with the gamelan of Indonesia?
3. Malay Magic, pp. 517, 519
4. tali, cord, rope or anything of cord-like appearance.
5. Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, The Hague, 1968, p. 73
6. Music in Bali, p. 272



(v) Kertok (Keretok)

The name kertok is given to several instruments, one of the best known of which is a percussion instrument, usually built around a coconut acting as a resonator. Its correct name is kertok kelapa (kelapa -coconut), but kelapa is nearly always omitted.

Large coconuts are picked when they are about nine months old, their tops are sliced off, the milk is poured away and the soft pulp scraped out. The empty husk is then filled with fresh water and placed in the sun for a fortnight to dry and harden. After that the water is poured out and the husk kept indoors until the inside is thoroughly dry. An instrument maker then places across the hole at the top a sounding board made from a piece of nibong wood¹ which gives a resonant tone when struck with a wooden beater padded with rubber or raw cotton. It is held in position by three upright projections, one called pating (peg) passing through the board, the other two gripping its sides. A tall ornamental wing, undan, is also sometimes added. Occasionally four projections are used as well as the pating,² two on each side of the sounding board. A piece of soft gabus wood acts as a pad between the sounding board and the coconut's lip. A well-made kertok lasts for four or five seasons.

Miniature kertok are made from gondang³ and from the skin of large mangosteens. It is on these that Kelantan boys learn to play before graduating to a coconut.

Originally a form of kertok was used in mosques and surau to call worshippers to prayer, and in the kampongs as a signal drum. It was also beaten for public proclamations and for visiting rulers. It is now chiefly used in competitions but kertok in groups of ten or more sometimes accompany folk dances.

The kertok as described above, is regarded by Malays as an instrument indigenous to the north of the peninsula, where it is found in Kelantan, Kedah and parts of Trengganu, but it is not restricted to this area. A kertok in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (33.61.13) made from pottery and labelled 'xylophone à une lame', comes from Patani.⁴

Kertok or keretok is also the Malay name for a cattle bell,⁵
H. Balfour mentions three such keretok:-

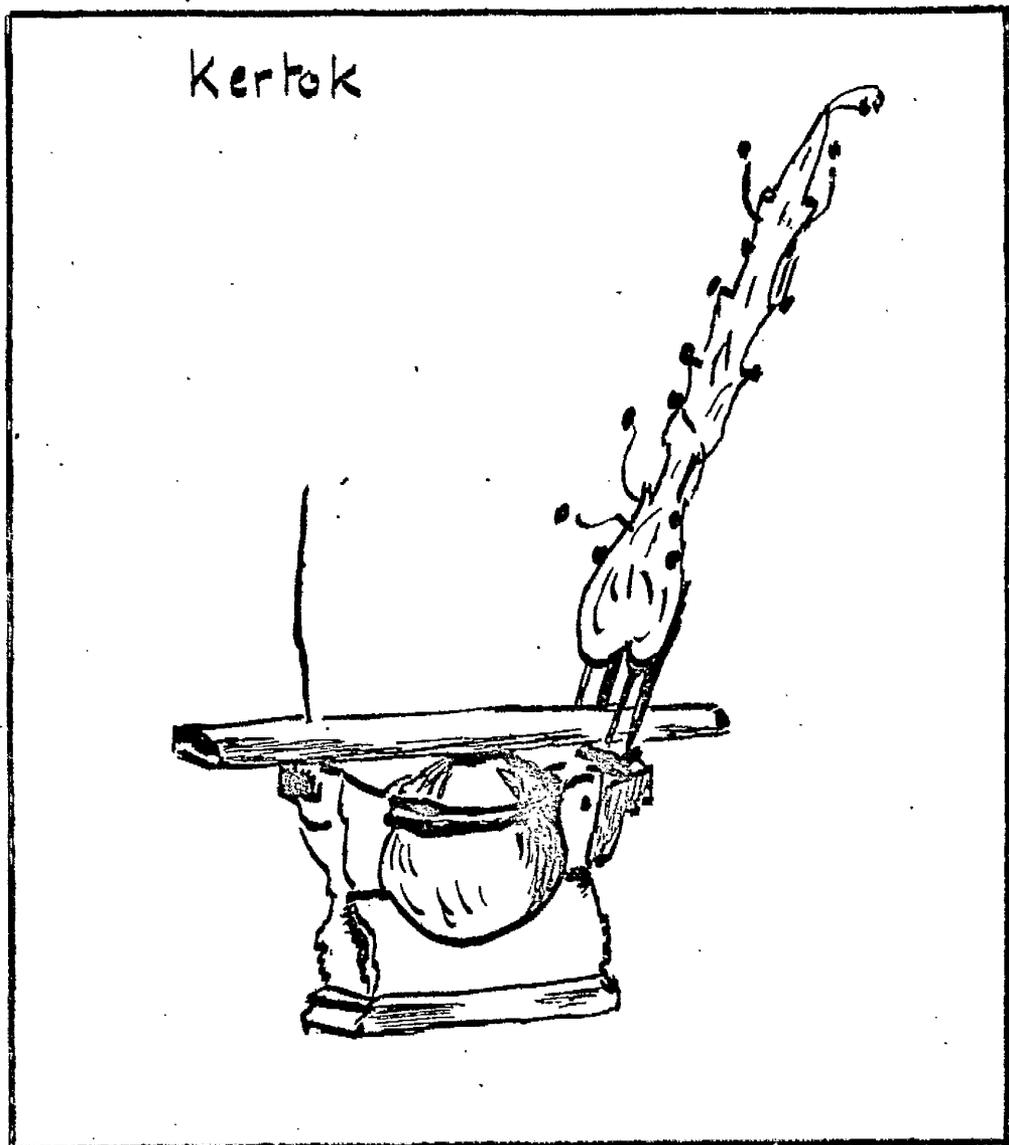
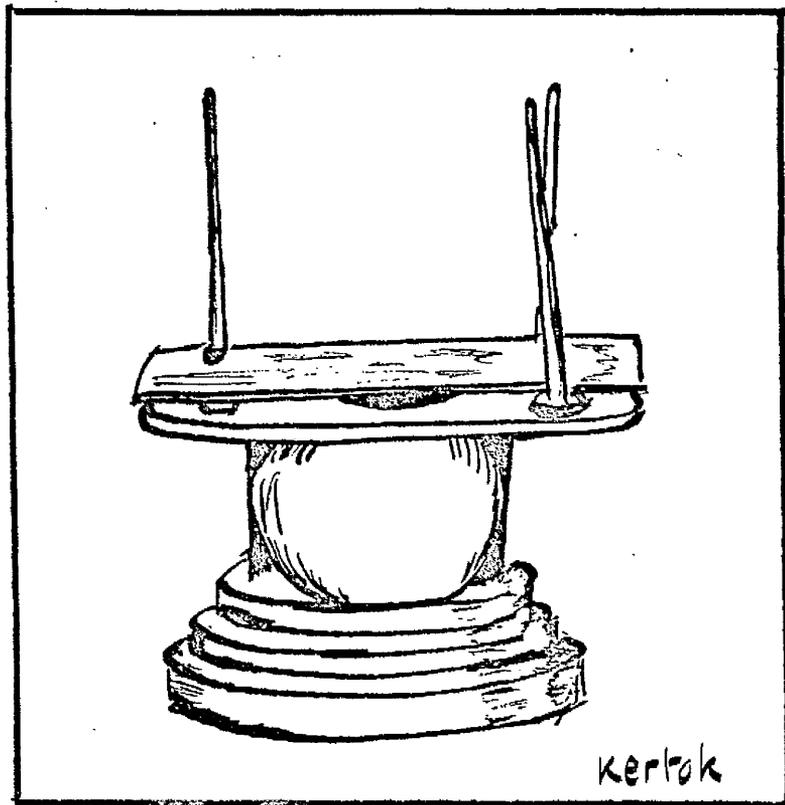
1. A cow or sheep bell (Siamese name : ki-tong) made from the seed of the sugar palm - tah(arenga saccharifera) This was somewhat globular in shape with the lower end cut off to leave a wide opening. The upper end was perforated at three places, two holes for hanging it by a cord or creeper, and the third, in the centre, for the clapper made of palm wood;
2. A cattle or elephant bell made from a joint of stout bamboo, cut so as to leave a straight back, projecting into a flange at each end, with the two flanges perforated for the suspending cord. The sides were pared down and flattened, the opening below was rectangular and the ends were closed by natural nodes. The bamboo clapper was suspended from a bamboo rod which was fixed through holes in the end of the bell and passed through a hole in the top of the clapper. The total length of the bell was $8\frac{1}{4}$ ".

3. A buffalo bell (keretok-krebau) exactly the same as the previous one, but made of solid wood instead of bamboo (Balfour has spelt kerbau (buffalo) krebau). The Muzium Negara instrument list of 1962 mentioned seven keretok buloh (EM 43)⁶ from Kelantan which it said were hung on such animals as goats, cows and buffaloes and were also used for public proclamations. The kertok buloh in the present Muzium Negara collection is a type of suspended xylophone made of six bamboo slit-drums suspended horizontally within a rectangular wooden frame, with one suspended perpendicularly from a side wing of the frame. These are played with a small wooden beater, and are used for public proclamations as well as for musical purposes in Malay ensembles. (Suspended bamboos are also called kertok-kertok and gambang tali). Two other instruments in the Muzium Negara collection called kertok kayu (or kerantong) are wooden slit-drums. They were used for sending warning signals to villagers.

1. nibong: the palm, oncosperma tigillaria
2. similar to balsa wood: gabus actually means 'easily cut' (of wood)
3. gondang: siput gondong; a generic name for several marine shells of the genus Dolium.
4. McPhee, Music in Bali, pp. 26-27, says that in Bali a deep earthenware jar supplies the resonator for the one-keyed xylophone that substitutes in the gamelan jogèd, an orchestra of xylophones for the large gong known as the kempur. He adds that in a few remote villages coconut shells sawed open at the top have been found serving as resonators for xylophone keys. These appear to be like the kertok.
5. Musical Instruments, Liverpool, 1904, p. 4 Nos. 5, 6 and 7. These particular keretok were from Jalor and Nawngchik in the Siamese

Malay states, but similar bells are known to have been used in Kelantan.

6. buloh: bamboo



(vi) Kesi (Gersek)

This concussion idiophone consists of pairs of small cymbals with a central large boss and a flat rim. They are usually made of brass and are joined together with string. For playing purposes one or two pairs lie on the ground with the open end of their bosses facing upwards. These are struck by another pair with open ends facing downwards. This vertical movement for striking cymbals, which is also used in the gamelan orchestra of the archipelago, can be seen in Assyrian reliefs of the seventh century B. C.¹

In West Malaysia these cymbals are used in the instrumental combination accompanying various folk dances , manora and wayang kulit for which performance their secret name is setgersek. Both Kesi and Kersek (gersek) are onomatopoeic words meaning 'rustling', 'whispering' . Neither meaning appears to be closely related to the way in which the cymbals are usually played.

Cymbals have been used over a wide area for at least 3, 000 years. They were played in the worship of the goddess Cybele in Central Asia Minor, 1200 B. C; a Babylonian plaque in the British Museum, dated 700-600 B. C. shows a lady accompanying a kettledrummer on the cymbals, and both clashing and tinkling cymbals are clearly depicted on the Barabudur reliefs (800. A. D.)³ .

1. F. W. Galpin, The Music of the Sumerians, C. U. P. , 1937, Plate X. 26. p. 73

2. the small finger-cymbals of the Arabs were called kasa.

3. J. Blades, Percussion Instruments and their History, Faber, London, 1970 p. 165

(vii) Mong

This percussion idiophone is a small gong usually made of bronze, with a central boss. It is suspended with its boss facing upwards by means of cords threaded through holes in its sides within a low wooden frame. Sometimes it is just laid on the ground. It may be played singly or in twos or fours, in which case the gongs are often arranged in a square. The mong is struck with a small mallet, paluan mong, the head of which is bound with several thicknesses of rubber.

The mong is chiefly found in Kelantan, where it is a member of the instrumental combinations for the wayang kulit and for folk dances.¹

Thailand has a similar gong. A pair of such gongs form the kháw.ng. khû and give out one low and one high sound, mò.ng-máy.ng, when struck on their respective bosses. They are used in ensembles which accompany the no.ra and lókhaw.n.cha.tri stage performances.²

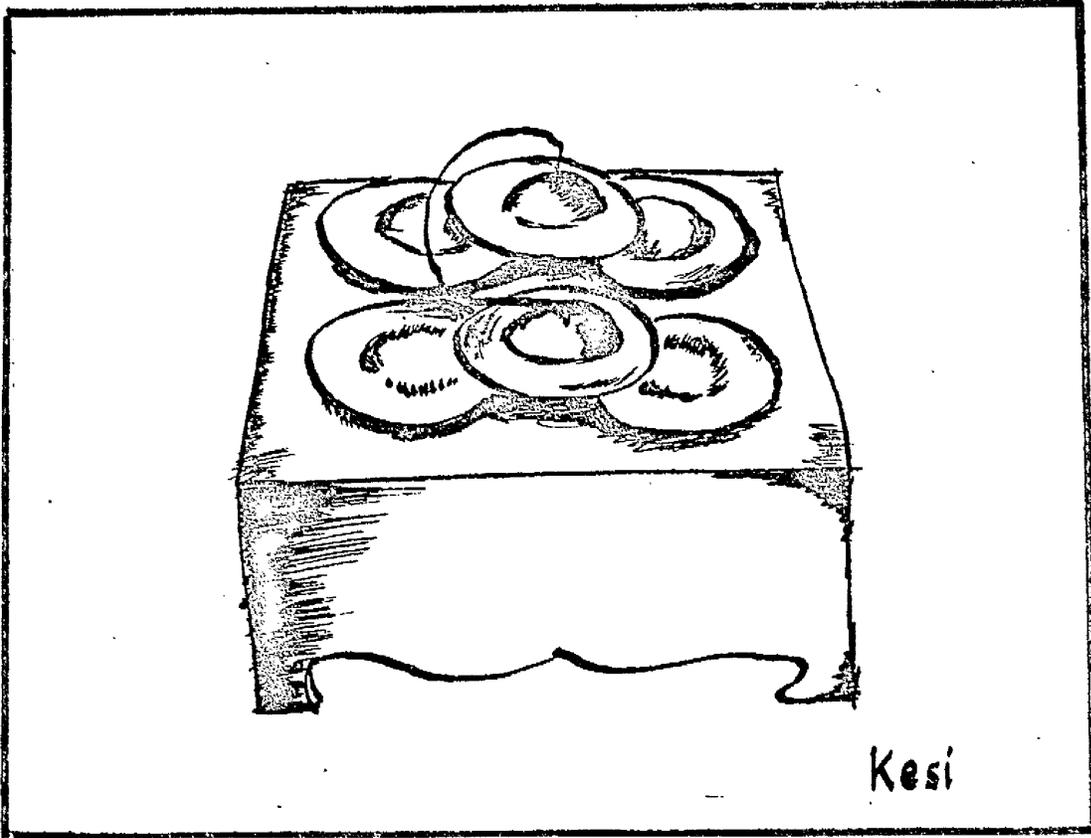
In Thailand the word mong has associations with the hours of the day, e.g. the first morning hour 7.a.m. is known as mo.ng.cháo. This relates to the practice before the coming of mechanical devices of a gong announcing the time of day by giving out the sound 'mo.ng'³

⁴ Cuisinier suggests that the Kelantan Malays borrowed the Thai word mong for their small gongs; but here she is referring to an actual Thai instrument she knew called luk mong (luk, meaning 'child' referring to the size of the gong).

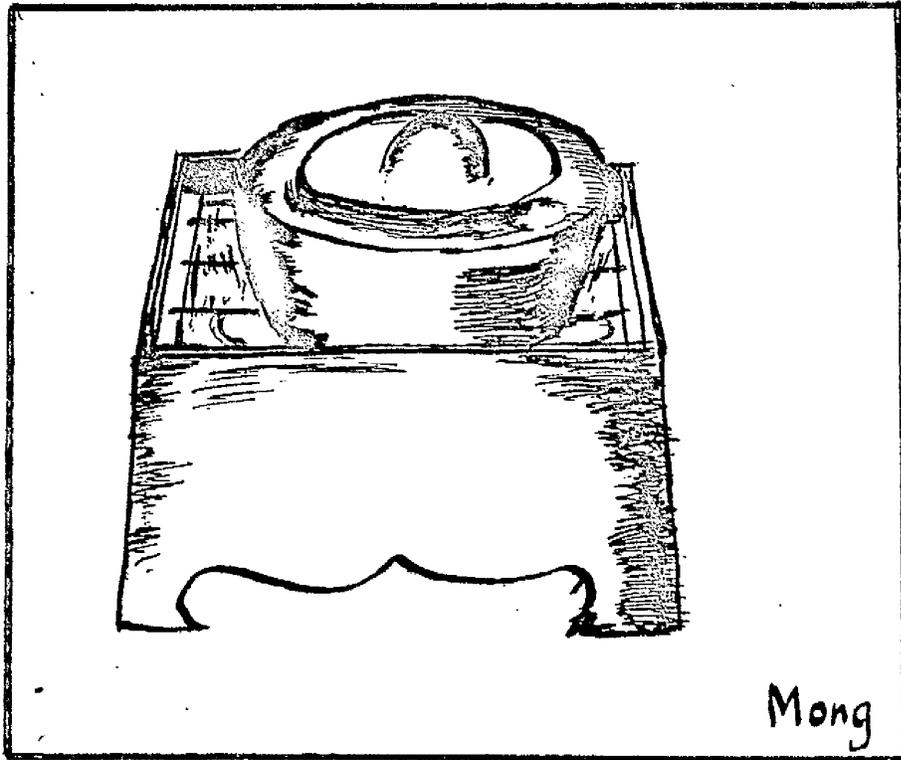
The similarity of the Thai kháw.ng khu to the Kelantan mong

suggests that the instrument may have come to the peninsula from across the border. But it must be added that the name mong is also given to the gong chime of the Shan State, Burma, a chime consisting of six gongs with small central bosses. The monggang of East Java is composed of a single row of very large bonang kettles with a compass⁵ of an octave.

1. Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 518, lists the mong-mong as one of the instruments which accompanied ma'yong. An accompaniment to Lekun or Lakun (p. 517) he also mentions kromong (or mong-mong) Was mong-mong an alternative name for kromong, or a substitute instrument? The kromong is the name of the bonang in Banten, W. Java, and of a gong of S. Sumatra, which is laid on a bed of banana leaves when it is played. Kunst, Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, p. 63, says that the instrument-name mong mong may be identified with kenong, and (p. 64) that k(e)romong is the name for a series of 'kettle' bonang of West Java, South and Central Sumatra and South Borneo (Bandjarmasin)
2. D. Yupho, Thai Musical Instruments, Bangkok, 1960, p. 24
3. ibid., p. 22. The gong used for sounding the hours, and called either khá w.ng m̀. ng or simply m̀. ng is, in fact, a suspended gong.
4. Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, p. 60
5. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol I. p. 156



Kesi



Mong

(viii) Suspended Gong : Tetawak (Tawak-Tawak)

The suspended gong of West Malaysia has a central boss and a turned-down rim, and is usually made of bronze. Suspended gongs hang on a frame made of two supports and a cross beam and are normally played in pairs. Both the frame and the gong reflect varying standards of workmanship: in kampong performances the frames are sometimes improvised from bamboo or even rope, and the gongs from tin oil drums. The size of the gong once varied according to its function ¹, but this now receives scant attention.

The gong is struck on its boss with a striker called tabok tabuk, or pemukul gong, the wooden handle of which is often decorated with concentric rings at regular intervals. Its rounded head is covered with plaited or woven threads and wound around with wool. Occasionally the boss of the gong is beaten with the outer side of the bare clenched fist, but this not as common as in Java. The gong is used in a variety of instrumental ensembles for bersilat, manora, putri, ma'yong and wayang kulit.

In Kelantan it had a secret name amongst the bomor -Sri gemuroh. Gemuroh means the 'roll of thunder, the roar of many waters, the murmurs of an angry crowd'. As a secret name it is now rarely heard. Some gongs are called tetawak. It is not easy to find out the exact reason.

Wilkinson(1959) makes a clear distinction between tetawak(tawak-tawak) — the gongs used for calling people together or for signals of any sort, and the gongs which are used in an orchestra for musical purposes. This distinction is no longer maintained. Tawak-tawak is the name given to

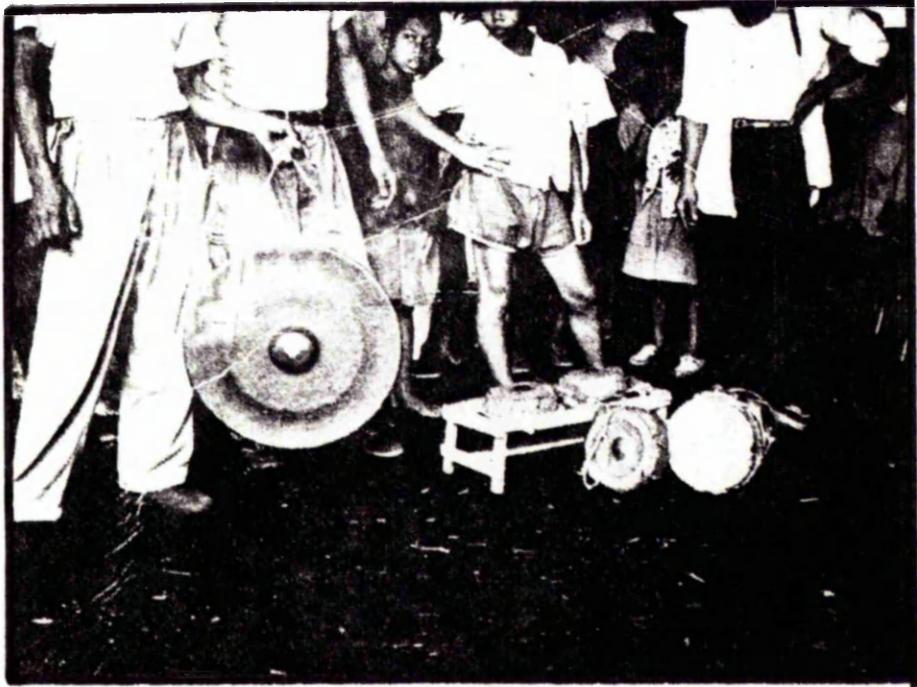
a small gong or sounding-board used to summon people to a meeting- but not all tetawak are used as signal gongs. They accompany bersilat, ma'yong and manora. The tetawak in the Muzium Negara collection has a deeper rim than the other gong on display - but this is not always a distinguishing mark. It is less usual for them to hang in a frame than to be held by the cord attached to their rim.

The tawak, also called tatawak, is the large gong with a central boss of the Dayaks of Borneo.

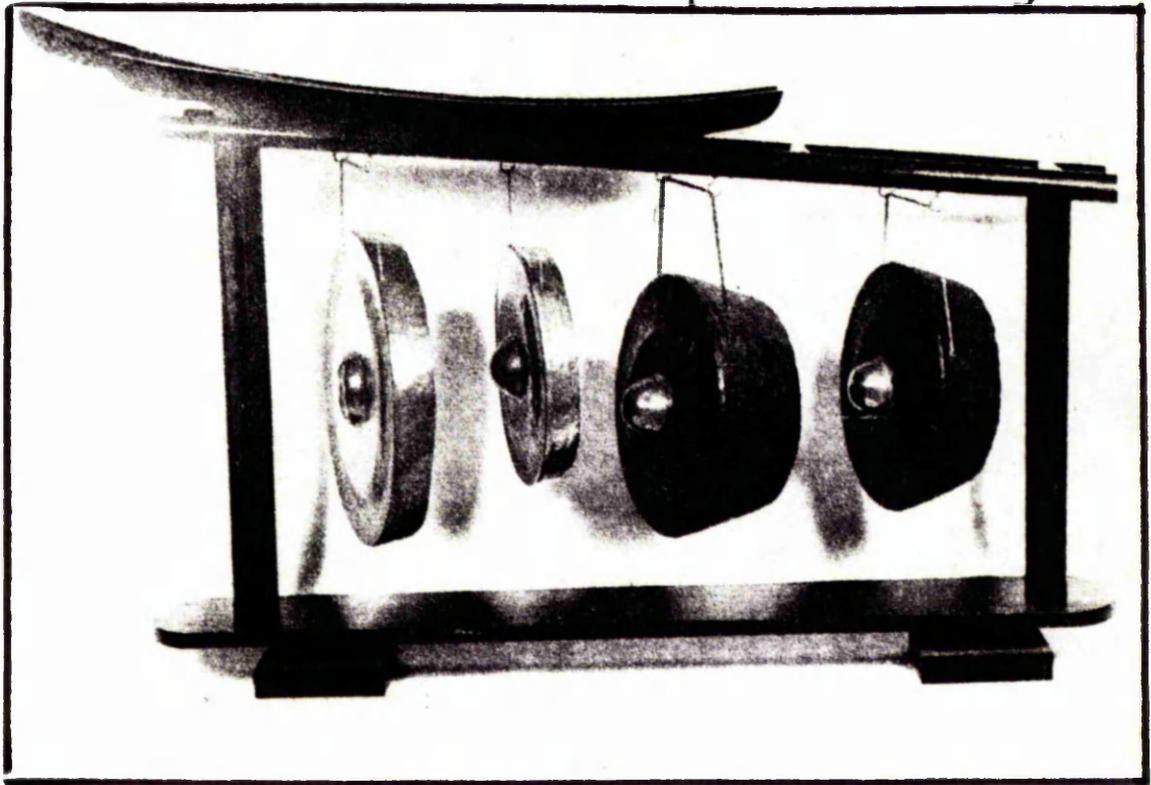
The gong is a very important instrument throughout the whole of South-East Asia, but its place of origin remains uncertain. Kunst says it appears that the oldest mention of gongs comes from China in the 6th Century, and that the Chinese were supposed to have adopted the instrument from a 'barbarian' people living further west. This is often interpreted as somewhere in the area between Tibet and Burma, but Kunst himself advanced the theory that it came from an area much further West. He believed that its place of origin might not have been in South-East Asia at all, but in the East Mediterranean region. This theory was based on the fact that some Greek authors mention an instrument called *ècheion* used to imitate thunder effects on the stage, and in the Eleusinian mysteries at a climax of the ritual. This instrument was made from metal and continued to sound long after it had been struck. In the ancient rituals it was associated with death, and as Kunst pointed out, the gong plays a similarly important part in the death ritual among many peoples in South-East Asia. Kunst sketches the possible eastward spread of the gong with

other Hellenistic influences, as a result of Alexander's expedition to North-West India and the country now called Afghanistan. It was then probably still functioning as a religious instrument. The Hellenistic princes in Bactria and India, the Euthydemids, had already been in intimate contact with Buddhism some centuries earlier, and the gong may have travelled to China at the beginning of the sixth century as an attribute of Buddhist ritual. By the ninth century it was known in Java, and in the following century it was found in nearly all the islands of the Indonesian archipelago. If this theory has validity, the gong's journey to West Malaysia will have been from the East Mediterranean area via North-West India, China, Java and Indonesia.

1. in the Balai Besar, Kota Bharu, the gong used for Tarian Asek has a diameter of 58.5 cm and a depth of 14 cm, and that for Panasilat diameter of 52.1 cm. and a depth of 22.3 cm., and the three gongs for Ma'yong have the following diameters and depths: (i) 44.5 cm., 16.5 cm., ii) 44.5 cm., 19.1 cm., (iii) 42.6 cm., 16.5 cm., All these gongs, except the first, were called tetawak.
2. Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p. 142. fn. 4
3. Music in Java, Vol I, p. 143
4. C. Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, London, 1940, p. 240
5. op. cit., pp. 143-8



Suspended Gongs



B. MEMBRANOPHONES

(i) Gedombak

This is a goblet drum shaped from one piece of wood with a single membrane, normally of snake-skin and with the base of its pedestal left open. The single membrane is braced with a zig-zag lacing of split cane to a cane ring passing round the waist where the goblet merges into the pedestal. Two large loops of ratan are often fixed around the waist for carrying purposes. When it is played, the gedombak is placed across the player's left thigh so that its single membrane can be struck with the right hand. The left hand supports the pedestal base and from time to time is used to close it, so changing the quality of sound.

The gedombak is found in two sizes, gedombak anak (child) the smaller, and gedombak ibu (mother) - the larger - varying in height from 20 cm. to 40 cm. They are used in instrumental ensembles, chiefly to accompany wayang kulit and manora.

A certain amount of confusion has been caused by the inaccurate use of the name gedombak. Cuisinier¹ uses it for a drum which her description suggests is the geduk.² Marcuse says that the gedu is a synonym for gedombak, and quotes as her authority, Balfour's Musical Instruments. On p. 5 of that pamphlet after the catalogue numbers, 10 and 11, both of which list gedombok (Balfour's spelling) Annandale adds this note...

.. in the atrical performances, whether the company be Malay or Siamese, the pair is almost invariably associated with a third drum, as is well shown in a model of the Senggora type of orchestra now in the Pitt Rivers Museum. The third

drum has a double membrane, and is of a cylindrical or barrel-shaped form; unlike the pair, which are played with the fingers, it is struck with a couple of drumsticks at one end which is inclined towards the player by means of a forked stick on which the instrument is supported behind.

This third named drum is clearly a geduk, which is different both in construction and in method of playing, from the gedombak.

The fact that the gedombak is almost identical with the Thai tho.n cha.tri.³ and is used in manora which is of Thai origin, suggests that it may have come to the peninsula from Thailand. It should, however, be noted that there are two drums of goblet shape in Sumatra with similar names, geudumba⁴ and godumbas, and that Sumatra has close links with the peninsula.

The origin of the goblet drum may have been in the Middle East. It is still found throughout the Islamic world made of metal, pottery or wood, although clay was the material originally used. In the National Museum, Prague, there are clay goblet drums from Kalupy⁵ and Brozany on the Ohre, Bohemia, dating from c.2000, B.C., and a similar shaped drum is represented on a Babylonian plaque of about 1100 B.C.⁶ The goblet drum of the Arab world is called darabuka, (pl. darabukat (dar'abook'keh)). Made of clay or wood, it has a single glued membrane with two snares, and is usually painted. It is played with both hands, the fingers of the right hand firmly tapping the centre of its head, whilst those of the left hand play gently close to the rim. The goblet shaped drum of Persia called tunbuk or dunbak is now obsolete.⁷

The Telegu goblet drum of the East coast of India, ghutra, made of clay with a cylindrical pedestal, zig-zag lacings and open base

is very similar in shape to the gedombak, and suggests a link in the journey of this type of drum from the Middle East to West Malaysia.

1. Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, p. 60
2. Musical Instruments
3. Yupho, Thai Musical Instruments, p. 38
4. Kunst, Indonesische Musik, Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
plate 53, 12
5. A. Buckner, Musical Instruments through the Ages, London. n. d., Ill. 6 and 7
6. Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, p. 77
7. Galpin, The Music of the Sumerians, Plate X.12

(ii) Geduk:

This barrel drum has a double membrane, the calf skins of which are nailed tightly to the barrel made of wood, often from the coconut tree. Ratan bands usually encircle the membranes when they are nailed in this way. Attached to the side of the barrel away from the player are two wooden struts, which are fixed quite close together near the upper membrane, and diverge to their furthest extent beyond the drum's lower membrane. When the geduk stands on the floor, they incline it towards the player at an angle of about 30° . As the lower membrane faces the floor only the upper one is beaten. For this purpose two straight sticks are used.

Geduk are usually played in pairs, ibu and anak. The diameter of the membrane of a geduk ibu I measured was 24.3 cm., and the length of its barrel 30.5 cm. Corresponding measurements for a particularly small geduk anak were 16.1 cm. and 22.6 cm.

In West Malaysia both sizes of geduk are used in the instrumental ensembles accompanying wayang kulit and manora; sometimes, too, for dances.

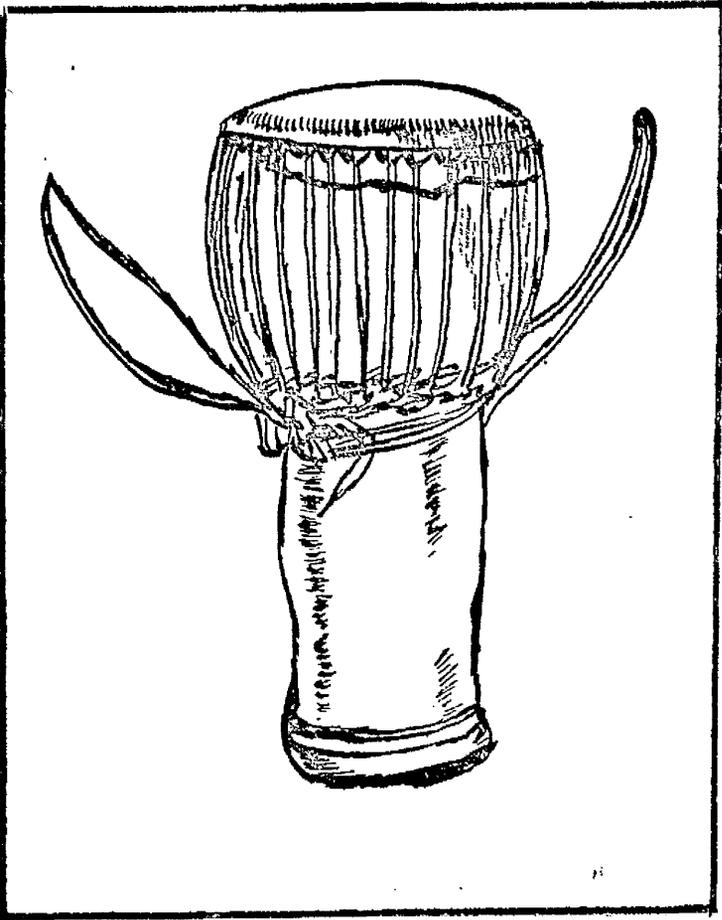
2 The practice of nail bracing, as used on the geduk is very old. Sachs points out that drums (although not necessarily barrel drums) with nailed membranes appear on Sumerian works of art of the third millenium B.C. This nail-bracing can also be seen on the oldest surviving drum in China, a bronze model discovered in Honan in 1935, and probably dating from the Shang period, 1600-1050 B.C. Nail bracing remains a feature of Chinese and Japanese drums.

Two of West Malaysia's near neighbours have nail-braced drums - Java has the bedug (or teteg) , and Thailand the glaw.ng. thát or in its smaller size, glaw.ng. cha.tri . The bedug whose membranes may be braced by nails with large round heads or by wooden pins, is suspended from a frame and struck with a beater. Only one head of the glaw.ng. thát is beaten, and this is done with two sticks, as for the geduk . Moreover, its supports may be compared with the simpler struts of the geduk .³

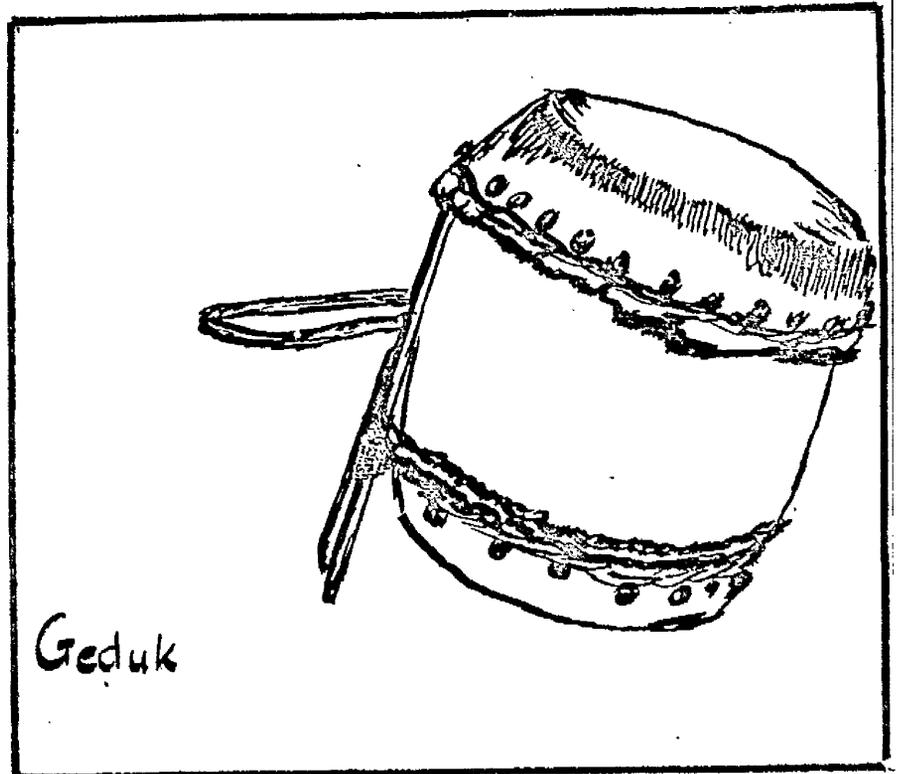
The fact that the geduk is used to accompany man ora - a performance of Thai origin, also suggests a close relationship between the glaw.ng. thát and the geduk .

Another drum of West Malaysia called Geduk Ashek⁴ has no struts and only one membrane. It is not now used to accompany the Ashek dance , but when it was, it was played with the fingers. In a letter to me dated 19.ix.70, Mubin Sheppard says that he intends to try and revive interest in the instrument ' which has a very lively sound, though more refined than the ordinary geduk ' .

1. a geduk in the collection of Muzium Negara in 1963 (Ref. M 1.10) had its two membranes held in position by means of small bamboo spikes spaced equidistantly around the barrel.
2. Sachs., The History of Musical Instruments, p. 74
3. Yupho, Thai Musical Instruments, p. 33
4. illustrated in 'Tarian Melayu' S. T. A. 1961, p. 44



Gedumbak



Geduk

(iii) Gendang

The gendang is an asymmetrical barrel drum of hard wood with double membranes, one of which is slightly larger in diameter than the other. Gendang are of various sizes. One in my possession is 55.9 cm. long, has one membrane with a diameter of 20 cm. and another, 18.4 cm. These membranes, often made from the skin of the barking deer (kijang: *cervulus muntjac*), are stretched by means of wooden hoops. These are braced with zig-zag lacing of split cane, held tightly to the barrel by encircling cane bands near the larger head. The bracing thongs are drawn together by sliding rings of cane or leather which alter the pitch of the drum when they are moved up and down the barrel. This method of tightening the skins is called "Y-stretching" by Kunst.¹

When the gendang is played it is either held in a horizontal position across the left thigh of the squatting player or placed in front of him on a low wooden stand. Sometimes it just rests on the floor. The larger head is usually, but not invariably, played by the right hand and the smaller one by the left. They may be beaten by the flat of the hands or by crooked sticks which are either slightly curved or bent almost at right angles. Sometimes one membrane is beaten by a stick and the other by the hand.

Gendang are usually played in pairs - ibu (mother) and anak (child), or jantan (male) and betina (female) the anak and betina being slightly smaller in size.² There should really be different sizes for different types of performance, e. g. the gendang bersilat should be larger than the gendang makyong, but these differences are now rarely maintained.

Gendang are used to accompany bersilat , makyong , manora , wayang kulit , bergayong ota ota and putri . For putri they have secret names in the language of the bomor ³ . In a performance attended by Cuisinier , the secret generic name of the larger drum was Gegaman , and its secret personal name, Dengong asal . Gegaman is an Indonesian word used by Malays to mean 'weapons, armed soldiery, a magic coat of mail': Dengong is an onomatopoeic word for 'booming', 'humming' , and asal means ' origin' . The secret generic term of the smaller drum (anak) was Mong tujuh , and its secret personal name Gebalang . Mong is the name of another Malay gong , but in this secret language it is quite common to attribute the name of one object to another: tujuh is the Malay word for seven. The reason for the name Gebalang is not clear. One of the meanings of balang is 'mournfulness', and this is not entirely inappropriate in the invocation in which it appeared which said that men who listened to the drum would experience great desire and languor.

Drums of a similar construction beaten with crooked sticks are depicted on medieval Persian miniatures, and the same type of crooked beater can be seen on the reliefs of the stupa at Bharahat in ⁴ Central India dating from the second century. On Barabudur there are a number of cylindrical drums with thong tension , but without the sliding rings. They are sometimes beaten by hand, and sometimes with sticks ⁵ some of which are crooked.

In both North India and Iran the name for this type of drum is duhul , a name which corresponds to the Arabic tabl and the Turkish

dawal (davul) .

The same instrument is found in slightly varying forms and with similar names throughout Indonesia, - kendang in Central Java and Bali, ⁷ ghendang on the island of Lombok, and gendang in Southern Sumatra, this last drum bearing a close resemblance to the gendang of West Malaysia. Almost identical to the peninsula gendang are three drums from neighbouring Thailand - the glaw.ng. khæ.k, glaw.ng mala.yu, and glaw.ng. chána, the first one beaten with the hands, the other two with crooked sticks.

A number of gendang with specific names are listed by Wilkinson. Most of these have the same construction as the double-membrane Gendang just described.

- Gendang keling: a drum (both heads of which are beaten by the drummer). There is a performance in Kedah called Gendang Kling in which this drum is the predominant instrument, the other being the serunai. Keling or kling is a name applied to all immigrants from the Coromandel coast. It is significant that Kedah used to be the centre of Indian trade.
- gendang kesukaan a drum beaten on festive occasions, kesukaan: pleasure, enjoyment.
- gendang melela: a drum, one head of which is beaten with a stick and the other with the hand; melela: to wave (?)
- gendang perang : a war-drum. This is played with the bare hands, and has a piece of ratan attached to its ends so that it can easily be carried across the shoulder. It is now used only on festive occasions. (The gedang perang in the National Museum, Singapore, (Sl. 475) has heads of 20.3 cm. and 22.3 cm. in diameter and a length of 47 cm.. A similar drum in West Borneo is called glendang prang.)
- gendang serama : a drum, one head of which is beaten by the hand, the other by a drum-stick used to keep time for dancers (Wilkinson (1901) says that it resembled the gendang melala, but had a more delicate sound.)
- gendang raya: a large drum used to summon people to the mosque. raya: great, large.

The name gendang raya is sometimes given to the drums usually called rebana besar (p. 177). Wilkinson (1959) states that gendang raya is the Kedah name for a drum called bedok, in other parts of the peninsula. This he described (1901) as a kind of big drum made out of a hollowed section of a tree-trunk and used to beat the watches or to call people to prayer, to give a warning or alarm, or for other similar but non-musical purposes. In Province Wellesley it is called gedok.

The mention here of beating the watches raises an interesting speculation as to its relation to the nobat. Were both the negara and the gendang raya successors in the Malayan region of the great bronze-age drums, fragments of which have been found at Klang and Jambeling? It is interesting, too, to note that according to Wilkinson (1959) the gendang bedok is found in Java only in the royal gamelan (gamelan sekatem) where it is thumped from time to time to indicate the royal character of the orchestra.

8

The two gendang batak described by Balfour bear no resemblance to any of the gendang listed above. They were both cordophones

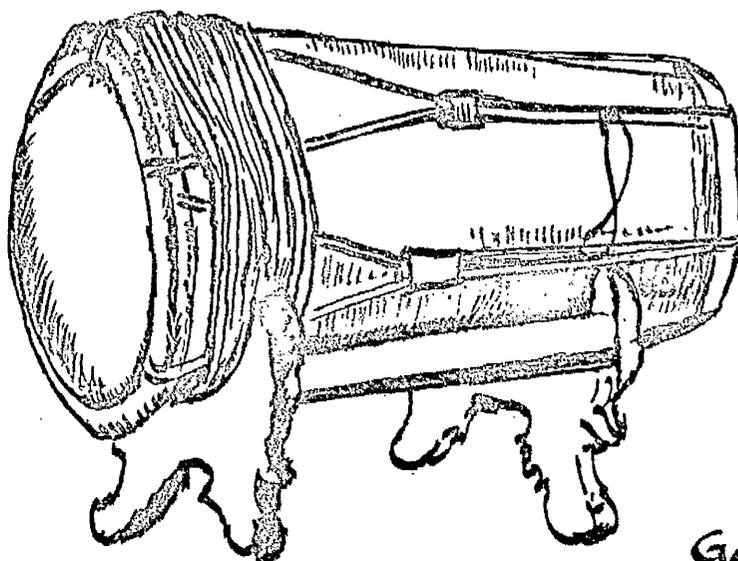
Other drums listed by Wilkinson have a variant of the name genderang. They are all used for state occasions.

genderang: a big drum beaten on special occasions as a sort of war-drum, state drum or processional drum.

genderang arak-arakan: a processional drum; berarak: to march in procession.

genderang berangkat: a special drum beaten to announce the departure of a Sultan; berangkat: to go (of a prince).

1. Music in Java, Vol.1. p.203
2. the instruments in both pairs of gendang in the Balai Besar, Kota Bharu, were called (1962) jantan and perempuan. Jantan is normally used for the male animal and Perempuan for the female human.
3. Danses Magiques de Kelantan p.146 fn.1 and p.148 fn.1 . The second and third formulae of the opening ritual of makyong and putri in which these names appear are given in both the original Kelantan Malay and in French translation, pp.146-8
4. Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, pp. 157-8
5. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol.I. p.107
6. Farmer, New Oxford History of Music, I . p. 442
7. Kunst, Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, p. 40 says that the Indonesian word kendang is the present day general name for drums with tuning straps in Java and Bali (elsewhere in the Archipelago: gendang, gondrang ganrang.) He suggests that this name possibly existed side by side with special terms (mostly of Sanskrit origin) as a name for drums in general. Sometimes it seems to refer to a special kind of drum, as when the kendang is mentioned together with another drum. He also states, Music in Java, Vol. I. pp. 214, that the name kendang occurred at an early date in ancient literature -Rāmayaṇā; Virā taparvva, 996 A. D.
8. Musical Instruments pp. 16 and 17



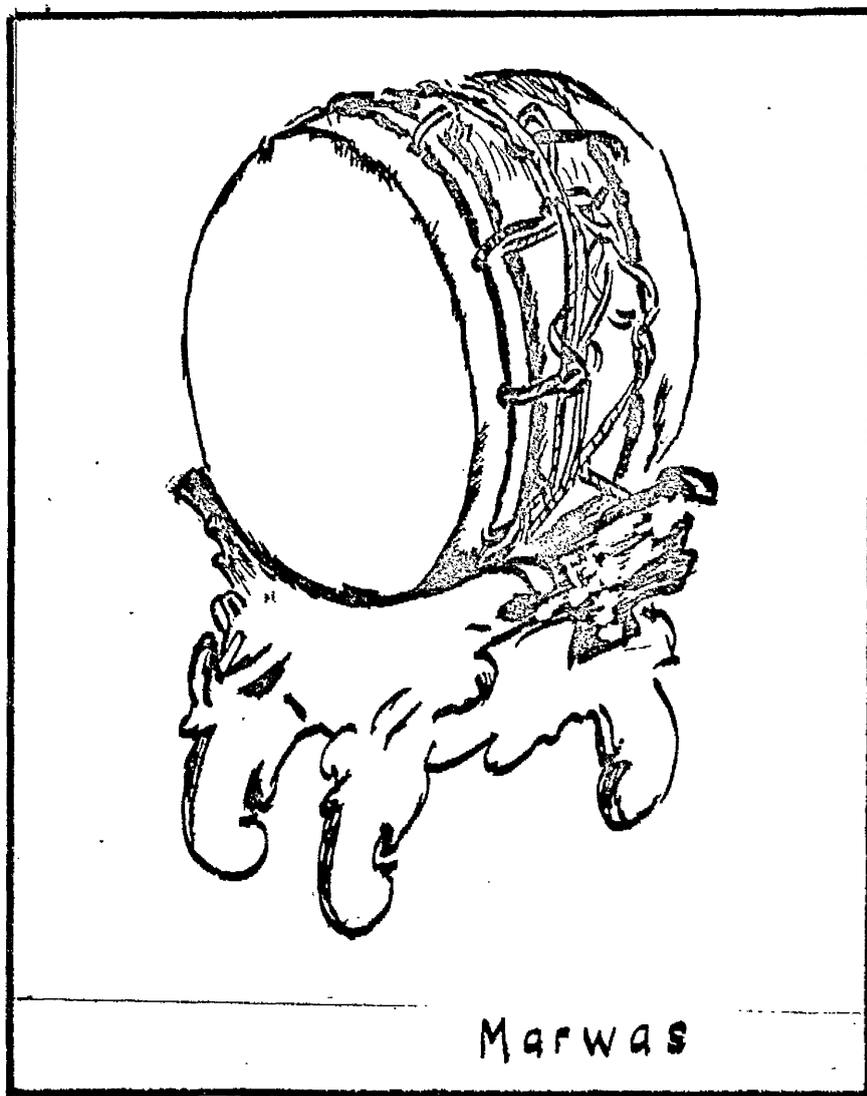
Gendang

(iv) Marwas (Maruas).

This is a small cylindrical, double-membrane drum, the two heads of which are braced by Y cords, with intertwining lacing passing around the body. The heads are about 15.2 cm. in diameter and the depth of their body is between 10.2 cm and 12.7 cm. The marwas is usually tapped with the hands, very occasionally with a pair of sticks. It is chiefly used in conjunction with the gambus in zapin and ghazal, two performances of Arabic origin. Sumatra has an identical drum also called marwas, and it seems likely that it was from this area that the instrument was taken to the peninsula by immigrants who settled in Johore. It is there that it is still most frequently found.

The marwas bears a close resemblance to the atambor (at-tumbūr), an Arab-Persian instrument from Spain, which was mentioned in the fourteenth century by Juan Ruiz, in 'Il libro de buen amor'¹.

1. Farmer, The New Oxford History of Music, Vol I, pp. 467-8



(v) Rebana and Redap : Rebana Berarak and Rebana Riba

There seems to be some confusion over the use of the names rebana and redap. The name rebana is often used as a generic term¹ for all frame drums in West Malaysia; sometimes both names are used indiscriminately for either of the frame drums described below; more specifically they differentiate between the two instruments.

Rebana berarak

This instrument is usually called by the single name, rebana. It has a single membrane and a basin-shaped frame made from hardwood. Its sides slope inwards to about an inch from the base, from which it is separated by a number of wooden wedges. To this base which consists of a hoop of strong cane, the head is laced with pairs of ratan cords. Another hoop of cane around the membrane on the inside of the drum increases the tension of the skin. Instruments of this type are very common throughout the peninsula and are made in a variety of sizes, often indicated by the names ibu and anak. The rebana in my possession has a head diameter of 40.6 cm., a base diameter of 24.3 cm. and a height of 24 cm. The height of some other rebanas is less in relation to the diameter of their heads, and their base diameter may be less than half that of their heads. The drum is played with the hands.

The rebana is closely associated with Muslim religious² processions and wedding processions where it accompanies the singing. But it is also used to accompany bersilat and dances, indeed, for almost any form of Malay entertainment demanding a percussive accompaniment.

Rebana Riba (Redap)

This rebana has the alternative name, redap. It is a single membrane drum with the same basic construction as the rebana berarak, but it is only half as deep, and usually has fewer wooden blocks around its base. It is used in main putri, although even there the rebana berarak frequently takes its place. In the National Museum, Singapore, there is an instrument actually called redap petri³. This is the same shape - a shallow frame drum, 11.4 cm deep with a diameter of 46.8 cm., but it has eighteen tuning wedges projecting from its base, in the manner of the rebana besar. Yet another type of redap - there used to be an example in the Perak Museum⁴ - has two membranes, the second head fitting over the main body of the instrument, like a lid. When a redap has brass discs (jingles) attached to its frame it is called rebana kerchen. All the members of the redap family are played with the hands.

Various types of instruments corresponding to the rebana are found in Indonesia where their generic name is terbang⁵. The terbang with a single skin kept taut by means of a ratan hoop and wooden wedges is called terbang gembrung: the shallow frame drum with an open base, nailed-drum skin and jingles is known as terbang ketimpring⁶.

In various islands of the archipelago there are forms of terbang⁷ known as rabana, rapana, arabana, robana and rebana⁸ which resemble the rebana riba (redap) in construction. The actual word redep is used for the terbang in Hindu-Javanese literature (the Harivangsa XX 17 and the Vangbang vidaha III 69): it still occurs, as does redap, in Bencoolen in S. W. Sumatra⁹. In Bali the terbang is a bowl-shaped form of drum

hollowed from the bulging base of the coconut palm. It is sometimes known as terbana, and is used only in the small ensemble of flutes and percussion that accompanies the popular entertainment known as janger.¹⁰

In Java the terbang was chiefly used by beggars (chokekan), wandering minstrels and religious people to accompany their hymns of praise, particularly on the Prophet's birthday. The rebana is used for similar purposes in West Malaysia. Dr. Pijper pointed out to Kunst¹¹ the possibility of the name rabana itself having a direct link with these hymns of praise since the opening word of many of them was rabbana, the vocative of "Our Lord"¹². Kunst himself suggests that the word terbang might be the translation of one of the names given to the instrument by the Arabs in Java - tairan, a popular form of tarayan, which like terbang means 'to fly'.

It would appear that the passage of the frame drum to West Malaysia was probably via Indonesia from the Middle East, where some of the earliest frame drums were also used to accompany religious songs.¹³

¹⁴ Amongst the Sumerians there were two types of shallow frame-drum. One of these was the a-da-pa (adapu) with a rectangular frame and perhaps double membrane which were tapped with the fingers. In temples it accompanied certain hymns and liturgies which derived their names from it. On a tablet of the Ur-Isin period (c. 2,100 B. C.) there is a hymn to Enhil in honour of King Dungi with the inscription "a psalm of the High Priest, a song on a A-däp to Enhil". The fact that the name is sometimes preceded by urudu, suggests that there must have been some copper about it, perhaps in the form of jingles or a metal-covered frame.¹⁵

The second type of Sumerian frame drum was called meze (mezu, mansu, manzu, mazu mesi or su-meze). It was of a circular shape with a single membrane and can be clearly seen in the hands of a priestess on an early Babylonian statuette of c. 2,000 B.C. now in the British Museum. ¹⁶ The a-dap and meze were close relatives, often being equated in descriptions, but the latter was used with drums, lyres, pipes etc., at feasts and popular gatherings, as well as in the temple.

The a-da-pa probably gave its name to the adafe or duff of the Arabs. ¹⁷ The word duff (pl. dufuf) was a generic term applied to any type of tambourine, but in its specific sense it refers to a square or ¹⁸ rectangular tambourine with a membrane on both sides of its frame. In the seventh century A.D. the duff was used by solo singers as an accompaniment, and it figured in martial music as well as in hymns of praise or sorrow. It has always been used in Muslim countries by sufi mendicants on pilgrimage.

Other related instruments, both in construction and name, are the single-headed circular or octagonal daf of Iran and Turkey, and the Hebrew tof or toph (pl. tupim) made of a wooden hoop, probably with two membranes but no jingles. This instrument is called tinbrel in the Authorised Version of the Bible, and tambourine in the New English Bible. It was played almost exclusively by women.

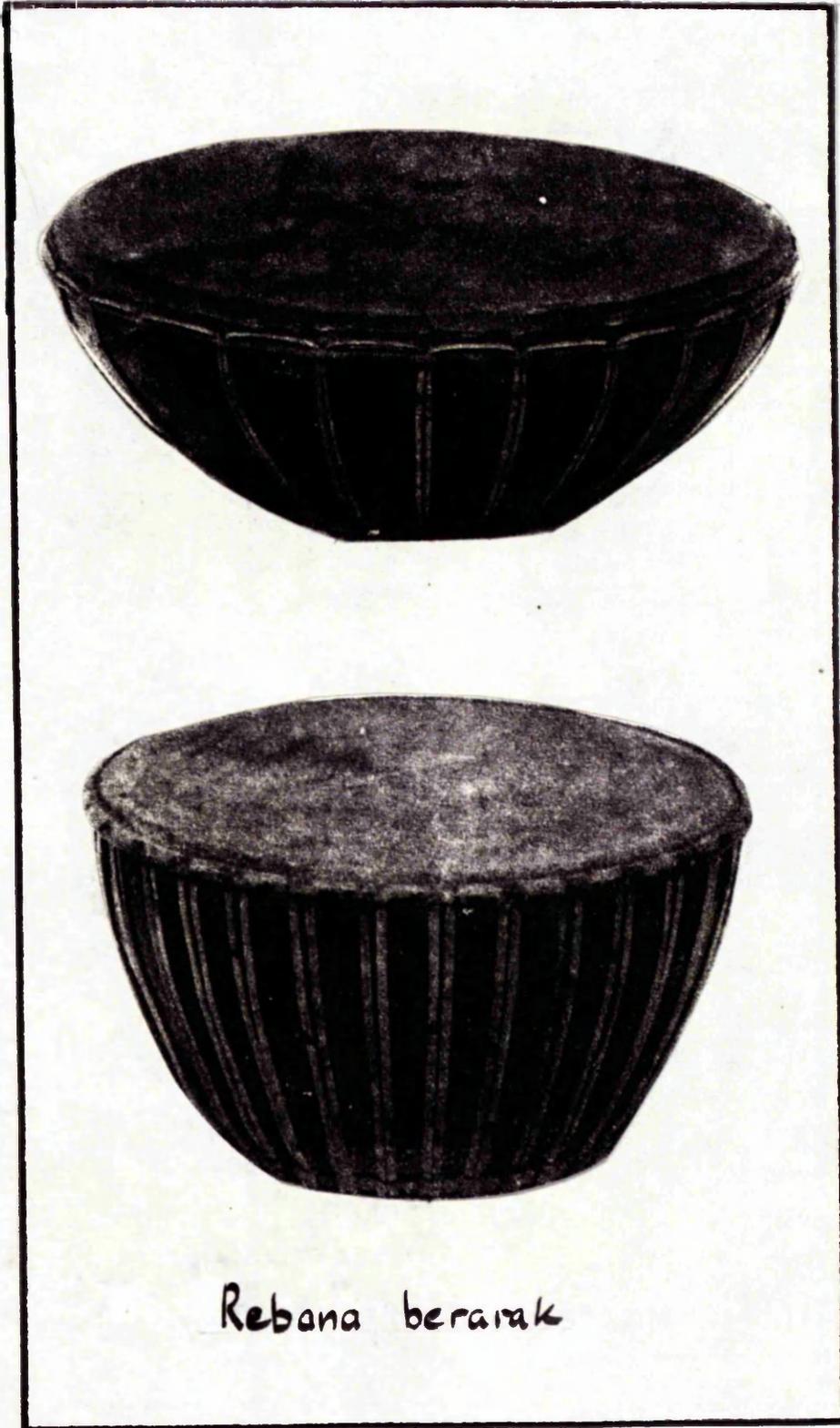
The round tambourine of the Arabs with one membrane and ¹⁹ jingles is called tar (pl. tiran). Both the duff and the tar are mentioned ²⁰ in the Alf Laila wa Laila as being chiefly played by women singers.

Tar is the name still used in West Malaysia for the round single-membrane tambourine which accompanies performances of rodat.

It is interesting to notice that the chief solo singing in this performance is usually the responsibility of the women.

1. Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p.96, talking about the instruments used in putri says " Un tambourin, rebana ou redap est parfois ajouté à l'ensemble instrumental'. Does she mean by this " a drum called either rebana or redap ' or ' a drum which may be either a rebana or a redap ' ?
2. rebanas accompany the bridegroom as he goes in procession to his bride's house. The form of this procession is kept up to date. An ex-student of mine who was secretary of the local Scooter Club had a scooter procession with the rebana players riding pillion.
3. the instrument's name presumably indicates its function to accompany the petri (putri). It may have been this redap petri to which Cuisinier referred.
4. the photograph of this type of frame-drum - a redap in the Perak Museum Taiping, was sent to me in 1957 by Mr. B. A. V. Peacock, then Curator of Museums for the Federation of Malaya. That particular redap came from Bukit Gantang, Larut, Perak.
5. Kunst's description of a Javanese terbang, Music in Java, Vol. I. pp. 216 -7, certainly suggests an instrument very similar to the rebana berarak of the peninsula. Ill. 121, Vol. II. p. 440. shows how closely this instrument resembles the rebana in shape, but its walls continue unbroken from head to base and there are no ratan thongs. Instead, its head is nailed on. Another type of terbang more akin to the peninsular rebana riba is shown in the same volume on p. 449. ill. 152.
6. Kunst, op. cit., Vol. I. p. 368
7. ibid., p. 218
8. the photograph of a rebana from South-Celebes in Kunst's article Indonesiché Musik (from Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Barenreiter, Verlag Kassel und Basel) plate 56, ill. 35. closely resembles the rebana riba. See also the photograph of the double membrane robana Music in Java, Vol. II, p. 451, ill. 156.

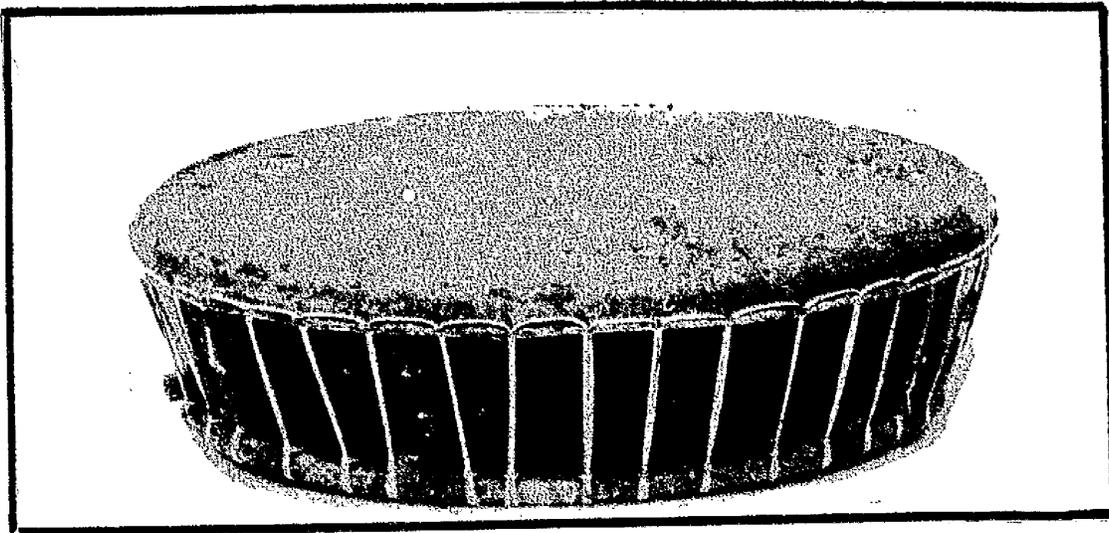
9. Kunst, op. cit., Vol. I. p. 218 and Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, p. 39
10. the terbang shown in Fig. 99 of McPhee, Music in Bali, closely resembles the West Malaysian rebana berarak.
11. Kunst, p. 218
12. cf. the Hebrew rabboni
13. in Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, p. 37, Kunst argues that the type of frame drum known in Java as terbang, may in fact be pre-Islamic. If Van Stein Callenfels' dating of the Ghatotkacāçraya (c. 1190) is accurate, and if Juynboll (Oud-Javaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst, Leyden, 1923) is correct in considering the tabang-tabang as equivalent to the terbang it would have occurred as early as the twelfth century. Kunst thinks it may well be that there are representatives of the frame-drums in the hands of some of the terra-cotta statuettes found in the soil of Majapahit, although the possibility remains that these are not musical instruments but betel-bags. An argument in favour of the terbang is the double ring shown by the figure at the right in fig. 65a of Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments which might indicate the Indonesian method of drum-skin stretching by means of a ratan hoop.
14. Galpin, The Music of the Sumerians, p. 8
15. ibid, p. 9
16. ibid, Plate III, 5
17. Farmer, The New Oxford History of Music, Vol I, p. 423, says that according to Ibn Khurdadhbih, the duff was the invention of Tubal b. Lamak.
18. there is a clear illustration of a round duff on a thirteenth century Mesopotamian bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This is reproduced by Farmer in Oriental Studies, plate 7. p. 67
19. Farmer, Notes on Arab Music, p. 220 quotes Shaw as saying in his Travels of Barbary (1757) that the taar of the Arabs and Bedouins did not have the metal discs in the rim. It served as a bass to the concerts, and the players touched it, 'very artfully', with their fingers, knuckles and palms'.
20. Farmer, The Minstrelsy of the Arabian Nights, p. 34



Rebana berarak



Rebana riba (Perak Museum)



Rebana riba

(vi). Rebana Besar: Rebana Ubi: Rebana Kechil: (Rebana Anak)

Rebana Kechubong:

The four drums described in this section are closely related.

Rebana Besar

1

As its name implies, this instrument is a large frame drum, the largest of the rebana family. Its single head is often as much as 91.5 cm. in diameter, and its height at least 53.4 cm. The head is made of buffalo hide, and the barrel of merbau wood (kayu merbau). The ratan hoop around the head is laced to the circular wooden base by ratan thongs. From this base fifteen or more tuning wedges called pasah project like the spokes of a wheel. During tuning they are driven in with large wooden mallets until the skin of the head is stretched to the required tension. Kunst² suggests that this method of tightening by hoop and wedges may be regarded as typically Malayan (i. e. of the Malay world).

When the rebana besar is played it is suspended from an iron ring set into its barrel so that its head is at right angles to the ground. For carrying purposes, a bamboo pole passes through this ring and its ends then rest on the shoulders of two bearers. The drum is beaten with bar hands. The only state in West Malaysia on which it is used regularly is Kelantan. The drums are still made there, but as the cost of one of them may be too expensive for an individual, each instrument is usually owned by a group of people.

Rebana besar are invariably played at wedding and circumcision celebrations and on such ceremonial occasions as the installation of sultans, royal birthdays and weddings and visits of distinguished visitors, both at the local Kelantan court and for national celebrations in Kuala Lumpur.

Rebana Ubi

Similar to the rebana besar in construction, but differing from it in points of detail is the rebana ubi³. This drum is made in several sizes, all smaller than the rebana besar, the diameter of the head varying from 45.9 cm. to 68.9 cm., and the height from 35.6 cm. to 50.8 cm. The number of tuning wedges varies from eleven to fifteen or more. The rebana ubi stands on the ground when it is played, and has a beater whose head is bound with layers of rubber or cotton. It is often beaten by more than one man at the same time.

The ratan down the barrel and the tuning wedges are gaily painted in bright colours, and in the centre of the drum-head is sometimes added the drum's personal name, which may be prefixed by the courtesy title "To"⁴. Personal names of the drums heard at Kampong Rengas near Kota Bharu in 1962 were Mak Yong Minah, Sri Berjarat kumbang Bertil, Anak Garuda and Chawan Emas. Like the rebana besar, the rebana ubi are played regularly only in Kelantan. They too are beaten on festival and ceremonial occasions, although they are less closely associated with royalty. They are probably best known for their use in competitions, which are colloquially called, confusingly enough, 'rebana besar'. Sometimes drums of a similar construction to the rebana ubi are used to

summon people to the mosque. In the National Museum, Singapore, there is one from Trengganu labelled gendang bedok, and in Kedah a similar drum is called gendang raya, - although this name is also given to a tubular mosque drum.

Rebana Kechil (Rebana Anak)

5

As its name indicates, this drum is smaller than the rebana besar. On its stool it stands about the same height from the floor as the rebana ubi, but its diameter is often only about half the size. Its single head of calf skin is fastened by ratan thongs, and is laced with ratan to the base from which project nine or more wooden tuning wedges of the same type as those of the larger rebanas. It is usually played with the hands. In Kelantan it is used on such ceremonial occasions as weddings, circumcisions and pajak tanah - the first time an infant sets foot on the ground), and in various rituals connected with the rice fields.

Rebana kechubong

The rebana kechubong looks rather like an elongated rebana kechil. It has a single membrane and its cylindrical body is made from a coconut trunk. The length of its body is about 38.3 cm and the diameter of its head slightly less than 30.5 cm. It has eleven or so tuning wedges and rests on a stand when it is being played. The normal method of playing is with the hands.

A note describing the 'rebana kechubong' in the Muzium Negara says that it was originally used in Malay Magical dances, but that at present it is used to accompany Malay folk dances and as a leading drum in the Kechubong dance - a dance similar to main petri.

In Danses Magiques de Kelantan , Cuisinier mentions a pair of drums called rebana kechubong or ketubong that were used in belian, and were of a different shape. She says that they were similar to the gedombak, but larger. In both sizes, ibu and anak they were played with the hands. According to tradition they could not be carried on the shoulder (menjulang o. mengusong) or back (menggalas) but only against the body, a little at the side and in the arm as an infant is carried (dukong) , and as the first sheaf of rice to be cut is carried from the harvest field to the house .

The origin of the name kechubong or ketubong was not known, but Cuisinier makes two suggestions : i) at a distance the drums looked like two very high helmets with their tops merging into each other, so the name ketubong might be a form of ketopong , the Malay word for helmet. ii) the name of the wood from which they were made, getah duri , might be the local name for the tree whose flower and fruit recalled those of the datura or thorn apple - the kechubong . The orang belian said that they alone had the authority to use the trunk of this tree, the orang putri the branches, and the orang ma'yong the leaves only . This drum as described by Cuisinier is clearly quite different from the rebana kechubong in the Muzium Negara. But it is interesting to note that in a collection of photographs from the Perak Museum (1957) there is a drum of the type described above as rebana kechubong, labelled Gedonbak .

How this rebana family came to the peninsula is not clear. Suggesting that their method of tightening the heads might be considered typically Malayan, Kunst says that drums of this type are found in the

Sundanese districts. In Java the largest of the terbang family, the terbang besar has the same basic shape as the rebana besar and rebana ubi, but it has no tuning wedges and its head is nailed down. Like the rebana besar it has a ring attached to its barrel so that it can be carried on a pole by two men.⁷

Large drums bearing some resemblance in shape to both the rebana besar and terbang besar are the tambattam of South India and the temmettama of Ceylon. Both are frame drums. The temmettama has a nailed down head, the tambattam is either nailed down or laced with thongs. It has been suggested by Sachs⁸ that this type of drum may have had its origin in the timbütu - the large drum used in Babylonian temples.

1. besar: large, great

2. Music in Java, Vol I. p. 216

3. ubi is actually a generic name for yams and tuberous roots. Its use in connection with the rebana is not clear.

4. "To" from datok - grandfather, but also used as a title of distinction.

5. kecil: small

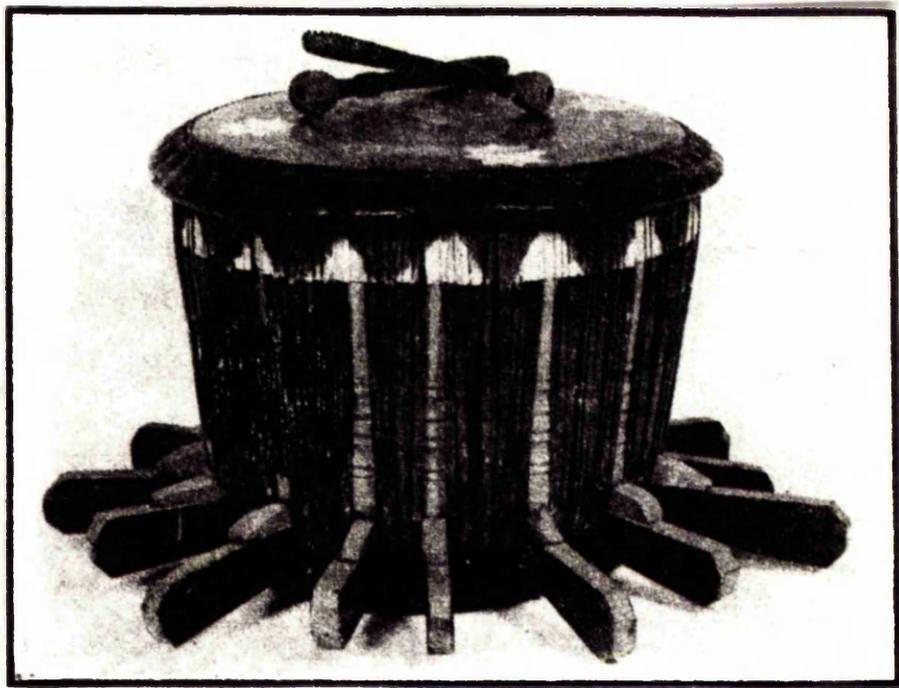
6. p. 46

7. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol II, p. 449

8. The History of Musical Instruments, p. 154



Rebana kechubong



Rebana ubi

C. AEROPHONES

(i) Serunai

This double-reed instrument is made of wood in two detachable sections. Its upper section, a tube with a slight conical bore, joins a lower section which ends in a wide circular bell with very little flare. Into the upper end of this wooden tube is inserted a reed-carrier of tin or other metal to which the double-reed (lidah serunai), usually made of coconut or serdang¹ leaves is bound with thread. The player's lips rest on a metal pirouette (cheper serunai)². There are usually seven frontal finger holes and a single rear thumb-hole³. The serunai is found in two sizes, besar and 'kechil, the smaller being the more popular. A serunai kechil in my possession is 31.8 cm. in length from the upper end of the tube where it joins the lower section and 10.2 cm from there to the extremity of the bell, with the reed-carrier adding another 7 cm. The diameter of the bell is 8.9 cm. The length of a serunai besar may be up to 50 cm. with the other measurements varying accordingly.

Metal bands are often fixed around the instrument⁴, and the wood above and below the set of frontal finger holes is usually ornately carved and painted with bright colours and inlay of mother-of-pearl. Some instruments however, have no decoration.

In the peninsula the serunai is used in many instrumental combinations - for putri, bersilat, bergayong, ota-ota, manora, makyong and wayang kulit, and in the accompanying ensembles for dances.

There is no mythology attached to its origin as there is to rebab which it often replaces as a melody instrument. But the following saying from Kelantan quoted by Cuisinier ⁵, shows the respect in which it is held:

Satu kali berbunji	When it sounds once
Mengada isian dunia	The world becomes peopled (is filled);
Dua kali berbunji	When it plays twice
Mengada kapandaian dunia	Knowledge comes to the world;
Tigi kali berbunji	When it is played three times
Hidup atau mati	It means life or death.

A bomor told Cuisinier that although the rebab was very old (when it was invented the Prophet had not come, there was not even Adam) the serunai was still older.

However old it may be, the serunai is clearly a type of shawm closely related to the surna (Persian), surmay (Arabic) and zurna (Turkish) of the Middle East. It was to Persia that the ninth century writer Ibn Khurdadhbih attributed the origin of the oboe-type instrument. It preserved the Persian name, surna, in North India, although Sanskrit changed both the spelling and pronunciation to sanay, (shannai, surnahi). The Chinese conical instrument is called suonah or sona, and both the Chinese and the Mongols who have the suru-nai ⁶ trace the origin of their instruments to India.

An almost identical instrument in Thailand is the pì.chà.nai ⁷ which is also thought to owe its shape to the Indian instrument. In Madura and East Java a near relation is called serunen or saronen, in Central Java, selompret, and in Sumatra, as in West Malaysia, serunai.

1. serdang: livistona cochinensis - a tall, fan-like palm
2. Balfour, Musical Instruments, pp. 10 and 11, describing a sernei probably made in Kedah, says that its 'lip rest' was made of coconut shell.
3. in the sernai described by Balfour, the first frontal hole and the rear hole were plugged with wax and were functionless.
4. on my serunai the bands come above the first hole, then between the second and third holes, the third and fourth, and the fifth and sixth.
5. Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, p. 71
6. Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, pp. 212-213
7. Yupho, Thai Musical Instruments, pp. 78 -79

(ii) Tentuang, (Tentuang Tandok)

¹
Tentuang or tentuang tandok is the name given to an instrument made of a curved buffalo horn with a cupped mouthpiece. It is end-blown. The tentuang is often decorated with circular rings, and usually has two holes perforated in its small flanges so that it can be suspended by a piece of cord.

It is chiefly used in Kelantan to summon fishermen to the sea, for public proclamations and for other forms of signalling, rather than for musical performances.

Animal horns, which can be used as a musical instrument almost in their natural form have a long history and are distributed through all ² Continents. They have been found in neolithic excavations, and Sachs notes that an inventory of the presents offered by King Tushratta to King Amenophis IV of Egypt about 1400 B.C. contains a list of forty horns, all covered with gold, and some studded with precious stones. Seventeen of them are expressly called ox horns.

1. also called tetuang. Another bamboo instrument, consisting of a short thick bamboo joint, closed at one end near which is an orifice for blowing into, is called tuang-tuang. Wilkinson (1959) describes this as a 'sort of bamboo-horn used by Chinese pork butchers, also by sailors for signalling at sea; sometimes for rousing a newly-born child that shows no sign of life.'

2. The History of Musical Instruments, p. 83

D. CORDOPHONES

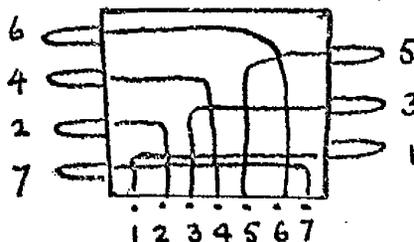
(i) Gambus

The gambus (gambos) is a type of lute with two chief forms in West Malaysia:

1) a long-necked lute with a slightly arched body made of kayu nangka wood¹ for its neck, and with kulit gambang (goat skin) for its sound-box. Its peg box is bent back in a sickle shape and ends in a rectangular scroll, which is often of Chinese design.

This form of gambus usually has seven lateral tuning pegs, three on one side of the peg-box and four on the other. The gut strings run parallel to the body: six of them in pairs (three unison courses), the seventh and lowest as a single string. They are tuned in fourths. After passing over a low bridge near the base of the belly they are fixed to a large button, often projecting as much as 5 or 6 cm. Sometimes the instrument has nine strings -four unison courses and one single. A gambus played by Pa Man, its maker, at Kuala Trengganu in August 1962 had its strings tuned A₁ D₁ G₁ C₁ F₁. The instrument has no frets, and the strings are either plucked or (more frequently) played with a plectrum made of buffalo horn.

The length of the long-necked gambus in the National Museum, Singapore, (Z.9) is about 91.5 cm. from the scroll to the extremity of the projecting button. Its seven strings are attached to their pegs as shown in the accompanying diagram:



2) a short-necked lute with a body shaped rather like that of the mandoline. Its scroll quite closely resembles a violin's scroll, but is bent slightly back. It has nine lateral tuning pegs, five on one side of the peg-box and four on the other. Its strings, with the exception of the lowest one are in courses of two. They pass over a low bridge near the base of the belly and are fixed to a stout projecting button. Normally tuned in fourths, they are plucked or played with a plectrum. Again, there are no frets. In both these forms of gambus, the shape of the body merges into that of the neck without any clear dividing mark.

The gambus is chiefly used in performances of Arabic origin, such as ghazal and zapin, and is almost always accompanied by the small drums called marwas.

Indonesia has similar instruments of the same name. In Java it also has two forms, one slender - the Hedzyas type, and the other stouter - the Hadramauth type. In West Java, where the belly is made of parchment, the gambus is played in instrumental ensembles with the shawn and kendang, and accompanies vocal music of an Arabic character. It is also the lute of W. Borneo, N. Celebes, and S. Sumatra; in Sumatra, as in West Malaysia, it is usually played with the marwas. An almost identical instrument is the kabosa or kabosy of the Malagasy Republic, a country with strong Malay associations. In Tanzania the name of this type of lute is gabbus, a word which has close connections with the Arabic qabūs, qopuz and the Turkish qubūz.

Sachs states that lutes first appear on Mesopotamian statuettes, plaques and seals from about 2,000 B. C., and other authorities suggest a slightly earlier date. These lutes seem to have been made of wood, and

may have been instruments of the nomadic tribes: if so they may be even older than this. They had small ovoid bodies, long necks with many frets and two strings attached without pegs. They were played with a plectrum. The lute with a neck shorter than its body is first depicted on Persian figurines excavated from the Tell at Suza and attributed to the 8th century B.C. They appear on small pottery figures found near Samarkand, and a third century frieze in Soviet Central Asia includes a short lute. Three centuries later they appear again on the Gandhara statuettes of North West India. This Gandhara lute has a pear-shaped body tapering towards the short neck, a frontal string holder, lateral pegs, and either four or five strings.

6

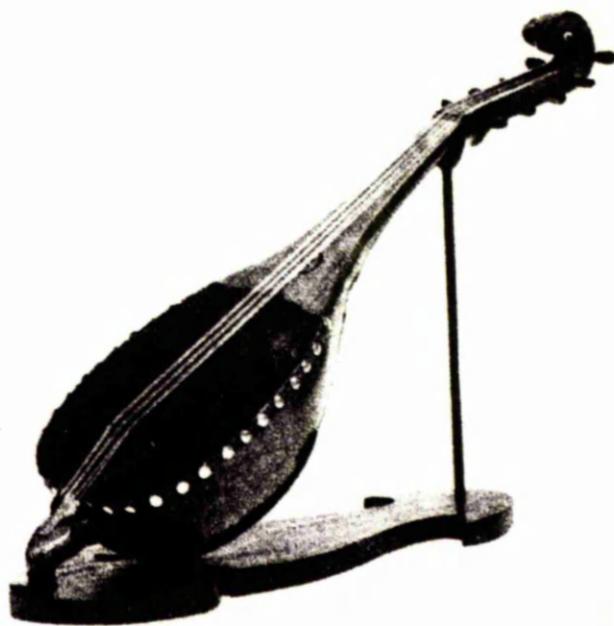
Sachs claims that the earliest archaeological evidences of the lute family in the Far East are on Chinese sculptures of the sixth century A.D., but recent investigation suggests that the short-necked lute may have been known in China as early as the second century. It was about that time that the p'ip'a was first mentioned. From the year 623 A.D. lutes are also found on Japanese sculptures, the oldest specimens actually preserved being made just over a century later. The Imperial Treasury, Shôsô-in, at Nara near Osaka, Japan, still owns the lutes of sandal wood with tortoise shell and mother-of-pearl marquetry which Emperor Shomu of Japan offered to a new statue of Buddha in 749 A.D.

On Barabudur there are short lutes resembling both those from Indian art works c. 500 A.D., and the Sino-Japanese lutes of the biwa family.

Both forms of the West Malaysian gambus can be traced back to the Middle East, but they probably reached the peninsula from Indonesia, which in turn had received them from India. It is difficult to assess the influence of the Sino-Japanese branch of the family, but it is certainly suggested in the design of the scroll of the long lutes.

1. kayu nangka: the jack-fruit (*artocarpus integrifolia*)
2. this shape is similar to that of the 18th century mandore or lutina, No.1 Plate 10, p.37, of Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, London, 1965.
3. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol.I. p.373
4. see Kunst, Indonesische Musik, Die Musik in Gesichte und Gegenwart, 1957 p.1186, ill.1.
5. The History of Musical Instruments, p.82
6. ibid, p.191

short-necked
gambus



(ii) Rebab

West Malaysia has two bowed lutes of the spike fiddle variety. They are both called rebab, but have also been given other names, rabab, arbab, harbab and erbab. One has two strings: rebab dua tali, and the other three - rebab tiga tali.¹ There is also a difference in the shape of their sound-boxes.

Of these two instruments, the more common is the rebab tiga tali. Its sound-box is heart-or-pear-shaped and may be made of almost any kind of wood, though jack-fruit is the most common, and coconut shells are frequently used. The skin which fits over the body to make the sound-box usually comes from the stomach of a cow, but that of a buffalo is claimed to be better.

On the upper left-hand side of the sound-box (as held by the player) a lump of resin is often stuck: instead of resin a small circular 'metal container'² is sometimes found there. Kelantan Malays refer to this as mute, but they cannot describe its function. On the back of the sound-box strands of wool and strings of gaily coloured beads hang as decoration, replacing the human hair that was originally there. The Kelantan rebab in the National Museum, Singapore, (40.85) has a bunch of human hair as a charm against pelesit - a familiar spirit in the form of a cricket.

Through this sound-box passes a wooden shaft, the longer section above the sound-box forming the instrument's neck. This is usually decorated with bands of non-precious metal and brightly painted designs, and is ornamented by a bulbous and elaborately carved head. There is

often a small bag containing resin hanging from the neck where it joins the body. Below the sound-box the shaft becomes a fairly short wooden peg or foot to support the rebab on the ground, corresponding to the spike of the cello. The body of the rebab in my possession measures 25.4 cm. long and 17.8 cm. at its widest part. The total length of its shaft is 108 cm., the section about the sound-box being 71.2 cm, the foot 11.5 cm. Its head suggests Thai influence and is reminiscent of the head-dress on the gilt bronze figure of a Buddha in royal attire from the Monastery of the fifth³ King, (Pencamapabitra), Bangkok, Ayundhya style, 17th-18th centuries.

From a tail piece on the foot three strings pass over a wooden bridge called inexplicably, pachat (a leech) placed high upon the sound-box and over the neck shaft. They then go through a rectangular opening about three quarters of the way up the shaft, to be attached to the tuning pegs, (telinga). These are fixed laterally into the shaft, two on the left and one on the right (in the playing position). The strings are usually made of metal today, and may even be guitar strings: in earlier times they were made of twisted cotton. They are normally tuned in fourths (sometimes fifths) although apparently with no systematically fixed pitch.

The strings are bowed just above the sound-box by a gracefully arched and colourfully decorated bow (gesek) which bears some similarity⁴ to the seventeenth century bow of the western viol. Malm⁴ suggests that this is best when made of teak string with coconut fibres, Chinese fishing line or violin bow strings. It is, in fact, often strung with fine strands of ratan.

During performance the palm of the player's bowing hand turns

inwards towards the instrument with the thumb and index finger controlling the bow, and the third and fourth fingers passing between the bow's arch and the ratan strands to keep these taut.

The other type of rebab of West Malaysia, the rebab dua tali, is found far less frequently - chiefly in the instrumental combination for the Wayang Jawa. It is much more squat, with a wooden sound-box which is roughly rectangular, but with curved shoulders and base. Its neck, tuning pegs and head are all far less decorative than the corresponding parts of the rebab tiga tali. Its bridge, too, is of a different shape, although it is also placed high up on the sound-box. The two strings which are attached to a tail-piece on the foot pass over the bridge and up the shaft; near the head they disappear into the shaft to be attached at this end of the instrument to two lateral pegs - one on each side of the shaft. The bow is of a similar shape to that for the rebab tiga tali, but is usually heavier and without decoration.

The rebab is a member of the instrumental ensembles for a variety of performances - traditional dances, wayang kulit, belian, petri and ma'yong.

A player who performs on the rebab just for his own or his listener's pleasure is known as a juru rebab: when he takes part in performances of greater significance or involving 'magic', he is called pengantin. Juru simply means 'skilled workman', the word pengantin is used for a bride or bridegroom. The sort of respect paid to the instruments of the nobat is also given to the rebab. It is passed over the incense before performances of putri and ma'yong and called by secret names, fanciful references often being made to the material from which it is made.

5

Cuisinier says that during the invocation in the performances of putri and ma'yong she witnessed, umbang sakti (umbang-colossal; sakti- magical) was the secret name of the rebab known only to the initiated. Its second name, a personal one, was Naga Ulih, preceded by the honorific, Sri. The two names, especially the second one, varied from sorcerer to sorcerer. The instruments' tuning pegs were called daru, and its head was said to have been made from the royal wood which originated in Dewa Daru. Dewa Daru was a princely divinity of the wayang Jawa who shared the same name as the Himalayan pine (Skt. deva daru).

The rebab is often regarded by peninsular Malays as an indigenous instrument, but this is certainly not so. Sachs states that its origin is traditionally assigned to the North Iranian district, Kurdistan, and Kunst attributes a probable Persian-Arabic origin to it. Farmer, on the other hand, states he knows no Arabic authority for the theory that the Arabs borrowed the rabab from the Persians. He believed that there were good reasons for thinking that the Arabs looked on this instrument as indigenous. Although it is frequently suggested that Al-Farabi (872-950 A.D.), a Turk writing in Arabic, was the first person to mention the instrument - calling it rabab - Farmer claims that Ali of Ispahan (918-9 A.D.) writes about its use by musicians at the Court of Baghdad two and a half centuries before that.

The exact place of origin of the Malay rebab remains in question, and the fact that the name rabab was once used generically for all bowed stringed instruments adds an extra complication. But it would seem that the spike fiddle was an import into West Malaysia from the Muslim countries of the Middle East probably via Indonesia, where similar instruments are known by the same name - rebab, in Bali and Java, and by a variety of names

elsewhere - hareubab in North Sumatra, arabebu in North Celebes, and késo-késo or gésong-késong in South Celebes.

In the Middle East the spike fiddle has two forms and two names - rabâb and kamāngá a 'guz. Although the names are sometimes used indiscriminately there is a clear distinction between the rabâb and kamāngá in Egypt. There the rabâb has a quadrilateral body with two membranes and either one or two strings, and the kamāngá has a small body shaped¹⁰ from a coconut with a single membrane and two or more strings. In shape then, the Malay rebab tiga tali bears some relationship to the kamāngá and the rebab dua tali to the rabâb, although, as has been seen, the one name rebab is used for both instruments.

A quite different theory concerning the place of origin of the Indonesian rebab¹¹ has been proposed by Bake, who has suggested that a form of rebab existed in Java long before that island was affected by Arabic¹² influence. The key instrument in this theory is the rebab batok besar, a Javanese fiddle made of a coconut shell with a long bamboo or wooden neck and two strings which shows certain similarities in construction to the rebab of the present gamelan orchestra. It is also identical with an instrument called rāvanatta which is very popular with the peasants of Kathiawar, the peninsula north of Bombay which retains many of its old traditions. Its original name was rāvanahasta - Rāvana's arm, and with it the following legend is associated.

Ravana was, amongst other things, a famous musician who forced the gods to grant him one boon after another through the power of his singing and playing. He once used a stringed instrument so successfully that the gods were seriously disturbed, and by a stratagem destroyed the instrument's strings, whereupon they thought they were safe. But Ravana

pulled some sinews from his fore-arm and continued playing as before.

The same name is given to an instrument mentioned in a description of a festival in the Old-Javanese Virātaparvva,¹³ There it appears as winārāwanahasta,¹⁴ the name wina indicating any instrument with plucked or bowed strings. If the modern Indian rāvanatta is, in fact, a descendant of the ancient rāvanahasta, which was also known in Java a thousand years ago, it would, Bake suggests, make the rebab batok besar one of the indigenous parents of the present day rebab and mean that Indonesia possessed a form of rebab before the arrival of Islam.

Malay tradition also ascribes a mythological origin to the rebab, and it is pertinent to notice that this comes from the Malay version of the Hindu Ramayana.¹⁵ It tells how Sernajo was thrown out of the heavens because of his rivalry with Batara Maha Bisenu. During his fall to the world of men he decided that when he reached the ground he would dedicate twelve years to ascetic practices. Having, in this way, increased his strength and gained the power of a great king, he would be able to take up the struggle against Maha Bisenu again, and get his revenge on him. During this ascetic period he made an instrument which produced some amazing effects. He pulled off one of his seven heads, and from the skull with its skin made the body of the rebab: from the skin of his cheeks, with the hair, he made the skin to cover the body. One of his eyes became the 'eye' of the rebab, and one of his arms its neck. Then he took three sinews from one of his hands to make the strings (compare here the origin of the strings of the rāvanahasta), and three finger phalanxes for the tuning pegs. From a long bone of one arm he made the bow, and from the hair of his head the

bow's hair. With the completed rebab he played hundreds of 'melodies' in praise of Dewata Mulia Raya, and strange things began to happen. All who heard the instrument, whether jin, fairy, peri or god, ascetic or hermit, fell head-first like an uprooted tree and then died, or remained in a swoon until the music had ceased.

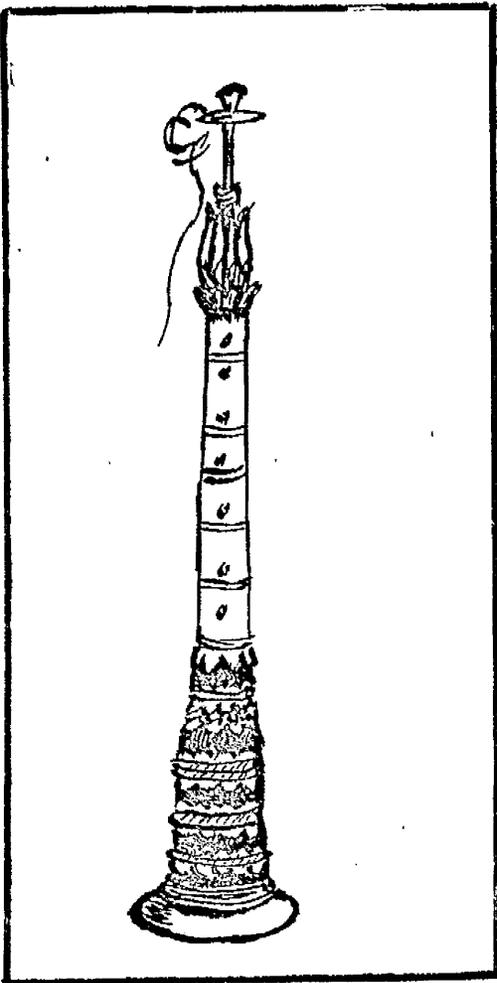
17.

This fable about the origin of the rebab was generally accepted by the rebab players of the wayang Jawa in Kelantan, during Cuisinier's stay there. But Sernajo's rebab had three strings, whereas the dalang or pengantin were always careful to emphasize that the instrument of the wayang Jawa has two strings, rebab dua tali. This is confirmed by Cuisinier, but it should be noticed that her photograph of the instrument (Plate VI, fig. 2) clearly shows a rebab tiga tali.

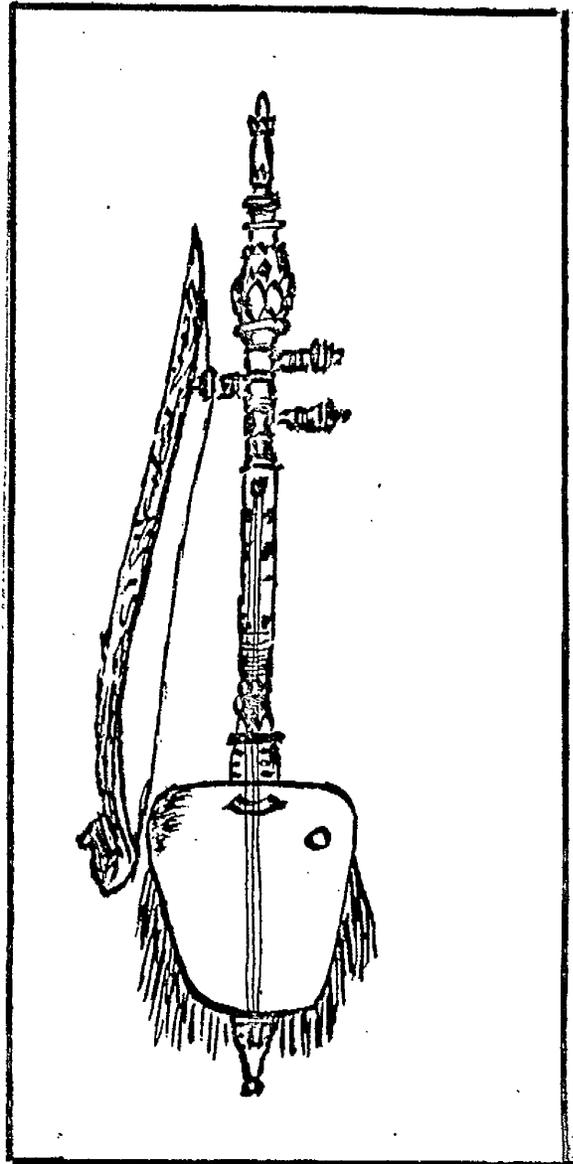
18

1. Sachs, History of Musical Instruments, p. 255, is not correct when he states 'the Malayan, as well as the Egyptian fiddles have only one or two strings', if by 'Malayan' he means 'of Malaya' as well as Indonesia.
2. the Javanese rebab has a similar piece of resin against which the bow rubs during the playing. This practice may have been the original reason for the resin of the Malay rebab, but if so it seems to have been forgotten. The Thai rebab, on the other hand, has a 'head weight' fastened to the parchment a little to the left of the bridge (in the playing position) usually made of silver or some sort of Thai enamel or nielloware. Yupho, Thai Musical Instruments, p. 95, says that this was supposed to give the sound 'a more sonorous and mellifluous quality'. Perhaps the replacement of the resin by the 'metal container' is the result of this Thai influence? Is either related to the metal paste used on drum-heads for tuning purposes?
3. as illustrated in the Catalogue, The Arts of Thailand (Item No. 149, plate 22 for an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, presented by the Arts Council of Great Britain 6th March-12th April, 1964.
4. W. Malm, The Music of the Malaysian Ma'Yong, Paper, International Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 1969, p. 3
5. Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p. 144 Fn. 1.
6. op. cit., p. 255
7. Music in Java, Vol. I. p. 220

8. Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence , p. 265, Fn. I.
Farmer refers to the 'Berlin Ms.' We 1233, fol. 47 v. and the 'Bodleian Ms', 1842, vol 75 v.
9. Notes on Arab Music and Musical Instruments, London n.d. p. 231
10. Sachs, op. cit., p. 255 says that when the rebâb has one string only it is called rabâb assâ'ir or poet's fiddle. As such, it accompanies the endless recitations of public narrators. With two strings it is called rabâb al-mogânnî, or 'singer's fiddle' and accompanies songs. He adds that in South Western Asia, the kamānga a gūz, sometimes has three or even four strings.
11. A. A. Bake, 'A Javanese Musicological Puzzle', Bingkisan Budi , 1950, p. 24 seq.
12. for illustration see Kunst, op. cit., Vol II, p. 448 ill. 148b. Bake was told by Dr. Voorhoeve that the same instrument was common amongst the Bataks in Sumatra under the name of arbap.
13. Kunst, op. cit., Vol. I. pp. 111-2
14. Vina is traditionally a generic term for stringed instruments in India.
15. the relevant two pages from a manuscript of this version in the possession of Tengku Khalid of Kelantan were copied by his secretary, Enchi Ahmad for Cuisinier, and included by her, in translation, in Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, p. 69
16. ragam (cf. Tamil rāgam and Sanskrit rāga) is used in the Malay text. A more accurate translation might be 'mode', but both ragam and lagu are used in Malay for 'melody'.
17. Cuisinier, op. cit., p. 70, Fn. 1. notes that A. Schaeffner pointed out to her the analogy of this myth with that concerning the origin of the Arabic Lute as given by J. Rouanet in L'Encyclopédie de La Musique (1937) Vol. V. p. 2683. It is referred to by Schaeffner himself in his book Origines des Instruments de Musique, Paris, 1936, p. 122
18. p. 62



Serunai



Rebab (tiga tali)

E. Obsolete or rare Instruments

Wilkinson's Dictionaries list several instruments which are either obsolete or very rare:

- Bereng-bereng (1901): a species of gong; a Chinese musical instrument
 (1959): rimless gong used by Chinese and also by orchestras of the wayang Kun, lakon, mendora and ma'yong plays of N. Malaya.

In Malay Magic Skeat also lists the bereng-bereng (b'reng-b'reng, breng-breng) amongst the instruments used for the following theatrical performances: Lekun, Mendura, (p. 517), Ma'yong (p. 518), Wayang Kun, Mek Mulong (p. 519), Bangsawan Parsi Indra Sabor, Mendu (p. 520), Wayang Makau (p. 521). He gives no description of the instrument.

Berengau (Berengu) (1901): a wind instrument.

Kerachap (1959): tube of bamboo or wood beaten with a drum stick: it forms part of the orchestra of the menora and ma'yong. Not to be confused with the cherachap.

Kerencheng (1959): (onom). a musical instrument suggesting the triangle

Temberang (1901): (onom). a small ringing gong. In the 1959 edition this word has no musical connotation. Its two meanings are: I. stays; standing rigging of a boat, and II, humbug; imposter.

The Sejarah Melayu also mentions other instruments that are obsolete or rare, and that have not been described elsewhere in this thesis: - gendir, rama sekati, bangsi, suling, giring, selukat, merdangga peri and kopak. When the ruler of Majapahit decided to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca these instruments, together with those of the nobat, were played during the forty days and nights of the festivities. Brief comments on each of them are given as follows:

Gendir: This is described by Wilkinson (1959) as a Javanese musical instrument ' of the staccato or harmonica type' with metal keys resting on strings and played with a pair of strikers. Was the gendir of the Sejarah Melayu related to the present gender of Java? That is a metallophone with bronze keys suspended by cords usually over tubular resonators. These are generally made of bamboo, and are tuned in unison with their respective bars. The gender may be made in either a single-or multi-octave version: it is played with disc-headed beaters held loosely between the index and middle fingers.

Rana sekati : Wilkinson (1901 and 1959) defines sekati as ' an obsolete musical instrument associated with royalty in Malaya'. (rana is used in titles for a princess). Java has a gamelan sekati. This is described by Kunst² as a special orchestra of the native princes in Solo, Jogya and Cheribon , and formerly in Madura and Banten. During the Sekaten week it played in the compound of the missigit. No instrument in this gamelan is actually called sekati.

Bangsi and Suling: Both these instruments are types of flute. Wilkinson (1959) defines the bangsi as a Malay flageolet, and the suling as a fife, flageolet or pipe. Both names seem to be used indiscriminately in the peninsula, and seruling is sometimes found for suling. The suling in the Muzium Negara is an end-blown bamboo flute with five finger-holes down its front and one at the back.

In Java the suling is a ring-flute made from a bamboo tube. Its top is closed by a natural node, and a notch is cut in this end and in the tube itself. A narrow bamboo or ratan ring tied around this extremity guides the player's breath to the sharp lower edge of the aperture. At the

lower end of the tube four, five or six holes are pierced. But the transverse flute is also called suling. This instrument, which has six holes, is closed at the extremity nearest the blowing hole, and open at the other end. Kunst³ suggests that the present beautifully finished suling of this type may be a descendant of the Hindu-Javanese transverse flutes, and states that in Batavia they are called by the ancient Hindu-Javanese name of bangsi (ing). He says⁴ that the same word bangsing is given to a Javanese flûte à bec with six or seven finger holes, and to many Sumatran flutes of this type.

Giring: Wilkinson(1959) describes giring-giring as a spherical bell made usually of a shell or hollow ball of metal with a loose ball inside.

Selukat: This is described by Wilkinson(1959) as an instrument of the gambang type. A similar word selo(u)kat, is given by Kunst⁵ as another name for the saron panerus, the highest, single-octave member of the saron family in the Javanese gamelan.

Merdangga peri: Wilkinson (1959) calls this ' a long portable drum much broader at the centre than at the ends; played with the hands '⁶. Kunst⁶, writing about Java, says that the word mrdangga there most probably refers to a barrel-shaped drum as in India, and points out that on the Barubudur it usually appears in celestial scenes. The word peri (Malay-fairy) used in association with it is more difficult to understand. But in old Javanese literature there is mention of an instrument called mrdangga bhèri. After a detailed discussion of the use of these two words in early literature up to⁷ and including the eleventh century, Kunst⁷ suggests that when the words were used in combination they probably referred to a drum, but when bhèri (bhairi, bahiri) was used in isolation it was probably the name for a gong.

Was the merdangga peri of the Sejarah Melayu originally the mrdangga bhèri of early Javanese literature?

Most of these instruments from the Sejarah Melayu like those already described, have links with the archipelago, if only through their names, but it is not possible to say from available evidence how closely these rare or obsolete instruments resembled those of the present day with related names.

Kopak: Wilkinson includes kopok (not kopak) in both the 1901 and 1959 dictionaries. In 1901 he calls it an obsolete musical instrument. "According to Dutch authorities it was made of copper; local informants state that it was an instrument resembling a pair of cymbals but made of wood". In 1959 it is said to be "Traditionally a sounding-board made of wood or metal and beaten with a drum-stick". In the Trengganu Nobat the kopok-kopok is a pair of small cymbals.

1. W. G. Shellabear, Sejarah Melayu, Singapore, 1950, 4th ed. p. 100
2. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol. I. p. 265
3. ibid., p. 239 . But in Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, p. 25 Kunst says. '.....in present-day Java and Bali the word suling is used exclusively for the end-blown flute; '
4. ibid., p. 377
5. ibid., p. 165
6. Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, p. 38
7. ibid., pp. 66 -7

Collections of Instruments

There are two museum collections in this country which contain a number of instruments from West Malaysia: the first includes musical instruments, the second is made up of them exclusively:

1. The Skeat Collection in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, formed by Walter W. Skeat M.A. District Manager of Larut, Perak, in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor, 1896-7.

Instruments used for musical performances form only a small section of this collection. Other instruments in it produce musical sounds, but they are used for such purposes as hunting, snaring and frightening birds.

2. The Collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, made by Nelson Annandale and Herbert C. Robinson during an expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901-2, under the auspices of the Universities of Edinburgh and Liverpool. This collection is fully described by Henry Balfour, with notes by Annandale in his report 'Musical Instruments', Fasciculi Malayenses, University of Liverpool, 1904. The instruments collected in the Siamese Malay States are really strictly outside the area under consideration at present.

For the sake of completeness and future investigation lists of the instruments in these collections are given as Appendix 4. The names of the instruments and relevant comments on them are taken from Skeat's catalogue and Balfour's report. The Skeat Collection is actually in two parts, but only the catalogue of Part I is at present in print. The catalogue of the second part is in Skeat's own hand, and is not easy to decipher.

Two other lists of instruments also given in Appendix 4

contain details of:

- i) other instruments in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, and
- ii) the instruments in the largest collection in West Malaysia itself, that in the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur. These instruments are listed according to the typed catalogue received by me, March, 1971.

3. Performances involving the invocation
and exorcism of spirits

Dances involving 'magic'

- i. Belian
- ii. Gebiah
- iii. Putri

Berhantu

Dances Involving ' Magic '

The Malays have many performances involving the invocation and exorcism of spirits. Several of these have been described in detail by Jeanne Cuisinier,¹ and are called by her 'magic' dances.²

Her own observations are based on the dances of Kelantan, but some of these were corroborated by information received from Perak, Pahang, Trengganu and Negri Sembilan and from the state of Patani. As far as West Malaysia is concerned it is only in Kelantan that any of these dances are now performed. They have undergone many changes, some of which may be very old, but Cuisinier met middle-aged Malays who had seen alterations introduced since the first performances they had witnessed.

With all the dances is associated a ritual designed to pay homage to the ancestors, and to appeal to them to protect the participants against danger, or deliver them from evils. They have other features in common. They all include the formulae of the offerings, bacha kenduri,³ and the salutation, bacha bertabek.⁴ All of them lead to a state of trance or loss of consciousness - lupa. This may be real - lupa betul or simulated - tiru lupa. The difference between these is marked by the suddenness of the onset of the lupa in tiru lupa, especially in men, and the equally sudden manner of the performer's return to normality. The dancer's state of stupification in a real lupa persists for a while after the mindok or pengantin has stopped the dance, and is accompanied by a modification of the timbre of his voice, of uncertainty in his speech, in turns stammering and precipitate, and of automatic, laborious body movements. In the dancing he has changed his personality - tukar badar -

and become the willing instrument of the spirit he has summoned, identifying himself completely with it. Directed by that spirit, which perches on some part of his body, he is not conscious of what he does. Once the lupa has been attained the supernatural world with its envoys, represented by the orang lupa, is questioned by a lucid human being - the mindok-who is able to interpret the answers.

Unfortunately Cuisinier's study contains no transcriptions of the music used for the dances, although she gives full descriptions of the musicians who performed it and the instruments on which they performed.

1. Jeanne Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1936.
2. A recent detailed study of Malay magic has been made by K. M. Endicott-An Analysis of Malay Magic, O. U. P. 1970. In it he defines magic (p.7) as 'the popular or folk religion of the Malays- as distinct from orthodox Islam'.
3. the word for the offerings-kenduri, is related to the Persian word for incense - kendur. The offerings were always associated with the smoke of incense or benzoin.
4. tabek: greeting(as from an inferior)

(i) Belian

1

The dance called Belian is, as far as I can discover, no longer performed in West Malaysia. That belian performances were extremely rare even thirty and more years ago is suggested by the fact that the performance described in this section was specially given for Cuisinier at Lubok Gong, and was the only one in Kelantan during her stay of eighteen months. Her description of it was based on information supplied by two people. The first, a Malay-Semang who had moved from Kelantan to Pahang told her about the origin of the first belian performer, and dictated the invocations to her. The second, the director of the belian performance she witnessed, explained and interpreted its various phases. Although he claimed to be pure Malay his Semang origin was shown by certain of his physical characteristics. Cuisinier thought that belian may have come to the Malays from the Semang, or have been derived from a source common to both groups.

Belian was reserved for use during epidemics or in very severe illnesses, principally, perhaps exclusively, for madness, and for the purpose of a total or indeterminate propitiation. Performances usually took place in villages, the reason given being that it was difficult to find the plants needed for the ritual ornamentation at a distance from the forest. The bomor belian also said that tigers attracted by incantations risked being killed in towns. This must be avoided, for the principal performer had to possess or have possessed the power of turning himself into a tiger, and after his death his soul

was reincarnated in that animal's body. Although the performances varied from bomor to bomor, a common basis was recognisable in them all. They lasted for at least three days, their length depending on the wealth of their sponsors - since the kenduri offerings had to be renewed daily.

Belian was played in a shelter (bangsal) orientated on an east-west axis and made of a simple atap roof resting on six or eight bamboo stakes (tiang buloh), around which new white material was wound. The first stake had to be cut and placed in position by the sponsor of the performance, the tuan kerja, and the other stakes by either himself or his family or friends - never by hired workmen. On the south side a small fence of plaited bamboo kept non-participants from standing behind the chief musician, the pengantin. A white cotton cord called pupwa (in Kelantan, pupu) was placed around the shelter to mark the limit beyond which only the tuan kerja with his family and privileged spectators were permitted. A lamp hung on the middle stake of the east side - the most important of the stakes consecrated to guru, the ancestor. Once inside the shelter performers were only allowed to leave twice a day for their baths, and other prohibitions were attached to their work, e.g. they must not speak whilst preparing their ritual drink, the ayer serbat.

The chief performer, (kapala) was both a dancer and a musician, but primarily a dancer. He was called To 'Belian, and it was he who recited the most important invocations and who, in a state of trance, successively identified himself with several chosen ancestors and with the original ancestor, guru yang asal. This original ancestor was

sometimes called hala, a name also given to his descendants who like him could change themselves into tigers. It is a name used by the aborigines.⁶ The other performers were the pengantin and the players of the two drums which were called ketubong or kechubong. The drummers were also singers.⁷ The pengantin sang, but did not play an instrument, except when he occasionally replaced a drummer who then danced either alone or with To'Belian.

It might be expected that the pengantin would play the rebab, since pengantin is the name given to the rebab player in the wayang kulit. But it is also the title of the betrothed during the berhinai and bersanding ceremonies, ceremonies which, whilst they last, confer a rank of great importance on even the humblest of people.⁸ There appears to be an intentional connection between the latter use of the word pengantin and its use for the belian singer, for amongst the figures of the belian dance are two called 'the marriage of the hand' and 'the marriage of the voice'. Just as the two climaxes of the wedding ceremony, berhinai and bersanding give to the participants an extraordinary status, so in the belian dance the performer becomes a betrothed person about to realise union with the spirit that has been summoned and for several hours enjoys a position of superior rank.

Belian was the only dance known to Cuisinier in which the chief performer was also the orang lupa. In the other dances it was the to'mindok who directed the ceremony, but in belian the role of to'mindok now called pengantin, took precedence only during the lupa of To'Belian. Normally, the pengantin joined with the other performers in continuing

the chant started by his chief, but as soon as preparation was made for the trance, he assumed the direction of the musicians. To him fell the duty of questioning the spirits who spoke through the To'Belian's mouth and of transmitting the replies to the public. From time to time both drummers became dancers, replacing or taking turns with the To'Belian, sometimes together, sometimes separately.

Only the chief dancer wore a special costume and decorations. His complete outfit consisted of a pair of trousers of Chinese cut (seluar potong China), a knee-length sarong, a belt (pinggang) and a sash (kain lepas). Across his chest and back was a bandoleer (sebadayong) made of two narrow bands of the yellow material used in the robes of the Thai Buddhist priests, and called kain chindai to' cha. Above the bandoleer was a string of pearls (sebadayong manek), and to complete the costume a diadem (bulang hulu) and bracelets of glass pearls (gelang kaca) were added. When one of the assistants replaced the To'Belian the principal ornaments were passed to him, with the sole exception of the diadem and pearls.

Like other magic dances, the belian was announced by a sort of fanfare called tabur,¹⁰ in which all the musicians played together to warn the spirits and summon the spectators. This was performed outside the limit of the pupu, and sometimes inside the sponsor's house. Between it and the beginning of the ceremony proper the orang belian laid out the kenduri and the keras guru, and made the knots in the leaves of the coconut tree (lelepas) which could be used for the untying -- the liberation of the spirits. On the first evening the kenduri consisted of an egg (telur satu butir), saffron rice (nasi kunyit), pancakes (dadar) toasted rice (berteh), a little water (ayer sa-titek) and a quid of betel

(sireh sa-piak) .

A procession left the house, led by the bearers of the kenduri and the accessories, the To'Belian walking eleventh in order, the ketubong players carrying their drums, thirteenth and fourteenth, and the pengantin last. The procession passed three times round the shelter inside the pupu cord, with handfuls of toasted rice being thrown in all directions. The orang belian sang, and all the others joined in the chant if they knew it.

As the members of the processions entered the shelter they followed the example of the leader - the bearer of the toasted rice - and stepped into a bowl of water (ayer pelapik), representing the mythical river Baluk. During the crossing of this river men changed into tigers, and changed back into men on recrossing it.

Finally the performers and privileged spectators took their respective places. The To'Belian faced east, and the pengantin was in the south-east corner, with the ketubong players on his left against the palissade of the south side. As soon as all were settled, one of the ketubong players passed his drum to the To'Belian who joined the other drummer in playing a second tabur.

After an interval of about a quarter of an hour, the To'Belian began to recite the formulae of the offerings (bacha kenduri) whilst one of the musicians held the tray containing the offerings over the incense. Then with his right hand held before his mouth in the shape of a horn he breathed towards the four cardinal points, directing his breath towards the Sheiks and Nenek Manjah, the final part of his invocation being addressed to Dato'Brahil. This invocation was separated by a short silence from the formulae now taken up again by the To'Belian

with his hands held up to the height of his face, his little fingers touching and his palms turned towards him and bent slightly back, as if he were holding an open book.

After completing the recitation of the formulae of offerings he placed into the bowl of charmed water the stones that he and the ancestors were said to have received from the spirits, and with them a tiger's fangs. Next he took each of his ornaments singly from the casket (gudai) replacing them only after they had touched the mat and a piece of special white material. He checked the tuning of the ketubong, and over the incense passed first the mat and material which had just been spread out on the ground, then the sarong and sash to be used in the dance. 12 Finally he gave his place to one of the drummers now called the Belian, who was to proceed with the rites, first under the control of the To'Belian and then equally with him.

To begin, the Belian passed the two ketubong over the incense onto which he threw a little toasted rice. Next he made a gesture of gathering some of the incense smoke in his hand and that too, he cast into the ketubong. Then, having placed a small candle on each of the bags containing the keras guru, he passed them in a similar way over the incense.

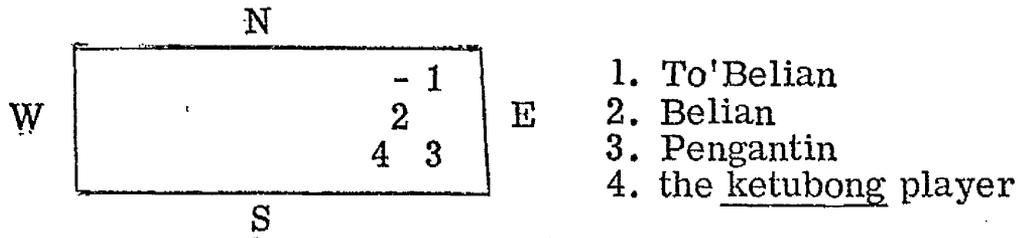
With a ratan rod the To'Belian now gave the Belian several strokes on his shoulders and back to chase away the hala whose presence was neither desired nor desirable. The gestures which followed were very important:

1. The marriage of the hand (berkahwinan tangan) . For this the To'Belian and the Belian walked in a circle with their right hands on the upper edge of the ketubong, the instrument that the hand should marry.
2. the marriage of the voice (berkahwinan suara). Having passed their hands over the edge of the instrument they passed them slowly over their faces, because the face was also the instrument that the voice must marry, thus uniting all - hands, voices , men and instruments (tangan, suara, orang kita, ketubong, samua-nya, jadi satu) .
3. The marriage custom called ikan tangan - binding the hand. This consisted in the public giving of money to the betrothed man (pengantin laki-laki) by parents, friends and guests. The same custom was practised by the women for the benefit of the betrothed lady (pengantin perempuan).¹³ For the position called ikan tangan the two dancers held the ketubong with their left hands, placing the instruments on their left thighs, so that they rested against their bodies. Their right hands were on their right knees. Their left heels were under their right thighs, and their right heels were supported against the kicking part of their left feet, so bringing their right knees near the height of their chests.

14

The To'Belian now recited the names of his ancestors (salsilah). Before he had completed the list he gave his ketubong to the second instrumentalist, and the Belian passed his to the pengantin. As soon as the last ancestor's name was spoken, the drums began the accompaniment of the first chant called lagu buka hari, the tune of the opening of the first day. This was very long, and was sung by To'Belian with a voice growing so strong towards its conclusion that Cuisinier describes it as being like the bleating of a nanny goat. He sang most of this chant alone, the Belian

only joining in some of the phrases which were repeated several times.¹⁵
 The orang belian were now grouped as shown in the following diagram.



The Belian put on all the decorations for the dance except the diadem and glass bracelets. When ready, he remained immobile and silent for a time with his right and left hands passed in turn between the sebadayong and the sebadayong manek, and held flat against his stomach just below his belt. When he abandoned this hieratic attitude he took a bunch of fragrant leaves called daun chalong, lifted them in his joined hands above his bowed head, and then traced on the ground with their points. These leaves he kept until the end of the dance. Their use forms¹⁶ a close link between the Malays and the aborigines.

While the Belian was making acts of homage to the leaves and to the earth, the To'Belian scattered some handfuls of cooked rice. Finally, the Belian turned towards his chief in the attitude of homage (sembah) with his hands joined, his eyes lowered and his head bowed to receive his chief's hand on the nape of his neck.

After facing the east again, immediately in front of the principal stake, and throwing over his shoulders the sash that had been draped over his knees, he bent low as if praying. Gradually the rhythm of the two ketubong quickened and their sound covered up the first words of the invocation to the penggawa spirits.¹⁷

Having completed this invocation, the Belian added some daun chalong to the charmed water into which he also threw transparent stones. He then began the strange, monotonous dance with which he prepared for the lupa. - a series of jumps getting gradually quicker and performed in a sitting position.

The ketubong which had been beaten rapidly since the Belian's homage to the To'Belian became louder and quicker, and then decreased in volume as the dancer prepared to sing, the rhythm of his song being determined by that of the instruments. ¹⁸ He did not intend to attain a genuine lupa on the first night. With each repetition of the dance a different spirit came to the shelter, but did not remain. Each time the spirit went away the intensity of the dance decreased and the jumping slowed down, then stopped, the dancer making several windmill movements with the tuft of leaves in his hand. After the quiet drum strokes that ended this scene, the Belian began to prepare again for the lupa (saleh lupa), or its imitation (tiru lupa), as long as this was ordered by the To'Belian.

The first evening's performance lasted not more than four hours, the dance proper being divided into almost equal halves of about an hour to an hour and a half each. This allowed for four or five dances in the first half, one or two by the To'Belian, two or three by the Belian.

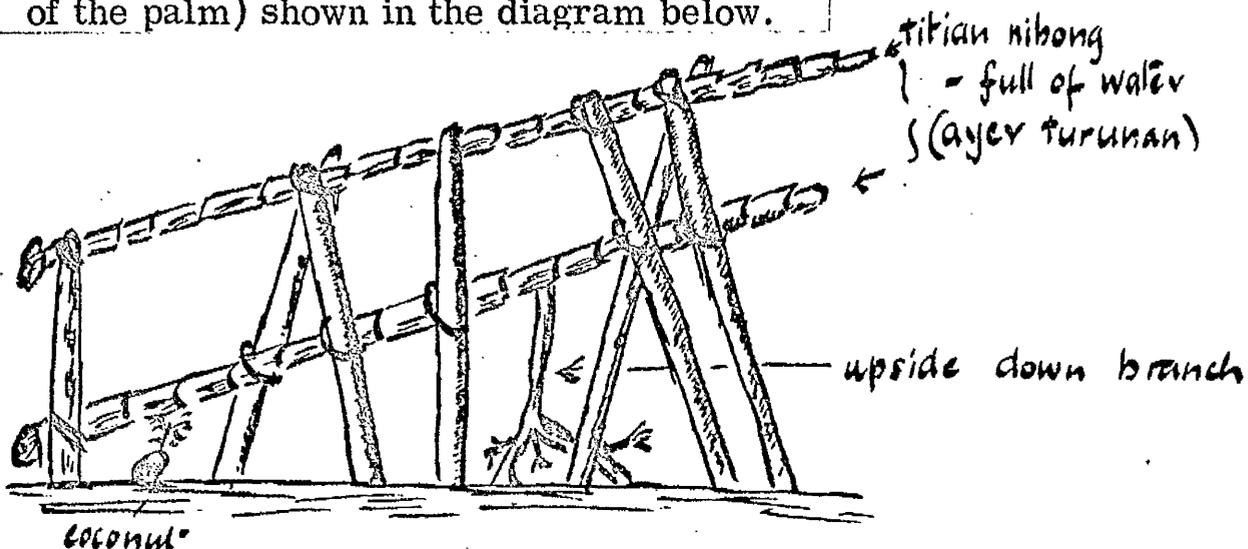
During the second half when they performed together, they danced standing and almost on the spot at first. The Belian lifted the bowl of saffron rice and placed it on his head, then passed it to the To'Belian who did likewise, keeping it there while the Belian repeated the same movements with the bowl of toasted rice. Both of them then

held the bowls before them at the height of their chests as an offering to the first ancestor.

The dance which they now began reminded Cuisinier of the dances of the sakai and semang¹⁹(bersewang), a resemblance which became even clearer during the following days. This dance was frequently interrupted by long pauses when the two dancers just remained standing with their hands joined before their chests. The dance then took on a disordered, frenetic character, which became increasingly accentuated towards the conclusion. The dancers were now acting for and with the penggawa spirits whose presence was only transitory, but who followed each other without interruption for the last half hour or more.

Whilst still continuing to dance one or other of the dancers often sucked and munched some of the chalong leaves. Then abruptly without any final formula or particular gesture, the dance finished, and the last drum beats died away. The purpose of the dance on this first evening was simply to establish a contact with the guru and penggawa spirits.

A large part of the next day was spent in decorating the shelter and preparing a new quantity of ayer serbat and lelepas. An essential piece of equipment was the panchur nibong or panchuran (the 'water-pipe' of the palm) shown in the diagram below.



Close up against this was erected a branch called pohon perok
 21
 (a tree set on its side) on which were hung five species of flowers -
 the number rather than the species being important, sugar cane, bananas
 and the following tit-bits:- kekaras, geginang chuchor, dederang, perut ayam
 and a skein of white untwisted cotton.

During the afternoon, the previous evening's performance was
 repeated in a simplified version. The first dance was performed by the
 Belian with one new detail only -the homage paid to the pohon perok .
 The Belian raised this small branch in joined hands above his bowed head
 as on the previous evening. The other gestures and symbols were also
 similar.

The homage to the ancestors (sembah guru) and the censuring of
 the accessories (perasap alatan) were aspects of the same rite. While
 the ornaments, the ratan and other accessories were passed over the
 incense Nenek Manjah was invoked as on the previous evening, and also
 Nenek Logang and Nenek Uban di Kandang . Then having carried the
 incense container three times round the shelter within the pupu , the
orang belian took their respective places again. The Belian began to
 sing the lagu sembah , the melody of homage, which was continued in
 chorus. During it the To'Belian held the tuft of leaves from the previous
 evening against his knees, reserving the freshly cut flowers for later in
 the evening. The To'Belian and the Belian generally danced in turns,
 twice each, once seated and once standing, with little significance being
 attached to their actions.

It was on the second night that the real significance of the performance became apparent for it was then that the contact already established with the spirits was now revealed through strange happenings. From the depths of their trance the performers, especially the To'Belian declared revealed truth, some of the spectators suffered inexplicable discomfort, and it was said that the tiger prowled in the neighbourhood touching nothing but cattle and poultry.

A short time before the beginning of the séance the candles were lit on all the accessories and at all the intersections of the panchur nilong and its supporting stakes, to be carefully replaced when they had burnt out. ²² The aim of the first part of the ceremony (gerak guru) was to animate (menggerakkan) the original ancestor. The Belian recalled the creation of the world in seven days, and then described the journey of the first hala into the forest where he saw the bamboo, ferns and foliage that were now placed in and around the shelter. The recitation made it quite clear that he was both the first sorcerer and the first bomor belian. From him came the ancestors (to'nenek) whose names the Belian enumerated so that the power they held from the original ancestor would now pass to the To'Belian. Taking a tuft of fresh leaves, because these were used by the first hala when he went into the forest, the To'Belian became identified with him whom he represented. For the first time since the beginning of the ceremonies he now acted as a deputy for the original ancestor, indeed for the ancestor and all his lineage, but he had not yet reached the stage where he would act with the ancestors.

The singers again took up the recitation to which the To'Belian added replies as he put on various articles of his costume given him by

the Belian. This dressing was interrupted by his movements of standing up and sitting down, which, although they had no ritual significance were performed with great solemnity. The To'Belian recited new formulae to the ancestors, and these were taken up by the other orang belian in chorus. Again he scattered a handful of rice, and placed his sash on his head so that he could isolate himself when the spirit of the hala descended on him.
 23
 With his fists clenched against his temples he 'collected his thoughts' in the attitude designed to evoke the ancestors (ingat guru- ingat), both thinking and remembering. Between each phase of the dance, a handful
 24
 of rice was scattered.

The To'Belian opened his hands, but kept them against his temple with his thumbs and index fingers joined in the gesture of appeal to the hala (panggil hala) . Then he altered their position, bringing back the index fingers against the middle ones and stretching out the thumbs, always at the same height and with the palms facing upwards to receive
 25
 the spirits. They would come onto his hands, and it was there that the resultant intense heat would be especially felt.

Then he began to hop continuously in a sitting position with an increasingly jerky gait. The pengantin now took charge of the singers, with the To'Belian soon beginning to lose consciousness, if he had not already done so. From this point, a second lamp remained constantly lighted behind the dancer, so that its flame would prevent hostile spirits from throwing stones or sticks which might injure the To'Belian and consequently the spirit of the first ancestor. If the lamp went out the dancer would fall onto his back, paralysed by angry spirits, unable to continue his dance until the lamp was re-lighted.

While the To'Belian prepared for the trance, the Belian made a solemn sembah before him. The To'Belian uttered some inarticulate sounds, his hops became irregular, and he moaned like a small child. Having passed some pavot leaves through the incense smoke he burned them with the incense. His leaps stopped, re-started, and then stopped again. The chant, lagu Awang Chalong, also stopped abruptly and the To'Belian no longer carried along by the rhythm, moaned a little louder and looked around him in a bewildered manner. His agitation gradually decreased until it stopped as the pengantin began to speak:

"Who are you?" asked the pengantin. "What is your name? From where do you come?" The indistinct replies of the To'Belian were sometimes unrelated to the questions, but the pengantin replied as though he had been answered: "O you, So-and-so, don't trouble and torment those who are here: don't give them the fever, keep them in good health" - or a similar supplication.

The To'Belian who seemed to have returned to his state of normality was no longer paying attention to the pengantin: he passed over the incense a glass of water that he soon drank, bananas to be eaten later, and an opium pipe. The pengantin invited him to eat, drink smoke and dance, but there was no synchronisation between the invitations of the pengantin and the actions of the To'Belian.

As on the previous evening, the To'Belian made several windmill movements with his arms, holding chalong leaves in one hand, and sometimes a glass of water in the other. This was the prelude to a new lupa but now the dancer showed great excitement from the very first jerks. He raised himself, danced on the spot, then threw himself to the ground, crawled along, bit into the void and rose again abruptly, jumped over the fragile

bamboo barrier that surrounded the shelter, clung to the stakes, gnawed again, spat and clawed at the musicians. One moment the dancer was sitting on some clay pots, the next he leapt, and he was on the ground; he remounted the pots, but this time to kneel there, then to hold on to them on all fours. The fact that they did not break was a sign to his assistants of his powers.

Calmer after these manifestations, the To'Belian threw a little water in which the 'bezoar of dew' was soaking, broke one of the knots of leaves of the untying (lelepas) and sat down. On a turned-up bowl he lit the remnants of the candle with the same flame that he used to light the opium in his pipe. The music now stopped, to start again, with the movements of the dance. Three times he smoked, and then without any preparation, started to dance again. His excitement reached a state of paroxysm; he jumped onto the panchur nibong; fell bent double, jumped again, walked, sat down, slid on the leaning tree trunks, pirouetted against the stakes, climbed into the branch (pohon perok), touched the roof of the shelter with his foot, stopped from time to time to eat a delicacy or a fruit, chewed betel and stuck a flower behind his ear. Finally he began a conversation with the pengantin.

The music which had followed the frantic rhythm of the dance continued until near the middle of this dialogue. The questions of the pengantin were sung, and the first replies of the To'Belian were lost amidst the noise. Two days later, when questioned about his replies, the To'Belian no longer knew them - he had repeated what had been dictated to him by the ancestor. The pengantin said that he simply

put the questions ; in his replies the To'Belian had spoken of one thing and another , some of which he had not understood. (Ia chakap macham-macham kadang-kadang sayang pun tidak arti) .

The dance was followed by a lively pantomime, played by the To'Belian and the Belian, a scene from which recalled an episode in the life of one of the guru . In the performance attended by Cuisinier this was about sashes stolen from Inga Muda, and the scene had a semi-burlesque character.

These mimed scenes were separated by parts of the dance.

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Cuisinier says that the description of the steps of any sakai or semang dance could be substituted for those performed by the Belian, and the music accompanying this part of the ceremony was a semang melody. It was not the only one used, the difference between the performance of these melodies and those of the aborigines being simply that these were all sung in unison by the orang belian and so produced none of the canonic effects created by the aborigines.

The steps were short or very short, performed with a triple rhythm; both knees were slightly bent, or rather, the leg which was in front was very strongly bent, and the other was stretched out behind, but not stiffly. This last position was not held for long, and as soon as the impression had been given of a combined gliding and flying movement, the dancers began their small steps subdivided into threes again. The arms and hands seemed to act as a balancing agent. First the right arm, and then the left was held at the side with a strong tension of the wrist, while the other arm, was brought lightly against the back. Or the two arms were held obliquely from the body; one with the palm turned

upwards was lifted to the shoulder, then dropped the length of the body, - a movement in triple time like the steps, but rather slower, three steps being made in the time of one arm movement. As they danced the dancers waved the tufts of leaves like fans.

27

Finally they stopped. The musician offered the bowl of charmed water to the pengantin, who passed it to the To'Belian from whom the Belian received it, and then gave it back to the musician. This concluded the second night's performance.

The third day was similar to the second. In the afternoon the dance, performed either to maintain or re-establish contact with the spirits, lasted about two hours, and was just a repetition of the previous performances, only the interspersed anecdotal scenes being different. When this was finished, the performer - Belian or To'Belian, broke the knot in the coconut leaf, as it was necessary to untie each time a spirit had been invoked, whether it was a guru, a penggawa or just a lieutenant of the spirits (hulubalang). The dance continued, sometimes in a sitting and sometimes in a standing position, and was completed by two untyings.

In the evening the séance began with a greeting to the spirits and demons of the sea (hantu shaitan laut). This Cuisinier thought was almost certainly an addition to the original dance. Then the To'Belian took one of the ketubong and sang, marking the rhythm of the lagu kandang, 'the melody of the enclosure', on the instrument, chorus and solos alternated regularly, and here again, a very beautiful semang chant was recognisable.

After the To'Belian had dressed for the ceremony he rubbed his hands over the incense smoke for a long time, reciting formulae to animate the ancestors (gerak moyang). Then with large windmill movements produced by his forearms, he hurried towards the smoke, made a gesture of rubbing all his body with it, and taking the incense container passed it round himself, three times from right to left and once from left to right. Such movements, he explained, built a protective barrier (pagar) around him.

On his head he placed the sash to isolate himself since he was going to invoke the spirits again during that evening - first the hulubalang, then the chiefs, the penggawa. He passed the leaves over the incense, rubbed himself with oil for purification and finally began to dance.

The first very short figure differed from his performance on the preceding days. It consisted of a slow bending of the head and shoulders to the right, then the left. His hands, joined against his chest, held a bunch of leaves in homage to the guru. Apart from this initial sembah guru he would not perform a new dance until near the end of the evening: he was now going to repeat exactly the same short leaps in a seated position, the windmill movements of his arms, and the steps on the spot of the first lupa. This came with no greater violence than on previous evenings. He sang and sometimes spoke, but his words were unintelligible, and he interrupted his singing with plaintive, inarticulate cries before gradually slowing down the dance movements and stopping to rest for a moment.

Then came a second lupa, the most violent of all, another rest and a third lupa - during which he smoked the opium . This was connected directly to the anecdotal scene, which led uninterruptedly into the final dance.

Between the first lupa and the following rest, the sick person was examined; between the second rest and the resumption of the dance, the treatment was given. The sick person was asked to sit in the centre of the shelter first facing north and then east. The To'Belian moved around him dusting him lightly with the leaves, threw a little charmed water on his head, and having dipped the leaves in the water, let the drops trickle from them onto him. The pengantin questioned him. In his state of lupa he replied only what the spirit dictated to him, and sometimes the spirit did not reply. But whether he replied or not, he placed his hands on two or three clay pots, looked attentively at the water he found there, added several drops of consecrated water to each of them, and then looked again. This was the diagnosis by water, or rather, the spirit now knew what was wrong with the sick person, and during the dance that followed the spirit would reveal the remedy to him.

The treatment differed little from the diagnosis. The formulae of the To'Belian were different, but he murmured them in a deep voice: only the beginning of each stanza was clear, and there the Muslim influence caused the invariable bismillah al-rahim al-raham to be substituted for the original and perhaps more varied and significant formulae.

The formulae were accompanied by the same gestures as the diagnosis by water - a gentle dusting of the sick person with leaves and water. In addition, the To'Belian placed the bezoar of dew (geliga embun)

and chalong leaves alternately on the sick person's forehead and breast and then on his own breast. Finally, having proceeded to a double untying (pelepas) for the sick person, he continued with a triple untying for the host.

On the last evening the anecdotal section was developed further with two or three episodes from the lives of the guru included, separated from each other by an untying. Towards the end, after the To'Belian and the Belian had danced together in a standing up position the Belian returned to his role as ketubong player, and the To'Belian sat down again opposite the principal stake. Into a tuft of leaves he introduced a little grilled padi, held it over the incense, then got up, performed some steps on the spot and turned towards the South-West, scattering the leaves abruptly to disperse the rice as far as possible. Sitting down, he passed his right hand through the incense smoke, shaped it like a horn in front of his mouth, and blew three times in the direction of the South-West, three in the direction of the North-West, and again three in the direction of the South-West.

He then began the dance of the white tiger (rimau putih) or sacred tiger (rimau keramat), turning around, always seated and swinging, with his two hands brought down low together obliquely, first from left to right, and then from right to left. When, near the end of the performance he rose to dance in a standing up position, he held a tuft of leaves in each hand. He joined the leaves together in his right hand, passed them around him, as he had done with the incense dish to construct a symbolic palissade, and finally used them in turn like a pendulum and fan. The Belian joined him for the last steps, and the dance finished as

on the previous evening, with the passing from hand to hand of the bowl of charmed water.

As in all the 'magic' dances, there was a final ceremony for the return of the spirits, with the instruments being again struck (tabur) so that the same sound would accompany both their arrival and departure. After the closing ceremony the pengantin directed the singing. The To'Belian remained silent: the order for the spirits to depart was given in the secrecy of his thoughts, but he joined his companions to sing the last bars.

After the final tabur the musicians with the youngest first and then the pengantin, came to prostrate (sujud) themselves before To'Belian before leaving the shelter. They were followed by the non-participating members of the family of To'Belian and after all the others had gone he made his exit alone.

A type of belian performance which took place much earlier -
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 in 1896, has been described by Skeat. It was given inside a house in the Kuala Langat District of Selangor with the intention of invoking the tiger spirit and obtaining his help in expelling a rival but less powerful spirit. The brother of Skeat's Malay collector ' Umar had fallen ill, and he was allowed to attend the ceremony of treating the patient, This was timed to start at seven o'clock and nine people including Skeat were present in addition to the pawang, his wife and the patient. Although it was not essential for the same people to be present on all three evenings of the ceremony it was necessary to have the same number, any variation would have invited disaster. This was apparently the third night and Skeat was there as a substitute for one of the sick man's relatives.

The patient's sleeping-mat was in one corner of the room. In a line parallel to it were three jars of water, each decorated with a fringe of plaited coconut fronds, and with a fresh yam-leaf cover over its mouth. A fourth jar in this line furthest from the patient was similarly decorated, but instead of water it contained a large bouquet of artificial flowers and other ornaments made from plaited strips of palm-leaf. This was called a 'pleasure-garden' (taman bunga), and was designed to attract the spirit invoked by the performance. Between the patient and the jars were a censer and a box containing the accessories for chewing betel.

With the scene set, the 'medicine-man' took his seat beside the censer, whilst his wife who was to chant the invocation to the accompaniment of her own 'tambourine' took her place near the head of the patient's sleeping-mat. She struck up the invocation (lagu pemanggil) and her voice which was weak and feeble at first, grew stronger, higher and shriller until the climax at the end of the chant. Skeat found it difficult to distinguish the words at the time, but he was later given them by the singer. In English translation they begin:

Peace be unto you, Penglima Lenggang Laut!
Of no ordinary beauty
Is the Vessel of Penglima Lenggang Laut !

and end:

It were well to hasten, O Penglima Lenggang Laut,
Be not careless or slothful,
Linger not by inlet or river-reach,
Dally not with mistress or courtesan,
But descend and enter into your embodiment . 29

Endicott says that this invocation was obviously a request to a sea-spirit to come up the river and enter the shaman or possibly the jars of water. He considers it an integral part of the ceremony, whereas Cui sinier³¹ believed that the practice of greeting the spirits and demons of the sea (hantu shaitan laut) was almost certainly a foreign addition to the original dance. After this invocation Skeat makes no further reference to music or dance steps in his description of the ceremony.

Belian

1. Wilkinson(1901) gives the name beliyan(blian) to a class of women who exorcised evil spirits by dancing and incantations-female shamans. The spirits exorcised by them were called hantu beliyan (or simply beliyan). Wilkinson adds that these spirits were probably Sakai spirits. In the Dyak language the word blian means a female dancer. Logan, 'Some remarks on the Dyaks of Banjarmasing', Journal of the Indian Archipelago, 1847, describes a dance that closely resembles the Malay belian with its appeal to the ancestors and its aim of exorcism or propitiation. He also points out that the word is found as belian and balian in Bali and Java, where it means an officiating priest.
2. Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan, pp.38-73
3. the same informant gave the account of belian to Anker Rentse -see Rentse, 'Notes on Malay Beliefs', MRJRAS Vol. XI. pt. II. Dec., 1933.
4. Cuisinier, op. cit., pp.133-136
5. cf. the description by Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1900, pp. 436-444, of a ceremony of appeal to the tiger spirit.
6. Cuisinier, p. 44, suggests that the word hala was borrowed from the Semang; it is also used by the Temiar.
7. Cuisinier's informant told her that there was often a greater number of singers, and agreed with Rentse, that sometimes all the helpers became part of the choir.
8. the berhinai ceremony is described in section III 6 Bersanding is the ceremony when the couple sitting motionless and expressionless side by side, are fêted as a king and queen .
9. kain chindai was flowered material especially woven for use in fights, on which magic properties had been bestowed.
10. tabur means 'the scattering of seeds or flowers', but Cuisinier p. 50 Fn.1, suggests that it may be a local version of tambur (drummer).
11. Cuisinier, p. 53, suggests that Dato'Brahil can be equated with Raja Brahil, to be identified with Jibrail melaikat (The Angel Gabriel), a Muslim addition to the pre-Islamic formulae.
12. When the word Belian is used with the honorific To' (Dato), it is the second performer that is always referred to.

13. Cuisinier, p. 54, Fn. 1, refers to :Dato' Mohamed Ghazaly, 'Court Language and Etiquette of the Malays of Kelantan', SBRJAS, Dec. 1933.
14. listed by Cuisinier on p. 55
15. Cuisinier, p. 56
16. W. A. Skeat and C. O. Blagdon, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, London, 1908, Vol I. p. 142, mention chalong as the name of a tree whose leaves the Semang and Sakai men inserted into their waist-cord to form a fringe. The other name for the tree is kelawe. (By Sakai here Skeat and Blagdon may mean Senoi). The Temiar use exactly the same leaves which they call chalong and chalun for the same purpose - to help induce the trance state, Cuisinier p. 57, says that in the region of Batu Melintang, the orang gebiah call them daun cherwe and J. D. Gimlette, Malay Poisons and Charms, 1929, p. 76, gives their names in connection with gebiah at Kota Bharu as daun smeru and daun kemantu. He identifies them as "clausena excavata Brum. Rutaceae".
17. penggawa is used in Kelantan as a title for the chiefs of large villages, but in magic terminology it was given to the most important of the minor spirits - the intermediaries between the great spirits and human beings. In invocations the word was used more rarely than penghulu - the title of other local chiefs inferior to the penggawa.
18. Cuisinier, p. 58, says that his voice imitated plaintively 'les inflexions d'un infant qui gémit'.
19. probably the Senoi
20. Cuisinier, p. 60
21. Cuisinier, p. 60 points out that a Siamese dance was called main (permainan) perok by the Malays, and that the plant decorations associated with it - tufts of licualas (semong palas) were a necessity for the least important of the sakai seances. Another link with the Sakai and Semang was the comb (sisir satu bilah) that was included in the kenduri, for a comb had great magical significance for the aborigines. I was once warned not to use a comb in the presence of the Temiar, but no reason was advanced.
22. at this point Cuisinier, refers to some interesting information collected by Skeat, Pagan Races, London, 1906, Vol II, p. 229, from a Sakai-Semang sorcerer of Kelantan who was considered to be able to turn himself into a tiger - ". . . throughout the period of his absence however prolonged, his wife sitting at home, must keep the fire always burning, and from time to time burn incense. Otherwise he would disappear entirely". During his absence he was understood to have assumed animal form.

23. Cuisinier, Plate I, III A.
24. Cuisinier, p. 64 seq.
25. Cuisinier, Plate I, III. B
26. p. 67
27. Cuisinier, p. 67 says that this was exactly as she had seen the sakai waving palms (daun palas: licuala), tufts of reed and the same chalong leaves that were essential for the magic dances. I. H. N. Evans, The Negritos of Malaya, C. U. P. rev. ed. 1968, pp. 216-7, also points out that certain features of the performance, apart from the lupa in which the chief practitioner is controlled by the ancestral tiger spirit seems to have some resemblances to performances by the Negrito or perhaps Sakai aborigines. Amongst these are the use of a head wreath, the double bandoliers worn crossed on the chest, head ornaments, the use of chalong and chalun leaves and quartz crystals. Although the Belian dances may have been of aboriginal origin it does not necessarily follow that this is true of the belian performance itself, since the belief in the existence of belian is also found amongst the Malays and the Korinchis of Sumatra.
28. Malay Magic, London, 1900, pp. 436-444
29. the complete English translation of this invocation is given on page 439, and the original Malay version on p. 643, together with a healing charm.
30. op. cit., p. 162
31. pp. 68-9

(ii) Gebiah

Another magic dance of Kelantan no longer performed, also shared certain features with aborigine dances. This was gebiah.

¹
Cuisinier suggests that the word gebiah is derived from the Arabic ghaib (ghaib ia: he or she disappears, or has disappeared), and with this suggestion the Malay bomor she consulted were in agreement.

She saw only one performance of gebiah - at Batu Melintang (Kelantan Bharu). It is from her description of this single performance that the following account of the dance is taken.²

The object of gebiah, as of belian, was to call up the tiger spirit, although the connection of the orang gebiah with the tiger was less clear than that of the orang belian, and it was not necessary for the orang gebiah, who must always be a woman, to be able to transform herself into a tiger.³ According to the orang gebiah, belian and gebiah were two branches from the same trunk, but the two dances had evolved differently, the belian branch having become weighed down with useless complications. The important difference - that they were danced by different sexes received no comment.

A gebiah performance usually lasted for an evening, although there was no prohibition against day-time dancing. It could take place in a house, under a shelter, or in the open air, - usually in a village⁴ - and could be given to effect a cure, for a cure obtained, as a propitiatory rite or on the occasion of any festival whatever.

The troupe consisted of the to'mindok - the principal performer,⁵ the panjak - the musician, and the orang gebiah herself. It was the to'mindok who questioned the orang gebiah during her lupa, and

interpreted any replies she gave. He also had the authority to consecrate the kenduri and offer it to the spirits, and the responsibility for the direction of the singing. The panjak sang and played the rebana or redap called sri gemuroh in the secret language of the bomor. Although these three performers made a complete troupe, extra singers and drummers were welcome, and the orang gebiah nearly always had an attendant to pass her the necessary accessories.

These, with the costume and ornaments were very simple. The dancer wore a special sarong with her baju and had a sash (kain lepas). Also essential were the tufts of leaves called by the local name of daun cherwe. The to'mindok used a rod (chebedi for chemeti) made of the same leaves. The minimal offerings were parched and saffron rice, a pancake, a little water and a plug of betel. Other necessary accessories were candles, a bowl of charmed water and a skein of untwisted cotton.

Either before or during the tabur each performer mentally recited a charm (ilmu guna) to ensure success. After the pause following this tabur, the to'mindok began the bertabek, the salutation to the ancestor (poyang moyang) and apologised to them for possible omissions in the nomenclature. As soon as the genealogy had been recited, the to'mindok invoked the local hantu keramat, addressing a brief formula of homage to each of them, as he had done to the ancestors. Near the middle of this invocation a long passage was dedicated to the spirits of Bukit Berching, a hill in the region, with an allusion to the legend attached to it - that of the daughter of To'Raja Besar and the one-armed one-legged, half-headed To'Raja Belau. This signified that Bukit Berching was keramat.

The invocation finished with the homage (sembah) to the four cardinal points (empat tapang), since the guru watching over these four points were directly subjugated to Bataru Guru¹¹, and he was honoured in the honouring of those whom he commanded. Then the formulae of the offerings (bacha kenduri) were recited and the kenduri, the keras guru, the daun cherwe, the rod of leaves and finally the drum were consecrated by being passed through the incense.

At this point the orang gebiah invoked the ancestors in song, particularly To'Pergau, the original ancestor, a half-legendary, half-historic person from the story of Putri Sadong. Pergau was also the name of a section of the river passing through Batu Melintang, and in the language of the orang gebiah, it was the secret name for the tiger. In this way, the real and the legendary were united. Although the orang gebiah appeared to describe the surrounding countryside, she was really continuing to call up the ancestors, but by a series of allusions. A particular mountain represented the head of an ancestor, a cave the mouth of another, the name of a village the ascetic retreat of another. Gradually this obscure and subtle play of symbols passed from the limited circle of the dead to the entire world of the living.

Finally, the solo was turned into a duet as the to'mindok joined the orang gebiah in inviting the spirits to settle themselves comfortably (dudok bersenang) during the séance. The invitation was made in the name of gaja kecil kawan sakti, the little elephant friend with supernatural power who symbolised the human race. Only after these essential rites of about an hour's duration did the orang gebiah put on her dance sarong. Sitting facing the east, with a sash over her knees, she arranged flowers

in her hair, while her attendant hung two small garlands of flowers in front of her.

She placed her sash on the mat rolled up in front of her, anointed herself with oil and combed and rubbed oil into her hair which she was carefully tying. It had to be glossy and clean when, untied for the dance, it brushed past the penggawa. She put some grains of cooked rice into a tuft of leaves and scattered them as she hurriedly waved the leaves. Then she and the to'mindok again began the duet to invite the spirits to settle. The tune was similar to the lagu buka hari of the belian, but the words were different. Throughout the whole song the gebiah was motionless, and remained so when it had finished, although the redap continued the rhythm.

Gradually the rhythm was communicated to her right hand in which the leaves were vibrating at the end of a stiff arm. The vibration, slow at first, grew quicker with the rhythm of the redap. Again the to'mindok began to sing. Then the dancer passed the leaves over her face, and bent her head backwards. The hand movements accelerated again, grew larger, extended in her arm and finally reached her shoulder, head and body so that she shook continuously right down to her finger tips.

She sang with a strange, stifled voice, made jerky by the movements. First the drummer, then the to'mindok sang with her. From that point onwards she threw the rice without scattering it over the leaves - perhaps because she had gone too far into her trance to be able to make complex movements. She got down on all fours, continuing to sing and swing her drooping head. Abruptly she half rose again. She sang by herself, but her partners punctuated her song with regularly

spaced cries of 'Ha! ' At last she was quiet, and the musicians took up the chant, their punctuating cries being replaced by the noise of the grains of rice that she threw violently onto the ground.

Standing up, she hammered with her heel where she danced on the spot. Her attendant lit candles on the bowls of charmed water and grilled padi and held the two bowls as high as her waist, sat down again, added flowers to the plate of rice, and passed the two bowls to the dancers. Although she continued to dance, her steps grew slower, the trembling decreased, and several times her head stopped swinging for some seconds, to start off again with a shorter and less animated rocking each time. Without stopping dancing, but with a gradual slowing down of her movements, she looked for a long time at the flame of the two candles, moving her hands before her to her right, to her left, and then again before her. All the time she murmured secret incantations.

Giving the cooked rice to her attendant, she kept the charmed water. Into this she plunged her fingers and anointed, for purification, the forehead of one or more of the musicians. For the to'mindok she plunged the leaves into the water, and put them first on his forehead and then on the top of his head. After her attendant had taken the bowl back, she made several quicker steps: finally she sat down again and remained motionless except for the rhythmic jerks of her right hand.

12

Cuisinier says that just as the dance of the belian could be compared with that of the male sakai - except that theirs was a group dance - so the steps of the gebiah could be compared with those of the women in sakai mixed dances. These were called bersewang by the Malays who used the word indiscriminately for male or female dances.

The steps were danced in a triple rhythm. During the dance the position of the arms was varied only four or five times, the most frequent change being the stretching of the two arms in the same direction, slanting downwards, with the wrists bent and the fingers pointing towards the ground. A variation involved only one arm, the other being pressed tightly to the side of the body, bent at the elbow, with the forearm held against the stomach. But what really distinguished the gebiah from the sakai dance was the convulsive trembling of the performer which was characteristic of the lupa, and the fact that it was not a group dance.

At the command of the to'mindok a candle was presented to the singer who took it between joined hands and raised it to the height of her face before passing it to the orang gebiah who held it for a few seconds before her, then to her right and her left. Next, with the candle in her left hand she threw several grains of padi into its flame. This movement she continued, passing the candle from one hand to the other until the flame had been extinguished. Then taking the leaves instead of the candle, she began to make her fingers vibrate, and then her hand, slowly at first, and gradually more quickly. She had already attained the state of lupa which differed only in intensity from that of the belian.

As the orang gebiah was now a medium for the spirits, the to'mindok could question her. She replied in an improvised song reminiscent of previous tunes. The words were scarcely intelligible, but the to'mindok ingeniously gave them a meaning which he submitted to the orang gebiah, who, without paying any attention, continued her singing. If she did not contradict, or appear to contradict the suggested

interpretation , the to'mindok announced her reply, elaborating it for the spectators.

Anyone in the audience with a knowledge of the bomor's vocabulary could question her . The drummer always posed a few questions. To these she replied in a mixture of speech and song. Dealing with ordinary humans she descended to trivial familiarity in her language.

An interlude followed: the musicians sang in turn pantuns , shaer¹³ or sloka . Sometimes they alternated solos and duets; sometimes too, the gebiah sang irrelevant verses. To remind her that it was time to continue the main performance, her attendant hung on her ears the two garlands of flowers which had been kept in reserve. At this sing, the to'mindok invited her with a sung formula to renew more active contact with the spirits, and repeated it two or three times if it was not obeyed at first. When finally she heard, she began to sing to exhort her 'spiritual breath' (ruh sumangat) to return again into the supernatural world.

With flowers in her right hand, and with her left hand trembling,¹⁴ she was soon ready to make the diagnosis by flame. If there was no sick person she would look into the flame for what she should do and say, interpreting its height, vacillations etc. for omens: prognosis was substituted for diagnosis. As some threats were always hidden in the flame's movements, she made an anointing with the charmed water on her forehead and on those of her partners. Then she re-charmed a¹⁵ second cup of water and having dipped the leaves into it lightly sprinkled each person's head.

After this she sang to ask for success, or if there was a sick person, for a cure. Her melody, like that of the drummer or other singer came from the same source as the songs of the belian.¹⁶ Having finished these prayers, the orang gebiah invoked Che Siti, a half-legendary,¹⁷ half-historic person who was the daughter of Putri Sadong and who reigned over Kelantan.

The to'mindok, in turn, seemed possessed by the dance, jerking his head in time to the rhythm of the redap and the dancer's steps. She now stood with her left hand on her hip, and struck the ground with her right and left foot in turn. After ten or so strikings she sat down and lightly waved the chalong leaves. Again she rose and danced standing almost on the spot, always waving the leaves, but increasingly slowly, and from time to time she struck the redap with the end of the tuft to affirm her power over the sounds. At this moment she was said to be the 'shepherd'¹⁸(gombala) of the gongs.

Finally, she rested her hands on her loins, and did not dance or tremble any more. Now she had only to cast off the vapours (wap) of the occult world from which she had returned by waving the tuft of leaves above her head, and placing a little oil on her face and hands. She said that the penggawa, her director, was still acting through her in this final act of purification. She sat down with her legs stretched out, and bent her body until she touched her toes, in this way indicating that she was returning to the earth. She had finished, and the musicians sang praise in her honour.

Before finally leaving the place of her performance she scattered a last handful of cooked rice: this for the drummer, that for the to'mindok releasing him in the name of baluk mestika gombala rimau (the tiger talisman of the shepherds of tigers'), one of the names of the original ancestor.

After the last strokes of the redap had ceased the to'mindok said 'kesoh' for alkisah (alkesah: kesah - story) , as at the end of stories presented on the stage. It was he alone, who in a low voice linked the final formula for the dismissal of the spirits to the formula of untying , again repeated, and now in its most potent form.

Gebiah

1. Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p. 74
2. ibid., Chapter VI. Cuisinier received her information from the performers at Batu Melintang and a bomor , To'Seliman of Kampong Lawar. Some of their statements were confirmed by her other regular informants in Kota Bharu.
3. Cuisinier, p. 74, was told by Belian Jamin Muda that there was no record of any lady having ever possessed this power and it was for that reason that there had never been a To'Belian perempuan . But J. D. Gimlette, Malay Poisons and Charm Cures , London, 1915, p. 7. says the senior "medicine-man" is the bomor blian , who is generally a woman, and it is said that when this witch is operating in any particular district all other bomor are disqualified for the time being. '
4. Gimlette, quoted by Cuisinier, p. 74 , said that the performances of gebiah (keeping to Kelantan pronunciation he called it gebioh) took place only in villages. Cuisinier had not seen a performance in a town, but knew no valid reason for this; it was probably not a taboo, but a wish of the orang gebiah , like the orang belian to avoid towns, and for the same reasons.
5. the drummer in ma'yong is also sometimes called panjak.
6. gemuroh: the roll of thunder, the roar of many waters, the murmur of an angry crowd.
7. the same leaves as the daun chalong of the belian .
8. chemeti: (Tamil) a whip
9. this was the only time that Cuisinier heard this precaution taken openly.
10. keramat: miracle-working -invested with supernatural power (of a place, object or person). For a full discussion of keramat (kramat) see Skeat, Malay Magic , Macmillan, London, 1900, pp. 61-71.
11. identified by Skeat with Visnu (see Cuisinier, p. 77).
12. p. 79
13. pantun: a four line poetic improvisation popular with the Malays; shaer: written poetry; sloka ; a form of ironical or satirical poetry, written or transmitted orally.
14. a type of gerak chahaya (formula for this diagnosis is given by Cuisinier on p. 178.
15. the jampi ayer tawar formula is given in Malay, and a French translation is given on pp. 129-132.

16. Cuisinier says that the resemblance to semang music was striking but unfortunately none of it accompanies the text .
17. in Fn.1. p. 82, Cuisinier says that this was the version accepted by the orang gebiah in the region of Kelantan Bharu. Other versions identify Putri Sadong as the adopted daughter of Che Siti. This, Cuisinier maintains , is the correct version and refers to Chitra Kelantan mengandongi salsilah raja -raja dan tarikhnya by the Prime Minister of His Highness the Sultan of Kelantan, Al-Asasiyah Press, Kota Bharu, 1935.
18. usually spelt gembola

(iii) Putri

The one magic dance described by Cuisinier which is still performed regularly is putri (peteri in Kelantan) . It is performed with various intentions -to punish an enemy , to help find stolen property, to stop an epidemic, to obtain proof of a wife's infidelity, to gain a lady's favour, to ensure the success of an enterprise and particularly nowadays, to cure an illness. It can, in fact, be adapted to any object of propitiation and exorcism, but a clear distinction is made between a putri performance for a cure, and one for any other purpose. Gimlette, in his study of putri went further and said that the expression bermain peteri was used in Kelantan for any kind of incantation or magic séance . Although it used to be performed regularly in both towns and kampongs, it is now rare in the towns. It is particularly popular in Kelantan, and during my visit there in 1962, I was told that many people were not happy unless they had been involved in an annual putri performance as a charm against possible disasters. In the kampongs putri is a public performance attended by people of all ages and with much good-natured bantering and many humorous asides included in the traditional ritual.

The origin of the name putri for this performance is not known. One Malay tradition quoted by Cuisinier traces it back six hundred years when Kelantan, then called 'Tanah Serendah Sakebun bunga' was governed by a queen named Che' Siti. Being sterile she adopted a child called Putri Sadong. This adopted daughter greatly liked the dance called gebiah

and when she was ill it was performed to comfort her. It was also performed during the puja negeri, an important festival organised at intervals by the Sultan or lesser princes with the aim of collective propitiation. As a result it was respected by all who wanted to follow their ruler's example. Soon the expression gebiah itu permainan tuan putri (gebiah, the dance of the princess) was on every lip, and this gradually became abbreviated to permainan putri - the dance of the princess. Kelantan Malays insist that when putri is found elsewhere it was taken there from their own state.⁴

Finding this explanation unsatisfactory, Cuisinier turned to another - that of Marcel Mauss.⁵ He saw the origin of the word putri in putrika, the shortened form of putrika-putra. If a man had no male offspring the son he lacked could be replaced by his daughter's son in the cult of ancestors. As this son was known as the putrika, the putri dance was the dance of this putrika. The daughter acted as the intermediary,⁶ and Cuisinier suggests that the fact that this dance is performed by both males and females may indicate that the daughter took her son's role until he was of a suitable age and position to succeed her. She nevertheless thinks it probable that the true role of both sexes has been forgotten. A piece of evidence to support the theory of Mauss comes in the chant of the mindok to the dancer during the latter's preparation for the lupa where he is called the 'heir of the father, the heir of the mother' pesaka ayah pesaka bonda.

At the time of Cuisinier's investigation, the putri dances for the sick were simpler than those for other purposes and were likely, she thought, to have been altered during the course of time. Up to and including

the lupa, the phases of all the putri dances proceeded in the same order, but the characters of the dances varied, and after the lupa this difference in spirit also became a difference in expression.

Shortly before the publication of Cuisinier's detailed account Gimlette had written his own account of putri which he called permainan peteri or main peteri, based on information received in 1921 from To' Bomor Enche' Drahman bin Muhammed Ali of Pasir Mas, a well-known bomor peteri occasionally employed by the Sultan of Kelantan. To' Bomor Enche' Drahman was a Muslim, and although he was prepared to defend the doctrine of the introductory songs, he asked that To' Imam, the President of the Mosque, should not be told that he had divulged the bangkitan⁷, his final song.

As there are many points of similarity in the description by Cuisinier and Gimlette their accounts will be considered in parallel, with attention drawn to the main points of difference particularly to their references to music and dancing, and the picture that emerges gives an idea of how putri was practised in Kelantan during the second and third decades of this century.

The performances usually took place at night. In kampongs there was no time-limit, but in towns the British police ordered them to finish by 11 o'clock p.m. If they continued for three or five evenings (these are called 'solemn' performances by Cuisinier, as opposed to the 'ordinary' performances of a single evening's duration), an extension until dawn was granted for the last night's performance. Cuisinier says that although the 'ordinary' performances generally began at 8.00 or

8.30 p.m., at least an hour was spent on the final preparations, so the first invocation started between 9.00 and 10 p.m. 'Solemn' performances began earlier.

The performance took place under an awning called langit (sky) from which hung small bunches of various coloured flowers one of which had to be the sweet-smelling jasmine (bunga melor) as this was believed to possess a special attraction for the spirits. The space used by the dancer was covered with a piece of matting on which was a cushion: essential accessories were an incense burner (bakar kemenyan), a water vessel with a long spout (kendi), a box or plate for the betel (tepak or puan sireh) and a spittoon (ketur).

Another essential component was the offerings (kenduri)⁸. The essential minimum of these consisted of a small plate of rice with saffron, (nasi kunyit), a sort of pancake (dadar), made with eggs, flour and coconut oil, a large bowl of toasted rice, (berteh), a quid of betel (sireh sa-piak), and some water (ayer sa-titek). These were divided into two parts: one was placed in a dish standing on the ground, the other in a hollow dish hanging above the mindok, together with a piece of white untwisted thread and five kenri. For the quinquennial sacrifice (semah), other offerings were added - a little uncooked rice without the husk (beras), a boiled egg (telur rebus satu butir), bananas (pisang), sugar cane (tebu),⁹ flowers (bunga-bunga), and two dollars.

The group of performers consisted of the dancer, variously called orang putri, orang lupa, bomor peteri, the to'mindok who was the rebab player, also known as the pengantin or juru rebab - the real director of the performance - and other instrumentalists. In the

performances seen by Cuisinier, these consisted of a player of the gongs, and two gendang players. For the gendang a rebana or redap was sometimes substituted. Gimlette describes a smaller combination:- a rebab played by the mindok, a rebana or redap played by the orang palu redap, and a batil played by the orang palu batil. The orang palu redap slapped the goat-skin head of his drums with his right hand and strummed with his left as he supported the hollow end of the drum on his knee, the orang palu batil beat his brass bowl with two pieces of bamboo. Neither writer indicates whether the rebab was a rebab dua tali or tiga tali. In both of the instrumental combinations for putri I saw it was a rebab tali.

In putri performances for a sick person, one group of performers only was required: for purposes of general propitiation there were many more, e.g. thirty seven at the 1932 quinquennial ceremony of puja negeri.

Neither the mindok nor the musicians wore special costumes although the mindok was authorised to wear a yellow sash, like the orang putri. The mindok generally neglected this privilege, and the orang putri preferred to change his sash with each new lupa. He always danced with his body bare to the waist and with his head uncovered. Special sitting positions were allotted to the instrumentalists: the rebab player faced west, with the player of the gendang, rebana or redap on his right and the other musician on his left.

When all the participants had assembled, the mindok passed each of the dishes of offerings and money over the incense, then the water vessel, the betel, the rebab, and the gendang. As he did so he murmured under his voice, mentally reciting the formulae of homage to the instruments and the consecration of the offerings. After several more

ritual acts he touched the rebab with some grains of boiled toasted rice and a quid of betel.

13

The orang putri now assumed responsibility. Gimlette says that his first act was to take some of the sacrificial offering and spread it on top of a banana leaf. Then, sitting cross-legged and facing east opposite the mindok, he recited a very long prayer of invocation beginning:

O God save me from the accursed Devil !
In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,
I humbly make this sacrificial offering.....

and ending:

O God, Hail ! First of the Mindok,
O God, Hail ! Earliest of the Peteri 14

Having finished this, he gave the offering to anyone sitting nearby who placed it on the ground close to the house with a lighted bees-wax candle near it. The mindok then began to play his rebab, and sing the bertabek beginning:

In the name of God !
Ere the pen was made,
Or the ink ground.....15

Cuisinier gives a slightly different version of this, saying that it was the putri man who recited the bertabek. Having first made his sembah to the four corners of the shelter he sat before the mindok and with one hand placed flat on the earth recited the bertabek to waken the spirits (menggerak hantu). It was when he had finished this recitation that the music began. He threw a handful of rice into the air, and deposited another on the ground, taking care this time that the grains did not scatter. The rice that was thrown was intended to attract the spirits, hantu, jin and

jimbangan to join in the performance and aid its success; the rice carefully placed on the ground was offered to the spirits of the earth (jin tanah), so that they would keep the spectators, and especially the host (tuan kerja) and his household in good health.

The putri next began to chant the invocation to the various types of spirits in the following order - genies of the earth (jin tanah); of the village or locality (jin kampong); of the forests, woods or glades (hantu rimba jin hutan or hantu cherang); of the rivers (jin sungai or jin saba - saba being the private word of the bomor for river).

The gestures of the arms and legs accompanying this chant all had symbolic meaning, although their order was left to the whim of the performer. ¹⁶ Cușinier describes a number of them and accepts as plausible the explanation of them given by her informants.

One hand, sometimes both, with the palm turned inwards and directed obliquely towards the ground signified a command to the spirits ¹⁷ to keep quiet.

An arm held out in front and bent at the elbow with the palm of the hand facing upwards and the fingers slightly raised was the sign to ask ¹⁸ the ancestor for aid, protection and favour.

When the dancer closed his fist with the thumb extended outwards and brought it up towards himself until he placed his fist in, or on, his mouth, he was calling to mind a magic formula. Sometimes he closed his two fists with the thumbs folded over the index fingers, and held them at the height of his temple, a little away from his bowed head.

The two hands joined by the little fingers and raised slowly from the breast to the chin indicated that the dancer was mentally reciting a magic formula. ¹⁹

20

The two arms extended from each side of the body, with the hands curling inwards in a spiral movement until one of the thumbs touched the forehead from the side showed that the bomor was making himself known to the spirits, and that he recognised them.

21

When the dancer lowered one arm behind with the palm of the hand turned upwards, and obliquely raised the other hand with its palm facing downwards he was calling the penggawa.

22

Extending his two hands horizontally, with one hand facing downwards and the other upwards, or raising a single hand with the fingers bent at the end of the extended arm, and with the other hand flat on his knees, he announced the presence or the approach of a spirit to the spectators. Raising one arm with the hand's index finger held upright in the air, and the other fingers brought together to the thumbs, he greeted the spirits and apologised for himself in comparison with them.

23

Cuisinier says that when there was only one bomor he interrupted himself to throw a little of the charmed water into the gongs and into the corner of the shelter where these were hanging. The water that remained in the gongs symbolised a miraculous pool (kolam kesaktian) in whose supernatural powers the other instruments and instrumentalists shared. If several groups were involved in the performance, or if there was more than one putri in a single group, another bomor took charge of these duties during the first chanted dialogue between the original putri and the mindok. This chant was accompanied at almost regular intervals by the scattering of rice on which the putri had blown, although this was ritually prescribed for only one moment towards the end of the bertabek.

The description of the preparations for the trance, and the movements during the actual lupa differ slightly in the accounts of Cuisinier and Gimlette. Relevant features in both are given below, commencing with those described by Cuisinier.

Dressed in a ceremonial sarong and sash, with his head anointed with oil, and having made the sembah to the four cardinal points, the putri²⁴ scattered a little rice on his head and around him. He then began to shake his head, turning it from left to right and from above to below, slowly at first, but continually accelerating until it gave the impression of a frantic whirling. This, however, did not prevent him from repeating several of the actions already described, standing and turning slowly on the spot. To these he added others which became less and less co-ordinated as the rhythm of the music grew more hectic. With his hands on his hips he balanced his body in a rotating movement in order to catch his breath (tangkep ruh). Sometimes he appeared to snatch something as long as his arm away from his breast. This²⁵ represented the 'hunger of the body' (kelaparan badan), and was a request to the spirits not to leave him or his dependants without food.

Another position of the hands, one perpendicularly on the stomach and the other perpendicularly on the back, or with the back of one hand placed against the breast, the other against the back, was called the 'hunger of iron' (kelaparan besi), and had as its aim a request for strength from the original ancestor. This was linked to the story of the creator of Adam, whose body burst when God breathed into it because it failed to stand up to the expansion until some iron had been mixed with the clay from which it had been kneaded.

To finish, the putri cursorily traced circles which became more and more contracted. His head twisted violently and he alternately emitted short cries and sharp whistles - 'aesss, aesss'... This was the most important phase of the dance, the approach of forgetfulness (saleh lu pa), and it was during this phase that the putri changed his personality (tukar badan).

26

Gimlette, in his account of the preparation for the lupa, describes the bomor peteri as sitting on the white mat facing the To'mindok.

On his hands, body and head he smeared coconut oil and covered himself in a yellow or other coloured shawl. Having placed the brazier of burning incense in front of him he called on the good spirit - the penggawa or control spirit that was going to help him. He was now the orang lupa and had, to all intents and purposes, become a peteri spirit. The To'Mindok began to play his rebab and sing his second song, the Gerak Orang Lupa²⁷ in order to inject life into the 'man who forgets' and to quicken the calling up of the control spirit. With this object in view the instrumentalists now played furiously.

At the end of the song of the mindok or even before it,²⁸ the head movements already described took place. Every so often the bomor peteri cleared his throat as if about to speak, and clasped his hands to emphasise the comings and goings of the helping spirits who possessed him one at a time until he had chosen the one he wished to keep. This phase continued until he reached a state of frenzy, with the musicians playing incessantly. At last, when he could go on no longer, he raised his hand to tell the mindok to stop singing and the instrumentalists to stop playing. Now, in a trance, he was in possession of the spirit whose aid

he had invoked, and was regarded as representing a peteri spirit in all he said or did.

29

Gimlette explains that all these peteri spirits were good spirits, and were divided into two classes. In the first were the princesses of past days who became good fairies, in the second were the penggawa or control spirits who were summoned by the bomor peteri to help him cast out evil spirits or the spirits from the sick man's body. Amongst these were the males, Budak Kechil Kuda Kuala and Budak Kechil Telur (the lisping lad), and Peteri Mayang Mas, the princess of the golden palm blossom, a female spirit. The bomor peteri believed that with the help of the mindok he could draw evil spirits out of the sick man one at a time, and for this purpose he regarded himself as actually becoming a penggawa spirit for the time being.

About the next section of the performance, the questioning of the putri by the mindok, Cuisinier and Gimlette are in general agreement. To the question, "Who are you?" the putri replied, "I am penggawa so and so". Except in performances for the sick, the first answer rarely satisfied the mindok, and the question was repeated. This might happen several times until the name of the incarnation pleased the mindok, or if the putri was persistent in his replies, it might be necessary to ask for another putri to replace the first. After the question had been asked for the third time, the dialogue turned into a free improvisation and became a more general conversation in which even the spectators could join.

This was followed in the performances for the sick by the 'diagnosis by light'. Taking a lighted candle the orang peteri gazed at

the flame, examining its slope, height, liveliness and movement. From these he was able to recognise the characteristics of the illness.

Cuisinier says that after this diagnosis the ceremony continued with successive lupa and dialogues between the mindok and the putri. The music commenced again, and the putri seated, kneeling or standing, made the gestures already described in the order of his choice, sometimes accompanied by other gestures. Finally he crossed his hands behind his back with his head turned round a little, or bent over, touching his toes with the tips of his fingers to confirm his return to himself and to the world of men. This ended the first night's performance.

30

Gimlette deals in greater detail with what happened in peteri for the sick after the diagnosis by means of the candle flame. The bomor peteri, having reported his diagnosis to the mindok was told to set to work, but a great deal of coaxing from the mindok was required before he actually began. At last he crawled towards the sick man and sucked or pretended to suck various parts of his body until he had located the seat of the disease. Having found this he chanted the bangkitan to cast out either the demon or the disease.

31

The peteri now returned to the mat, and standing or sitting in front of the mindok held out his hand for the instrumentalists to stop playing. Again the mindok asked, "Who is he?" to which the peteri replied that it was a jin, or perhaps a familiar, or merely a disease. If a jin, he was asked how it had got in, and by whom it was sent. Sometimes no reply was received and a good deal more coaxing by the mindok with promises of food and other gifts was required before the peteri gave a satisfactory reply. When he had asked all his questions, the mindok with the other two musicians began to play again, and again

the bomor peteri shook his head for five minutes or so. Suddenly he stopped and held out his hands to the mindok who asked if the jin had been taken from the sick man's body by the penggawa spirit, or if the disease had been cast out. The jin, if this is what had been causing the trouble, was now supposed to be in the body of the bomor peteri who again shook his head until he fell into a fresh trance. He now had to cast the jin out of his own body. Only when the bomor peteri could assure the mindok that all the spirits had departed did the mindok allow the performance to stop and the bomor peteri become himself again.

Sometimes the mischief was not the work of one jin and then Nenek Jin Hitam the grandfather of all black jin, had to be called up to give an explanation. The mindok sang and played, the instrumentalists joined in and the bomor peteri shook his head and went into a trance, becoming Nenek Jin Hitam. As such he was critically questioned by the mindok about why he had black followers as well as lesser devils to cause all this trouble and who told him to do so. To this Nenek Jin Hitam replied through the peteri that he had joined forces with the other devils because an insufficient sacrifice had been offered. The mindok had to use a great deal of coaxing and promises to deceive this 'grandfather of the black devils' until Nenek Jin Hitam agreed to withdraw. On these occasions the mindok might sing the 'Farewell Song of the To'Mindok' to Nenek Jin
 32
 Hitam.

The performance described by Gimlette lasted only one evening, that by Cuisinier for three nights. The second night's performance was a repetition of the first, but simplified, particularly at the beginning with the consecration of the offerings and the initial homage omitted. To the

regular gestures other improvisations were added. This performance was of only secondary import as far as the magic was concerned.

It was the last performance that had the maximum efficacy. This was a direct repetition of the previous night's performances until about midnight when it was interrupted for nearly an hour, and then for an hour or two it flagged. Small bands of performers played in relays to allow the others to get a little more rest. Finally, towards three o'clock in the morning one of the putri performed a dance followed by a lupa. He turned alternatively towards the mindok and a pyramidal altar which had been set up covered with offerings (balai), more especially towards a smaller flat quadrangular altar (tabak). Whilst he danced the other performers lit small candles on the balai and tabak and before the middle stake of the east side. For a moment the dancer stopped, but the music continued and when he began to dance again it was for the house of the family sponsoring the performance. He placed himself behind the balai near to the post surmounted by a coconut (saka), which symbolised the house, and before which another candle had been lit. Three times the putri accomplished the rite of the untying opposite the saka as he broke the knots of leaves (daun lepas or lelepas) prepared for this purpose. This was only a partial untying, the more important general one being done by the mindok when the offerings were brought to him.

At this point a small altar shaped like a canoe (perahu) was moved into the middle of the shelter with rice scattered all around it. The dance of the putri exactly imitated the movements of swimming, but before he moved towards the boat he talked with the mindok. Then suddenly throwing himself flat on the ground he crawled quickly to the boat and pretended to swallow it. He rose, returned to his usual place and proceeding by short

neat bounds, danced from the rebab to the boat and back again. Extra candles were lit on the balai and before the saka of the north-west and south-west corners. There the putri now danced whilst the last six candles were lit, four in the outside corners of the shelter, and two in the inside corners of the north-east and south-east.

The putri finished dancing, and the music stopped: the mindok made a solemn sembah before the balai and then appointed another putri who repeated (or nearly so) what had been done by the previous one. The mindok himself untied the pupu cord and the putri stood, as at the beginning, opposite the rebab player's substitute, for the mindok was now performing the final ceremonies. Over his head, face and body, the putri passed his hands impregnated with incense vapour, then took a handful of rice, breathed on it and scattered it around him. In a sitting position, he performed some movements of the dance, beginning with the sembah which was addressed through the mindok to the original ancestor. He rose, and holding his thumb in his mouth, recited a formula in a low voice, then began to dance, making the whistling sounds which announced the lupa. Continuing to dance he turned towards the balai. As he danced, his singing and the speech he mixed with it accelerated.

At the same time, the mindok recited the formula and made the gesture of untying. The putri was mounted on the first platform of the balai to answer the untying of knots of leaves from the coconut tree by the untying of a skein of untwisted cotton. This he passed around his neck like a garland before descending from the balai which was immediately carried away by four men. Another putri started to dance while the mindok scattered rice around the boat and before or beneath it made the gesture of untying. In its turn the boat was also carried away.

The putri danced before each of the four jars, his dance becoming increasingly disorganised while his head whirled frantically. Suddenly the violent movements stopped: the dancer remained hesitant for a long moment, then sat down again and slowly made three or less movements, each of which he repeated two or three times. He raised, lowered and again raised his closed fist. With his left arm bent at the elbow, he brought the index and middle fingers of his right hand from above to the bend of his elbow, and then let them slip onto his knees. With his arm extended, his thumb and middle fingers joined and his index fingers upright, he traced a quarter of a circle with his hand.

During this time, the tabak and the saka were brought, and the mindok who had taken his place again as rebab player, held the skein of rough thread in his right hand, and with his left hand threw a fistful of rice onto the instruments that were hanging up behind him, then another onto the skein of thread.

Finally, having recited in a low voice the formula of untying whilst knotting the thread, he detached it as he announced 'aku melepas' - 'I have untied it' - and passed it like a garland around the instrument's neck. This final untying was made on behalf of the performers for the performance itself. It marked the end of what had been accomplished during the past evenings and provided a measure of precaution against the displeasure that might have been caused to the spirits by errors committed or details forgotten.

In the putri for sick people, this rite of untying formed a separate ceremony, celebrated several days after the seance and only after the cure.

33

The cost of performances varied. Gimlette quotes the cost of a special performance for a cure as about sixty or seventy Straits dollars, that of the ordinary Kelantan kampong performance as about twenty five dollars.

34

In The Malay Magician Winstedt has given a short account of a Malay 'séance' which he does not call putri but which bears many resemblances to the performance described above. It adds no additional details of the music and dancing and so need not be included here.

35

A more recent account of main putri is given by Stewart Wavell who recorded a performance specially given for the Cambridge Expedition in Kelantan in 1962. Wavell describes it as a performance to the goddess Sakti, with invocations overlaid with Muslim terminology to make it acceptable to an Islamic community. The pawang (bomor) who was also the rebab player on that occasion first recited verses from the Koran praising Allah and his prophet Mohammed, and then lifted his voice 'searching for inspiration enough to assemble all the Spirits of the Universe' :

I seek the origin of the dust blown into the air;
The whirling around the Aliph
While the Aliph standing in the shadow of the Ba
For the seventh day and the eighth night. '

.....

'To revive the origin of the Islamic spirit
Father Haji and Mother are ready to obey.
My father disappeared into the sacred land
And my mother disappeared at old Jeddah.
I am the child waiting at the Gate of Joy,
The adopted son of the white bird
Ready to respond to the inspiration.

The head of the pawang began to make gentle circling movements as he prepared for the trance:

Inspirations which have crossed the seven seas;
 Inspirations which moan on Kemuning Tinggal and Jati Java;
 The inspiration which comes down in excitement;
 Which goes in procession with the Jati Java;
 Which was said to be nine but in reality is ten.

Then came what Wavell calls the 'mystification' - the moment for baffling and discarding the conscious mind:

The seven are lost and the four appear.
 The four are lost and three appear.
 Three are lost and two appear.
 Two are lost and one appears:
 One which gives twelve inspirations.

The movements of the head grew faster and the voice louder:

With one movement there are four responses:
 Right, left, in front and behind, these moving all the limbs,
 Awakening the sleeping Kings and Gods and warriors;
 All the Kings and Gods of the Heaven.
 So stand the four warriors all of them King's attendants,
 Whose responsibilities are to hold earth, fire, water and air,
 The mountain is shaken and the Padang Serikan is moved.

Late in the evening on 13th August, 1962, I came by chance upon a putri performance in a small kampong on the roadside between Kampong Balai and Kota Bharu in Kelantan. The performance which had begun was taking place in a specially constructed atap shelter open on all its four sides. From the side poles hung the customary bunches of sweet-smelling flowers, and it looked as if the majority of the kampong population, men, women, children and small babies had gathered for it. The particular putri was being performed to cure an eye complaint in an old lady, although none of the spectators were able to tell me the nature of her trouble. Attended by a friend, the old lady was seated at the opposite end of the shelter from the instrumentalists. To the instruments mentioned

by Cuisinier were added, on this occasion, a serunei, two mong and two pairs of kesi. All the instrumentalists squatted to the right of the rebab player - the mindok, who was directing the performance. The bomor putri as is often the case, was a very well-built, strong man, naked to the waist and wearing an ordinary Malay sarong. For most of his energetic performance he was bathed in perspiration. As accessories he had rice, a glass of water, in which were flowers, and incense. From time to time, apparently indiscriminately, he threw the rice into the air, and with a considerable flourish ate the flowers. He also devoured a bunch of bananas without stopping and smoked a large number of cigarettes. This consumption of the 'offering' before the end of the performance was not in keeping with the tradition already described.

A considerable amount of horseplay went on between the putri and mindok. The putri broke into stretches of melody before he entered the trance state in which he exhibited all the head-shaking and whirling signs already described. He used none of the specific gestures listed by Cuisinier, and his body and hand movements were generally clumsy and without apparent significance. There was no diagnosis by candle flame. Occasionally the bomor putri moved over to the woman being treated and laid his hand on her head and face. Although there was no attempt to suck out the illness, these hand movements were considerably more delicate than any of the others during the remainder of the performance.

Amidst all this activity the lady herself remained completely unselfconscious, occasionally speaking to the bomor putri who carried on brief snatches of conversation with her. Indeed she seemed to be getting considerable satisfaction from her central position, the focus of attention for all her friends and neighbours. The onlookers obviously

enjoyed the performance which they appeared to regard as a good evening's entertainment with plenty of opportunity for hearty audience participation. The performance had to end by midnight. Although it contained a nucleus of the basic features described by Cuisinier and Gimlette many others were entirely absent from it. In conversation with several Kelantan students I was given to understand that it was more typical of the putri performances now seen in the kampongs than those which have been described at greater length earlier in this section.

Putri.

1. Gimlette, Malay Poisons and Charm Cures, p. 73 ; this book includes Gimlette's account of putri referred to in this section . In the first edition of Malay Poisons and Charm Cures, p. 7, Gimlette says that 'main puteri' is never applied to cases of poisoning.
2. putri(puteri) (Skt): princess.
3. Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p. 94
4. Cuisinier, ibid., says that during the course of her investigation she came across several performances with dances bearing some resemblance to that used in putri, but with different names, e. g. in Pahang, pyang jinjang raja, belian, berjin. The chief difference between these and putri was that their trance was not induced by the whirling of the head.
5. ibid., p. 95
6. cf. the mother in ma'yong.
7. this bangkitan contains the idea that three separate elements mani, madzi and wadi of the spermatic fluid, manikam, create an embryo without the need of an ovum.
8. the word is spelt kenderi by Gimlette.
9. Gimlette, p. 75, mentions six kenderi of money and a bees-wax candle suspended in a ratan swing from the canopy or wall of the room. These offerings were the pengeras guru, an honorarium for the chief performer, the To'Bomor peteri.
10. Gimlette says that it was a hollow-ended instrument, that was used in the performance he saw, and calls it a drum, but its player was called orang palu redap.
11. p. 78
12. the fact that the mindok was allowed to wear this royal colour indicated the respect in which he was held .
13. p. 79
14. the whole of this prayer, The Sacrificial Prayer of the To'Bomor Peteri is given in Malay in Malay Poisons and Charm Cures, Appendix I, pp. 274-5 and in an English translation pp. 79-81.
15. the whole of this Introductory Song of the To'Mindok is also given in Malay in Malay Poisons and Charm Cures, Appendix I. pp. 275-8, and in an English translation pp. 82-84 .

16. op. cit., p. 100, illustrated in Plates I, II and III
17. Pt. II. fig A & B .
18. Pt III. fig C.
19. Pt. III. fig E.
20. Pt. II. fig D.
21. Pt. III. fig A. & B.
- 22 Pt. II fig E .
23. Pt. II .f ig C.
- 24, Pt. I. fig C.
25. Pt. III. Fig D.
- 26 .op. cit., p. 84
27. the whole of this song, The Bestirring Song of the To'Mindok is given by Gimlette in Malay, pp. 278-9 , and in an English translation, pp. 85-86.
28. Gimlette, p. 88 says that in Kelantan the bomor peteri was also called the tukang eleng or 'head shaker'
29. p. 87
30. op. cit., Pl. III, Fig F.
31. this, The Exorcism of the To'Bomor Peteri, is given in Malay by Gimlette, pp. 279-280, and in English pp. 89-90.
32. given in Malay by Gimlette, p. 280, and in English translation p. 92 .
33. ibid. p. 92
34. The Malay Magician, London, rev. 1961. pp. 59-62 .
35. S. Wavell. The Naga King's Daughter, London, 1965, pp. 111-112 .

(iv) Berhantu

1

In his Malay Sketches Swettenham describes a ceremony involving music which has some affinities with the three 'magic' dances already described, but which was called by him Ber-hantu². It took place in the house of the Sultan of Perak who was thought to be dying, and for whom, as other remedies had failed, spirit aid was sought. The four principal spirits (jin) of Perak, were the Jin ka-râja-an, the State Spirit, also known as Junjong dunia udâra, - Supporter of the Firmament; Mâia udâra, the Spirit of the Air; Mahkôta si râja Jin, The Crown of Royal Spirits, and S'tan Ali. These were the Jina âruah, Exalted Spirits, the guardians of the Sultan and the State, with whom only the Sultan could communicate. Having been summoned they refused to go away until they heard their invocations sung to their own special music³ by at least four singers whose leader must be a beduan of the royal family. The most exalted of them, the Jin ka-râja-an, was entitled to have the royal drums played by the state drummers if his presence was required. Although Muslim officials hated this 'survival of pre-Islamic darkness', they were rather guarded in their objections since it was practised by members of the highest society.

At one end of a mat sat the middle-aged woman pawang, Raja Ngah, dressed in a man's clothes - a short-sleeved jacket, trousers and a sarong with a scarf fastened round her waist. At the other end was a candle-stick with a large newly-lighted candle. Between this and Raja Ngah were several small containers of rice coloured with turmeric, parched padi, and perfumed water. An attendant sat nearby. The orchestra consisted of five or six girls who played 'native drums,

instruments with a skin stretched over one side only. . beaten usually
with the fingers'⁴.

As these instruments began to play in 'spirit language' the pawang covered her head and face with a silk cloth. After reciting the praises of a particular jin, she besought him to come from the mountains or the sea, and from underground or overhead to relieve the torments of the sultan. This invocation was accompanied by the rhythmic beating of the drums. In her right hand the pawang had a bunch of grass, daun sambau tied tightly together and cut square at the top and bottom. She held this châdak against her left breast, and by stiffening her muscles shook it, together with her whole body.

Everyone's eyes were now on the candle. At first its flame remained steady, but with the increasing noise made by the musicians to attract the spirit it began to quiver and then flare up, -the sign that the jin was entering the candle. Possessed, the pawang was no longer aware of her actions. She first made obeisance to the candle and then sprinkled the floor around it with the rice and water. After this she stood up, and followed by her attendant repeated this act before every male member of the reigning house, continuing to murmur 'a string of gibberish' to the spirit. She returned to her seat. After a pause she started singing a different tune to praise another jin, and then asked him to come to the sultan's aid.

The Petrâna panchalôgam was now placed on the floor near the mat of the pawang. This was a stand about sixteen inches high, with sixteen sides in a star shape. Decorated with yellow cloth, it had a very large candle at its centre around which were the spirits favourite

delicacies, including gaily decorated rice. The sultan now sat on this stand whilst a veil was placed over his head and various vessels were put into his hands. He spread the rice around the candle, sprinkled the perfume, and with an enormous châdak of grass in his hand waited quietly for the coming of the Jin Ka-râja-au while the musicians continued to shout as loudly as possible for the spirit .

When the candle had flared up and the other rites had been performed, the sultan returned to his couch. Just before dawn he was shown to the spectators, looking to all appearances as if in a swoon. The Jin Ka-râja-an had taken possession of his body, and his mind was no longer under his own control. Gradually, however, he regained consciousness and did not die. He explained to Swettenham that he took part in this ceremony ' to please his people, and because it was a very old custom '.

1. Malay Sketches, London, 1895, pp.147-159
2. hantu: ghost; berhantu: to hold a sêance (of a sorcerer)
3. Wilkinson, 1901, spells this word biduwan (Skt. widwân) - a singer, musician, dancer. He says that in Kedah it is pronounced bedwan and adds that as well as being applied to the singers at the berhantu ceremonies, it is the name given to a dance of eight performers in costume in Penang. This dance I have not been able to trace. (In the 1959 edition it is spelt biduan)
4. rebaba berarak or redap?

4. Dances involving a state of trance
in the performers

- i. Tari Endau
- ii. Tari Labi-Labi
- iii. Kuda Kepang
- iv. The Gambor Dance
- v. Main B'rok

(i) Tari Endau

This trance dance, sometimes called Tari Tongsan, is found only in the Malay fishing village of Pianggu on the Pahang side of the Endau River. It was unknown outside the village until the Sultan of Pahang visited the area in 1934.

It involves two performers, a man and a woman and an accompanying group of instruments which varies in size. At the Pesta in 1956 this consisted of a gambos, two gendangs, two maruas, a tetawak and a violin, but it is often smaller - just a violin, a gong and any drums that are available.

With incense burning before her, the woman calls on a spirit to enter her. As the instrumentalists play she gradually goes into a trance and sings. Her male partner begins to dance and continues to do so while she remains in her trance which may last for some hours. To stop dancing would be to break the trance.

¹Wavell, who saw the dance in 1962, describes the man's movements as slow and graceful, becoming at times more dramatic and like the movements used in bersilat. When he asked the name of the spirit who had entered the woman no-one could tell him.

1. The Naga King's Daughter, p.72

(ii) Tari Labi-Labi

Another trance dance from Pahang gets its name from the small soft -shelled turtle, labi-labi. This dance is also peculiar to the Malays of the Endau region and is becoming increasingly rare.

In it the dancer imitates the movements of the turtle, a regular visitor to the Endau coast. Gradually he enters a state of trance but continues dancing until overcome with exhaustion. Originally the dance was performed by men only - this is no longer so.

A dancer from Pianggu gave the following description of his
¹
 own performance to Wavell :-

I go into a trance... The spirit of the turtle enters into me and I become like a turtle. My neck goes in; my mouth goes out. My body humps down, and my hands stay close to my body and are relaxed. That is all. We dance for hours, and if we do not come out of the trance, my friends throw a cloth over me and then we stop.

When asked why he performed the dance, he replied ' Out of respect for the river turtle '.

1. The Naga King's Daughter, p.72

(iii) Kuda Kepang

A dance involving the trance state which is still regularly performed is known as kuda kepang. This is very popular in Johore, particularly in the Javanese kampongs in the area around Batu Pahat, but is also performed at local and national festivals, and at public functions for entertainment purposes. It was described in the Pesta programme as 'more of a game than a dance, patterned on the impressive appearance of Arab Warriors on horseback'. Nevertheless, it does contain dance features, and it has not been possible to confirm its origins in the Middle East, although there is an athletic game in Turkey in which stuffed horses are involved and men hurl sticks at each other to the accompaniment of the shawm and bass drum. Its name is Javanese², the instruments accompanying it all have Indonesian associations, and in West Malaysia it is largely performed by the descendants of Javanese immigrants.

The instrumental combination accompanying it always has drums, gongs and angklung as its basis, and varies in size. At a performance at Kampong Parit Botak, near Rengit in Johore, on 1st September, 1962, it consisted of a large gendang³ played by the hands, a smaller gendang struck with a beater, two small gongs (mong)⁴ resting on pieces of rope in a home-made wooden frame, a small hanging gong, a large hanging gong and two angklung.

The dance involves an odd number of performers, the maximum complement being variously given as nine and eleven. Very occasionally it is performed by one person only. The horses carried by the dancers

are usually made of a thin ply wood, although the name kebang suggests that they were originally of bamboo, and on this wood the whole horse, with all four legs, is painted. At Kampong Parit Botak a thin silver outline was painted around the underside of the horse's body and its legs, and coloured material with decorative hangings was stuck over the outline of its head and the upper side of its body.

The kuda kebang performances are basically similar throughout Johore. The one I saw took place on a marked football pitch, at one end of which the instrumentalists were seated under an atap shelter. These played a short overture based on a very simple melodic pattern before the five horsemen appeared in white shirts and shorts with a coloured stripe down the side of the shorts matching the bands of colour on their long socks. They lined up behind each other holding their horses under their right arms against their sides. At first the only movement came from their left legs - a bend-stretch type of movement. Next they straddled their horses and began to move, first in two parallel lines, with two horsemen in one line and three in the other, and then in a circle. After they had galloped around for a while, with their steps bearing little resemblance to those of a horse, the bomor came forward and lashed his whip fiercely on the ground. Soon the trance state began to appear in the youngest of the performers, a boy of about ⁵thirteen. His leg and foot movements now changed from those of a simple figure dance to those of a horse. Although he showed little awareness of his surroundings, he exactly imitated a series of movements performed near him by the bomor. Gradually the trance state was apparent in all

the performers who began to leave the patch of ground on which they were performing and gallop about indiscriminately. One jumped over a bench, another leapt onto the roof of a car standing on the nearby track and others rushed towards bushes to nibble the leaves and flowers in the manner of horses.⁶

All of them were attracted to the instruments, and particularly to the large gendang at which they occasionally jumped so violently that the drummer received several heavy blows from their horses. Their clothes grew increasingly dirty as they rolled in the dust and crashed through the surrounding trees. From time to time they stared upwards as they moved around.⁷

When a performer was summoned by the bomor with various hand movements⁸, he fell back struggling into the arms of several men waiting nearby, and often continued to struggle on the ground before returning to a state of normality. Coming out of his trance he went straight to a glass of liquid that had been blessed by the bomor, and drank it or just rinsed out his mouth with it. As he left the performance area his horse was taken from him and hung on the atap shelter. For two performers the lure of the phrase repeated hypnotically by the instruments proved too great, and they returned to demand their horses back in order to start again. One of them, on being refused, began to rush around in a frenzied manner. He tore a heavy wooden stake from the ground, pulled up a young banana tree, ran up the trunk of a sloping palm tree with no apparent difficulty, and hurled down coconuts, one of which he tore open with his teeth. All these actions demanded unusual strength as did the series of rolls and cart-wheels with which he rounded off his wild performance.

As long as a person remained in a trance the instrumentalists continued to play: it was believed that stopping would not only render the dancer dangerous, but might bring on a form of madness in him. The performance had lasted for nearly an hour when the gendang player who had been playing non-stop handed over his duties to another person. The remaining dancer who immediately seemed to recognise a difference in the style of playing, began to look menacingly at the new drummer and attempted to molest him. The bomor did all possible to bring him out of his trance, but a considerable time elapsed before the shaking of his head indicated that this was beginning—followed by complete exhaustion.

The performers, who were all Muslims, agreed that kuda kepong would be frowned upon by the Imam, not because he denied the existence of spirits, but because he objected to Muslims dabbling with evil spirits, as those connected with this dance were considered to be. After the bomor had confirmed that kuda kepong owes its popularity in West Malaysia to the Javanese immigrants, he gave the following fanciful account of its origin and of the angklong:

Once upon a time there lived nine princesses in an old Javanese kingdom. One fine day they all went hunting in the jungle, and eventually came face to face with a ferocious lion. At first they managed to fight him off, but he was skilful in attack, and finally they were obliged to escape from him in all directions.

Only six of them managed to get out of the jungle safe and unhurt. The other three lost their direction and roamed through the thick jungle until they reached the foot of a high mountain. They made their way to its summit and as they were resting there beside a clump of bamboos, a figure loomed up in front of them. They could hardly believe their eyes as this figure took the shape of a beautiful princess riding on a white stallion. She told them they must be mad to roam about in a jungle which was infested with wild beasts, but when she heard their sad story she took pity on them.

This princess had come down from heaven just at the right moment. She advised them not to ride real hunting horses since these were great enemies of the lions, and on her instructions they made themselves horses by weaving together cut bamboos. They also armed themselves with a piece of bamboo, so that, by hitting the bamboos together they could frighten away the wild beasts. To their surprise this produced musical sounds. They were enchanted by these, and in a trance were carried back to their kampong by the princess. When they landed they came out of their trance, and the princess who had rescued them flew back to her own kingdom.

The appearance of a hobby horse in West Malaysia is an interesting phenomenon, for the only horses in the peninsula are those imported for racing and polo, both of which sports affect a comparatively small number of people, and both of which became popular after the arrival of the Javanese immigrants at the turn of the century. But the Indonesian island of Sumba is famous for its herds of horses. There they have entered the local culture so firmly that people on ceremonial occasions and for dances often decorate themselves with horsetails and perform stamping movements punctuated with a sort of whinnying shout. Perhaps it was from that area that the basic ideas of kuda kepang spread to Java and then into West Malaysia, although the two following descriptions of Javanese dances involving a horse, show that they differ in detail from that of the Malay peninsula as well as from each other.

9

The first performance described by R. Lewis involved two boys, a few musicians including the gendang player and the 'leader' :

After a sufficiently large crowd collected, the leader would snap his long bull-whip and the dance would begin. One little boy, riding a narrow cardboard horse, which he put between his legs like a broom stick, would shake a rope of plaited hair in the face of the other child who was also mounted on a cardboard steed. The dancer with the rope of hair, which resembled a horse's tail, would pursue the other child, never letting him get away, and constantly shaking the horse's tail in front of his eyes. The combination of the movement of the rope of hair, the music and the crack of the whip would send the second dancer into a trance.

Prancing and neighing he would then become a horse. He would go down on his hands and knees and walk, gallop and trot. He would eat grass, drink water from a trough and respond to the whip in the same manner as a real horse. As the music grew louder and faster he became more frenzied, and only after the music ended was the leader able to bring the child out of the trance.

10

The second performance, described by Kunst at Chimahi, also involved two dancers - this time men, and a 'leader'. The instrumental group was composed of terbangs, 'drums' and a tarompét. The horses called kuda lumping were made of oval hoops into which the men, each with a white cloth tied across his forehead, fitted themselves. To each of these hoops was attached a horse's head and a tail, both made of leather. The leader placed himself between the horsemen and held them by their hoops:

The drums persist in their rhythm; their ever more penetrating sound becomes an obsession; the tarompét yells like mad; we sense a growing tension in the atmosphere. But the horsemen, contained by their companion, still stand there motionless, hold their hoop-horses stiffly pressed against their bodies; and stare fixedly, with vacant eyes, straight in front of them. And then, all of a sudden, with such startling rapidity as to be inconceivable the situation changes: the horsemen break loose, foaming at the mouth and with rolling eye-balls; they fling themselves on the ground, weltering around and round, and moaning and groaning as if in agony. The crowd surrounding them grows uneasy and looks with tense expectation: several of the men rush forward and try to restrain the two crazy ones. Then the leader removes the white cloth from the head of the dancers, who are still wringing themselves, to the rhythm of the music, in the grip of the bystanders blows into their nostrils and passes his fingers through their tousled long black hair and over their wild eyes. At first without apparent result; but after some minutes a noticeable relaxation and enervation sets in, and at last they are induced to sit down. The limbs still tremble and shake convulsively now and then; with bowed and open mouths they gradually return to consciousness and reality.

In both these Javanese performances the frenzied behaviour of the horsemen and the depth of their trance recall the Johore performance, although in the first of them it was after the music had stopped that the

child was brought back to consciousness by the bomor.

14

Another kuda kepang performance described by Kunst and called by him réog was of a rather different type. It took place in Central Java, north of Jogya, in 1931, and involved two knights, Bagénda Ali, seated on his bamboo horse Mégâ (White Cloud) and Bagénda Amir, riding his horse Mendung (Black Cloud), each accompanied by a master-of-arms called a Mistir, a panakawan (one with a white mask, called Pentul, the other, with a black mask, called Tembem, both of whom occasionally sang) - and a whole crowd of punggawas. After an introductory dance which everyone joined, the two Mistirs fought, then their masters did likewise. The combat which never reached a decisive conclusion, was accompanied by three small gongs - penitir, panengah and gong - a dogdog, a kechèr, and a short, thick type of suling with three holes. Kunst describes the music as 'hauntingly monotonous, and rigidly rhythmical'.

15

A dance seen by Wells at Laburan (Sabah) has some features of the kuda kepang of West Malaysia, but insufficient details are available to make a valid comparison:

Something else we saw at Labuan, but only once was the Javanese horse-dance. Several dancers straddled woven cane 'hobby-horses' and danced themselves into something of a frenzy, exhorted by another dancer masked to represent an orang-utan.

Wells adds that the dance could sometimes be seen at the weekly market - suggesting that it was not a unique occurrence.

Kuda Kepang

1. 1956
2. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol, I . p. 284. Fn. 1., kuda- horse; kepeng - basket work from strips of bamboo. Kuda is high Javanese for horse, the low Javanese is jaran, and the performance is known in some areas as jaran képeng.
3. the instrumentalists called this small gendang -tepong (pronounced taypong) . I have not been able to discover the origin of this name, which is found nowhere else in the peninsula. There is a barrel drum of Thailand called tapone, but there seems no reason to expect Thai influence in this Javanese performance
4. called by the performers tempong . The Malay word tempong means i) throwing at a mark, ii) pushing off at right angles, or pushing off a boat from a bank; neither meaning has any apparent connection with either the instrument or the method of playing it.
5. all the members of this team were young, the eldest being in his middle twenties. The youngest had been trained since he was twelve, the age at which dancers in this team were selected by the bomor for training.
6. I had been warned not to carry the white flower , chempala , for it is believed that if a horseman eats this whilst in a trance he will go mad
7. see the reference to the sky from which the princess descended in the fanciful story of the origin of the dance.
8. reminiscent of the hand movements used in bersilat.
9. Indonesia, Troubled Paradise, Robert Hale, London, 1962, p. 60
10. Music in Java, Vol I. p. 286
11. as Kunst calls this performance a réog it is likely that these drums were réog, a name used in East Java for drums which occur in various sizes with nailed heads.
12. a conically bored type of oboe with a double reed, used in the Sunda districts of West Java.
13. lumping: leather. In the Sunda districts the performance is known as kuda lumping .
14. p. 285
15. G. Wells, ' You don't have to climb Kinabalu' S. T. A., 1970, p. 111

(iv) The Gambor Dance

A trance dance known in the peninsula at the end of last century and described by Skeat¹ was the 'Gambor Dance' or 'Gambor Play'. This was customarily performed by a girl just entering womanhood. She wore a coat and sarong with a yellow sash around her waist, an elaborate head-dress on her head, and crescent-shaped pendants (dokoh) on her breast. She carried a fan. The only other essential piece of equipment was known as the 'pleasure garden' (taman bunga). This was represented by a large water-jug containing a bunch of long sprays from the ends of which hung artificial flowers, fruit and birds, the whole construction being designed to attract the gambor spirit (hantu gambor).

The dancer lay down covered with a sheet, whilst incense was burnt, rice sprinkled, and the invocation to the spirit² was chanted by a woman accompanied on 'tambourines'. If all went well the charm began to work before the chant ended, and the dance caused by the coming of the spirit then commenced. At the end of the dance the spirit was exorcised and sent back to its own region. Unfortunately Skeat gives no details of the music of the chant, or the movements used.

The invocations at both the beginning and end of this performance consisted of poems from the Panji cycle of stories.³

In the Skeat Collection at Cambridge there is a model of a Gambor dance. It is described in the catalogue (No. 717) as 'a

dance, now extinct, that used to be performed by girls after a Raja's wedding '. The only other details supplied are as follows:-

A certain invocation was used so that the performers might be possessed by the spirit, and the feats the girls performed during their dances seem to point to them having been placed under some hypnotic spell .

There is insufficient evidence here to indicate whether the two dances both called Gambor by Skeat are identical or just have a common origin.

1. Malay Magic, pp. 464-5
2. rebana berarak or redap?
3. part of these invocations are included in Malay Magic, as Appendix ccxvii, p. 646

(v) Main B'rok

Another dance described by Skeat and no longer performed¹ was the monkey dance - main b'rok², in which the monkey spirit was induced to enter a girl about ten years old. She was first rocked in a Malay baby's swinging cot (buayan), and fed with areca nut and salt. When she seemed to be sufficiently in a trance an invitation to the monkey spirit was chanted to the accompaniment of a 'tambourine'.³ At the end of this chant the girl began to perform a dance involving feats of climbing which would have been quite impossible had she not been 'possessed'. To bring her back from the trance to normality she was called by her name. If that failed, she was bathed all over with coconut milk.

No music of the chant or steps of the dance are given by Skeat.

1. Malay Magic, p. 465

2. berok (b'rok), the pig-tailed monkey. Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan, pp. 60 and 119, notes that the Thai Ceremonial dance to call down spirits, len phi chap, is known by the Malays as main perok, but points out that Skeat gives insufficient detail for a comparison to be made between this and permainan berok (main b'rok). One common feature is that they are both performed by female dancers - in the Malay dance, a girl; in the Thai, a lady.

3. rebana, berarak or redap?

5. "Performances" involving the entry of spirits into inanimate objects.

- (i) Olek (Oleh) Mayang
- (ii) The Palm-Blossom Dance
- (iii) The Dancing Fish-Trap (Main Lukah)

(i) Olek (Oleh) Mayang

Another Malay performance involving spirit possession and introducing natural vegetation, this time an areca-nut shoot, is Olek (Oleh) Mayang¹. It is found in one place only, the small fishing kampong of Beserah in Pahang. Not more than fifteen male villagers are allowed to participate in it, and from an early age boys are selected for training and taught how to return to normality after their trance state. At a performance I attended on 5th August, 1962, the penghulu told me that it must take place on the sands or on a patch of sand, and that the areca-nut shoot must be newly cut. Although olek mayang is usually referred to as a 'dance' there was little to warrant such a description.

One of the male villagers took his position in the middle of a circle of other men squatting on a sandy patch at the edge of the kampong. The penghulu who was in charge of proceedings, began singing in a colourless voice, and gradually the rest of the group joined in, monotonously repeating the following chant:²

Solo Male Voice

Handwritten musical notation for Solo Male Voice, consisting of seven staves of music in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. A handwritten annotation "other voices join soloist" with an arrow points to the second staff. Above the fourth staff is a bracket labeled "A", and above the fifth staff is a bracket labeled "B". Above the sixth staff is a bracket labeled "A", and above the seventh staff is a bracket labeled "B".

1a' was followed by six repetitions of A A B B: the singing broke off during the seventh A A B

After a while the shoot began to quiver. The man holding it raised it above his head, and then waved it around, as if compelled by the shoot itself. Standing up, he brought it back in front of his face, and then returned to his sitting position. Again he stood up. As he began to enter a trance state, one of the other men in the circle moved to him and snatched the shoot which was now shaking more vigorously. This second man also alternated his position between standing and squatting. Staggering about, he passed the shoot to a third man who had moved into the centre to receive it, and who, after a certain amount of struggle with the second person, fell to the ground. For a while he remained quite stiff, but then began to struggle again and stumbled wildly around the circle until other men grabbed him and tried to calm him. The shoot was taken from his hands and passed from one man to another in a similar way until the chanting had finished - not necessarily until all the men had received the shoot.

It was considered essential for a bomor - in this case, the penghulu, to be present to stop the situation from getting out of control: essential, too, for no trace of the shoot to be left on the hand of the men who had been holding it. Such a trace, it was believed, might cause a loss of reason.

Malay tradition maintains that Olek Mayang was taken to Beserah in 1924 by fishermen from Trengganu. Wavell has suggested that it might possibly be a survival of the Siva cult, its 'sanctified eroticism' connecting it with the worship of Sakti. If this were so, the areca-nut shoot would represent the phallus, and its quivering

movement could be expected to stimulate sexual feelings amongst all present:

To the chanting of magic charms and spells and a recital of the visual splendours of the seven princesses dancing inside the ritual circle, the flowered phallus would be agitated before the presence of the naked goddess to a hypnotic climax. The devotees would rush forward to touch the divine flower and become themselves imbued with the fervent desire for union with the Supreme Being. 6.

1. Oleh(uleh)mayang: 'through the medium of the areca-nut blossom'. Mayang is defined by Wilkinson(1959) as 'the young spikelet of the blossom that the sheath or wrapper (seludang) pushes out'. The orang gebiah also had natural vegetation in her hand during her trance.
2. Wavell, The Naga King's Daughter, p. 66, says that this chant was a mixture of invocation and a story about seven princesses, the youngest of whom quarrelled and climbed to the top of the areca-nut tree where she hid herself in the areca-nut flower, refusing to come down.
3. Wavell, ibid., suggests that the excitation of the person in the trance was transferred to the flower which then contained the areca-nut spirit and became alive. Whoever touched it was brought under the spirit's influence. When he asked the name of the spirit concerned, he was only told that it was a good spirit.
4. ibid.
5. R. O. Winstedt, The Malays: A Cultural History, London, 1961, p. 27, says that a rite for 'cleansing' Kelantan where a magician, male or female, took the part of Siva's Sakti, was a survival of a Tantric orgy where union with the divine was effected through a nude woman worshipped as a goddess. He suggests that it recalls the human sacrifices in Trengganu in 1349 to Kali or Siva's consort as the Hindu goddess of death. The mention of Trengganu is a reminder of the tradition that it was from that state that Olek Mayang was taken to Beserah.
6. Wavell, op. cit., p. 66

(ii) The Palm-Blossom Dance

A performance involving the palm-blossom was witnessed by Skeat¹ in the Langat District of Selangor. Two freshly-gathered sheaves of areca-palm blossom, several feet long were placed on a new mat near a tray holding a censer and three kinds of sacrificial rice. 'Che Ganti, the 'magician', began the performance by playing a prelude on his 'violin'². Then his wife, taking some rice in her hand, started to chant the invocation.³ She was soon joined by a younger woman, and at the words ' Thus I brace up, I brace up the Palm-blossom ' ('ku angg⁴it mayang. 'ku angg⁴it), their voices began to rise 'higher and higher' until they reached the seventh verse. The older woman then covered the sheaves of palm-blossom with a sarong and five cubits of white cloth, folded double, both of which had first been passed over the incense. After seven more verses beginning ' Borrow the hammer, borrow the anvil' , one of the sheaves on which rice had been thrown was opened up and its contents fumigated. The older woman then took this sheaf between her hands, and began the chant again with the third septet of verses ' Dig up, dig up, the wild ginger plant ', as the erect palm-blossom swayed from side to side in time to the music. Finally the 'violin' stopped, and its place was taken by the 'tambourines'. The sheaf now began to jump about on its stalk as if possessed, and eventually dashed itself to the ground. After a few repetitions of this performance other spectators were invited to try it. They did so with varying degrees of success, depending, Skeat was told, upon the 'impressionability of their souls', as the palm-leaf would not dance for anyone whose soul

was not impressionable (lemah semangat).

When the first sheaf had been destroyed , the second was fumigated and introduced to the spectators. The performance ended with the chanting of verses which asked the spirit to return to its own place. Both sheaves were then carried with due respect from the house and laid on the ground beneath a banana tree.

1. Malay Magic. p. 466
2. this was probably a rebab . The rebab is often loosely referred to as the Malay 'violin'.
3. the complete invocation, Main Mayang, is given in Malay Magic , p. 647
4. presumably in pitch.

(iii) The Dancing Fish-Trap -Main Lukah

Another performance - The Dancing Fish-trap (main lukah)
¹
 witnessed by Skeat has obvious similarities to the Palm-Blossom
 Dance. A fish-trap (lukah)² was substituted for the sheaf of palm-blossom
 and a different invocation was used . The fish-trap was dressed like a
 scare-crow in a woman's coat and sarong with a stick stuck through it
 to serve as arms. Its head was a sterile coconut shell (tempurong jantan).

The invocation was then chanted in the same way and with the
 same accompanying instruments as for the Palm-Blossom Dance. When
 this was finished the magician whispered into the fish-trap's ear,
 asking it not to disgrace him, but to rise and dance. Presently the fish-
 trap commenced to rock to and fro, and then to leap about in a way
 that proved it was possessed by spirits.

1. Malay Magic. p. 468

2. two different versions of the invocation, Main Lukah, are given in
Malay Magic, pp.648-9

6. Traditional Dances (and other performances involving movement accompanied by instruments).

(i) Ronggeng

(ii) Joget

(iii) Tari Selendang, Tari Saputong, Tari Payong,
Tari Piring, Tari Sabong

(iv) Zapin

(v) Changgong, Ayam Didek

(vi) The Henna Dance (Menari Hinei)

(vii) Asek (Tari Ashek)

(viii) Rodat

(ix) Hadrah (Hathrah)

(x) Main Dabus

(xi) Bergayong Ota Ota

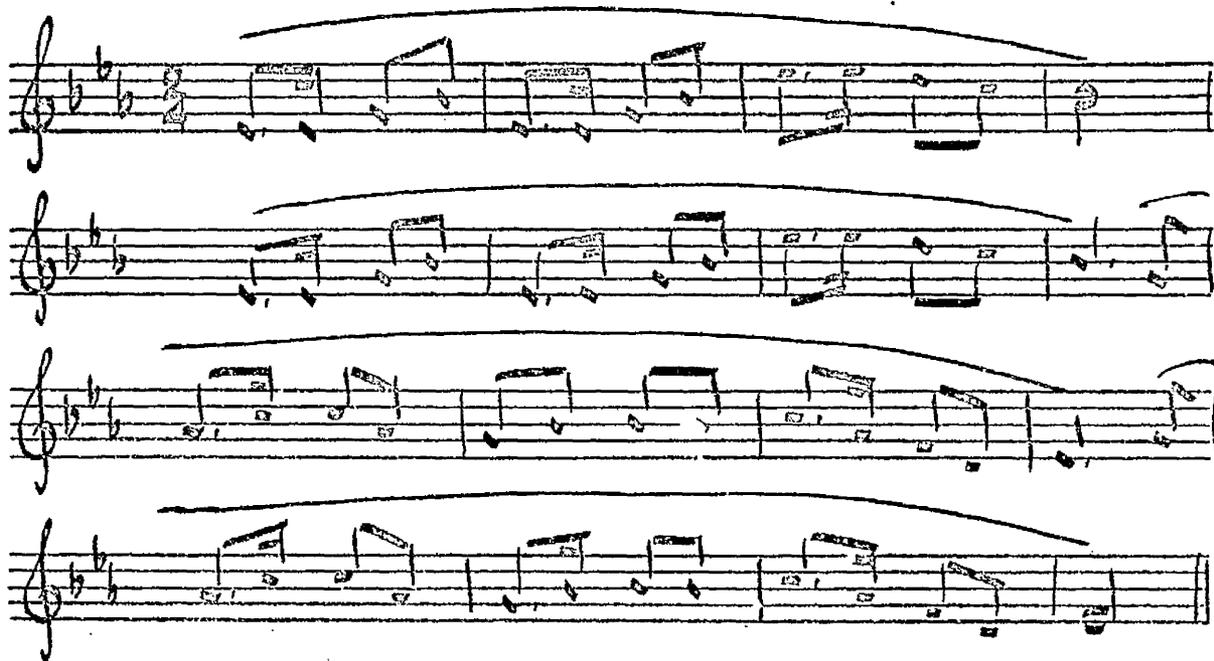
(xii) Bersilat

(i) Ronggeng

Perhaps the most popular communal dance in West Malaysia is the ronggeng. Like many other Malay dances it probably began its existence in the courts of the rulers where it was performed by highly trained dancers; but it has since spread to the amusement parks, dance halls, kampongs and other places where local or national celebrations are held.

Two lines of dancers, one of each sex, participate, with the male encouraging his partner to follow every movement of his arms, legs and body, and respond to his varying mood. No physical contact is allowed but as there are no set steps there is plenty of opportunity for individual initiative and imaginative movements. With the increase in tempo and excitement near the end of the dance the performers use a type of cross-kick step as they spring from the ground² . Malm³ points out that the movement in the dance is primarily in the feet and torso, and in delicate hand gestures derived, he suggests, from classical dance traditions.

Ronggeng was once accompanied by a flute and drum only, but nowadays the violin is usually substituted for the flute, and a small Western-type orchestra often accompanies the dance in the amusement parks and dance halls. To the instruments is sometimes added a solo voice. A characteristic rhythmic group in many ronggeng tunes is the dotted quaver and semiquaver that is a feature of 'Jingli' (or Jinkli) Nona, one of the oldest and most popular of ronggeng tunes.



This is a song with strong Portuguese associations still sung in Eurasian homes in Malacca ⁴, and it use, with other Portuguese songs, for ronggeng supports the belief that ronggeng is based on an old folk dance from Portugal and dates from the coming of the first invaders from that country to the peninsula.

Another theory suggests that ronggeng was take to the peninsula from Java, where both the dances and dancing girls were called ronggèngs. ⁵ There, the performance involved both singing and dancing. The ronggèng dogèr of the Tasik district of Java is described by Kunst as a 'dance with great sexual excitement':

.....To the accompaniment of the ordinary ketuk tilu orchestra, a number of ronggèngs sing songs with an erotic flavour.... When the spectators are sufficiently keyed up the ronggèngs throw a handkerchief at the man of their choice, which means an invitation to join them in the dance. After this the dance changes to a common tayuban or nayuban of a more or less sensual nature. ⁷

Ronggeng

1. Mak Inang (Enang), a form of ronggeng was originally performed only by specially selected female dancers at the court.
2. Kirkup, Tropic Temper, p.164, suggests that these steps have a folk-dance origin, which could be aboriginal Malay, Javanese, Portuguese or Dutch.
3. W.P.Malm, Music Cultures of the Pacific, the Near East and Asia, New Jersey, 1967, p.100
4. S.Durai Raja Singam, 'Jingli Nona', S. T. A. 1966, p. 48, compares the opening words of this song with those of a Portuguese song from Ceylon in a Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1894:

Jingli nona, jugli Nona
Eo karay kaza.....

Cingalee Nona, Cingalee-Nona,
Eu kere kasa.....

Singam says that the word 'nona' is used in Java as the equivalent of Miss for Indonesian, Eurasian and European girls. Wilkinson (1959) acknowledging it as a Javanese word, gives its meaning as 'unmarried European or Chinese girl. Used of Portuguese unmarried ladies. Formerly a polite name for the recognised native mistress of a European

5. Wilkinson(1959) defines ronggeng as a dancing girl. He says that it is often used generally for any professional dancing-girls, but that it is also specific for girls who sing and dance in pairs in contradistinction to joget-girls who dance in pairs but do not sing.
6. Music in Java, Vol I. p. 381
7. Kunst, ibid., p. 301, quotes R .M. Jayadipura as listing the tayub as one of the four kinds of jogèd-a link between ronggeng and joget. The association of ronggeng with joget is again seen in the Introduction to Songs of Malaya (issued by the Federation of Malay Information Services in collaboration with the Department of Broadcasting, June 1961, which talks about the gay and lilting Ronggeng rhythm being sometimes known as the 'Serampang' or 'Joget'.

(ii) Joget

Nowadays the word joget is used in a variety of ways - for the runggeng dance or dances based on it, for the music to which the runggeng¹ is performed, and sometimes for the place where it is danced.² Even more loosely it is used to describe almost any popular dance.³ Wilkinson (1901), calling it a Javanese word, defines it as a 'dancing girl, a name given to Malay dancing girls who dance either in pairs or one at a time'. In the 1959 edition a note adds that it is common for one of the two girls to step aside and for a male spectator to take her place. His steps must be copied exactly by the remaining girl.

⁴ Swettenham has left us a description of dances of this name which were different from those described by Wilkinson and which had tenuous links with the trance dances. They were peculiar to the Pahang court where it was the custom for the ruler and some of his near relatives to keep trained dancing girls, bûdak joget. The dances described below were performed at the Sultan's palace in 1875.

The dancers were four young girls, two about eighteen and two about eleven years old, all 'gorgeously and picturesquely clothed'. On their heads they wore an elaborate and delicately made head-dress fixed by twisted cords of silver and gold, and with golden flowers trembling and glittering as they moved. Bands of fine cambric in a V-shape around their bare necks were fastened to their bodies by a golden flower, and round their waists were belts with a large golden buckle - pinding⁵. The rest of their costume consisted of an ankle-

length skirt of cloth of gold, and a scarf of the same material attached to the waist-buckle and hanging down to the hem of the skirt. The elder girls wore white silk bodices with a red and gold handkerchief folded cornerwise tied under their arms and knotted in front, with its point hanging at the middle of their back. The dress of the younger girls was of one material only. On their bare arms were gold bangles, on their fingers diamond rings, and in their ears, diamond buttons. They danced with bare feet.

They were accompanied by a small instrumental ensemble. There were two chief instrumentalists, one playing a chelempong, described by Swettenham as 'a sort of harmonicon' - with a piece of wood held in each hand, the other striking a gambang - 'inverted metal bowls', with similar pieces of wood. Subsidiary instrumentalists were a small boy who beat a 'gigantic' gong with a large thick stick, an old woman beating a drum with two sticks, and several other boys playing chanang.⁶ Swettenham says his attention was specially called to this orchestra, as its instruments were seldom seen in the Malay peninsula.

During the introductory music the dancers sat on the floor leaning forward and hiding their faces behind fans of crimson and gilt paper, but when the music changed to a regular rhythm for dancing, they dropped their fans, raised their hands in a sembah and began to sway their bodies and raise their hands slowly in graceful movements, making effective use of the scarf hanging from their belts:

Gradually raising themselves from a sitting to a kneeling posture, acting in perfect accord in every motion, then rising to their feet, they floated through a series of figures hardly to be exceeded in grace and difficulty, considering that the movements are essentially slow, the arms, hands and body being the real performers, whilst the feet are scarcely noticed and for half the time not visible. 7

They danced five or six dances, each lasting half an hour, with different figures and accompanying tunes, none of which are given by Swettenham. Their dances were symbolic - e. g. of agriculture, with the tilling of the soil, the sowing of the seed, the reaping and winnowing of the grain. From time to time their attendants handed them various objects to use in the dance - a fan or mirror, a flower or small vessel. More often their hands remained empty so that they could make full use of their fingers.

8

In the last dance which symbolised war, the tempo of the music became quicker and their movements freer. During the latter part of this dance they carried rods representing swords bound with three rings of burnished gold. The dance gradually developed into a wild revel until the dancers were either possessed by the spirit of dancing (hantu mēnari), or pretended to be. They left the hall to smear their fingers and faces with fragrant oil, and when they returned the symbolic fighting of the two eldest changed into reality, so that they had to be caught by four or five other women and carried forcibly from the hall, striking out with their 'magic wands' as they went. Swettenham added that the two younger girls who looked as if they, too, would like to be possessed but did not know how to accomplish this, were easily caught and removed.

What happened over the years to these dances and the gamelan-type instruments that accompanied them was known only to the people immediately concerned with the joget tradition. There is a picture of a Malay 'gamâlan' in Swettenham's 'British Malaya' (opposite p.168), but no indication in the text of its origin, purpose or whereabouts, and in 1962 I failed to discover any information about its existence. Then in 1967, Mubin Sheppard, visiting the Istana Kolam in Trengganu to look for examples of wood-carving, discovered, quite by chance, a set of gamalan instruments together with their players and two pre-war court dancers. The story of their history told to him by Ampuan Mariam, the owner of the joget-gamalan, forms a direct link between them and the joget seen by Swettenham, and still further back, with the Malay empire of Riau-Lingga.

In 1811 Sultan Abdul Rahman of Lingga gave his eldest son, Tengku Hussein, in marriage to Wan Esah, the sister of Bendahara Wan Ali of Pahang, intending that Tengku Hussein should succeed him in Lingga. At the wedding celebrations in Pekan elaborate court dances known as joget were accompanied by an ensemble of the gongs and xylophones found only at the Malay courts of Pahang and Lingga. This was the joget-gamalan.

These instruments and dancers were inherited by Bendahara Wan Ali's son, Wan Ahmad, who showed such a keen interest in the Joget Pahang that he had three groups of four dancers trained by his three wives, Tengku Ampuan Fatimah, Che Besar and Che Zubedah. Similar instruments and dancers were kept at Penyengat, the capital of Lingga throughout the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, but with the abdication of the last Sultan of Riau-Lingga in 1912, and the

death of Sultan Ahmad of Pahang in 1914, it looked as if this type of Malay entertainment would end.

Fortunately the highly specialised skill of the dancers and musicians was rescued from extinction by Tengku Mariam, the young daughter of Sultan Ahmad and Che Zubedah. Tengku Mariam had married Sulaiman, the son of Sultan Zainal Abidin of Trengganu in 1913, and after her father's death she borrowed the dancers and instruments from Pekan and took them to Kuala Trengganu. There she helped to train four Trengganu girls to dance, while Tengku Sulaiman chose men from the state to learn how to play the gamalan music .

On his succession to the throne in 1920 Tengku Sulaiman installed a Trengganu joget-gamalan at the Maziah palace, and this became the favourite entertainment of both the royal household and their guests. ¹¹ Later a new set of instruments was made - the xylophones in Trengganu and the gongs in Bali, the original instruments being returned to Pahang.

According to Sheppard, the dances which Tengku Ampuan Mariam preserved were very similar to those described by Swettenham. Few changes had been made to the dresses, although a short-sleeved blouse replaced the scantier upper garment, and white stockings covered the feet. The 'flower garden head-dresses' which Swettenham had no opportunity to examine were made up of three sections: a gold chaplet (gandek), a flowered cap covering the back of the head (gerak gempu) and a small bunch of gold flowers standing upright above the crown of the head.

Swettenham quoted the Raja as saying that when one of the older girls became 'properly possessed' she lived for months on nothing but flowers. This he dismissed as 'a poetic and pretty conceit', but Sheppard confirmed that this was not altogether so:

Once a girl had fallen into a trance she could climb a bringin tree in the palace garden and posture on a branch high above the ground without any risk of falling. Although she could be coaxed down, the trance might last for several nights, during which the girl would only eat flowers, particularly jasmine (melor) parched rice and an occasional egg .

Not all the girls could achieve this state but Che Adnan, the leading Trengganu dancer before the Second World War, often 'forgot' - the word commonly used for the trance state - without any subsequent ill effects.

With the Japanese invasion in 1942, and the death soon afterwards of Sultan Sulaiman, Dowager Tengku Ampuan Mariam moved the gamalan which was then her property, to her private residence, Istana Kolam. It was there that it was found by Sheppard who persuaded the Dowageress to revive both the dances and the music.

The present joget-gamalan consists of ten instruments:

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 large xylophone (<u>gambang</u>) | twenty narrow slats of wood arranged side by side on a rectangular wooden frame. |
| 2 smaller xylophone (<u>sarun</u>)
(one slightly larger than the other) | six narrow brass strips (slats). This carries the basic melody which is elaborated on the <u>gambang</u> and on the <u>keromong</u> . |
| 1 <u>keromong</u> | ten medium-sized brass gongs which rest with their bosses upwards in two rows on taut string attached to a rectangular wooden frame. 12 |
| 3 <u>kenong</u> | a larger gong than those of the <u>keromong</u> resting on taut string in a rectangular frame with its boss facing upwards. |

- 1 gendang a double membrane Malay drum.
 2 large hanging gongs

Of these instruments only the gendang is regularly used in Malay instrumental ensembles, although hanging gongs are also common, often in a rather crude form. The other instruments are members of the Indonesian gamelan, where the keromong is known as bonang.

The present Trengganu gamalan differs slightly from the one in the illustration from Swettenham's 'British Malaya'. That has more instruments:-

- 1 gambang, 2 keromong, 5 sarun, 1 kenong and 1 ketuk, 2 hanging gongs, 1 violin and 2 gendang.

It also contains two instruments not in the Trengganu ensemble - the ketuk, a small single bossed gong lying with the boss upwards on taut cord in a square frame, and a violin. Could this possibly have been the original set of instruments at Pekan before the set discovered by Sheppard was made?

The instruments originally mentioned by Swettenham are identifiable but their names have become somewhat confused. Swettenham's description of the gambang as consisting of 'inverted metal bowls' suggests that the instrument to which he was referring was not the gambang but the keromong, which he called chelempong. It would also appear that the harmonicon called by the Malays chelempong, was in fact the xylophone type of instrument - the gambang.

It is not easy to discover exactly what Swettenham meant by 'harmonicon'. Galpin¹³ mentions a wooden Harmonicon known variously in earlier centuries as Strohfiedel, Regale à Bois, Xylorganum. Each of these instruments was a type of xylophone with wooden slats. There was also a glass xylophone in England during the nineteenth century called 'harmonicon'¹⁴. It seems that harmonicon is a name used for various members of the xylophone family, and so is more appropriately applied to the gambang then to the chelempong. Could the confusion in Swettenham's terminology have arisen from the fact that gembyang is one of the names given to the bonang panerus of W. Java, which does consist, like the chelempung or keromong of 'inverted metal bowls' - sets of bossed gongs placed with their open end on the taut cord of a rectangular wooden frame? The gambang used to accompany the Asek dance¹⁵ also consists of small gongs. Gembyang - gambang - gambang ?

The 'gigantic gong' of Swettenham's description was presumably a suspended gong. It is difficult to know what was meant by the 'instruments like triangles called chanang'. Chanang are similar in appearance to the gongs of the chelempung, and entirely unlike triangles in shape. In Java a triangle is called kloneng, but this is not sufficiently similar in sound to chanang to explain this confusion of names.

Swettenham suggests that the joget itself came originally from Java, basing his theory on the fact that the instruments used in the performance he saw, and the type of music they played were far more common at that time in Java and Sumatra than in the Malay peninsula. There is a dance called jogèd¹⁶ in both Java and Bali but there it takes¹⁷ on a different form.

An unexpected use of the word joget is found in connection with the wayang kulit of Kelantan. There it was used as another name for the masked dance of the dalang - permainan topeng, 'the dance (or play) of the masks'. The dalang consulted by Cuisinier considered it more 'scholarly' than main topeng, although, in fact, it is less accurate.

Joget

1. T. Stacey, The Hostile Sun, London, 1953 p. 60, Fn. 1. 'Joget is the traditional form of Malay music which European and American music has by now practically drowned'. He was actually referring to a ronggeng session at Kota Bharu.
2. J. Kirkup, Tropic Temper, London, 1963, p. 164, 'All the big amusement parks or "Worlds" in Malaya have one or more open dance halls for popular style Malay dancing, which is called ronggeng. The place where the dancing is done is called a joget'.
3. The Cambridge Expedition General Report describes joget -spelt jogek as a popular folk dance and the Pesta programme includes Ronggeng, Mak Inang, Dondang, Sayang and Changgong as 'Old Joget Dances'.
4. F. A. Swettenham, Malay Sketches, London 1907, Ch. VII, pp. 44-52
5. pinding - pending
6. the possible identity of the chelempung, gambang and chanang-is discussed later in this section.
7. F. A. Swettenham, op. cit., p. 50
8. M. Sheppard, 'Joget-Gamalan of Trengganu', STA 1969, p. 87, shows a picture of five young members of the Trengganu joget performing the Perang Geroda 'Battle with the Winged Monster' at the Istana Kolam, c. 1936. The dance lasted for about half an hour and presented a story in mime to music.
9. M. Sheppard gives fuller details in the article mentioned above, pp. 81-87. For much of the information in this section I am indebted to that article.
10. the player of the gambang, Pa 'Mat', began his apprenticeship at the Lingga court and migrated to Trengganu in 1917 in company with the silver nobat drums,
11. it is probable that it was the joget dances accompanied by this gamalan to which Cuisinier refers in Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p. 113, when she talks about the joget as being danced only at the courts of the Sultans of Pahang and Trengganu.
12. Sheppard refers to twenty such gongs, but the illustration STA, p. 85 shows ten only - five in each row. Wilkinson (1901) defines keromong as a set of twelve gongs forming part of the gamalan.
13. F. W. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, (rev. Thurston Dart) London, 1965, p. 194

14. the only reference I have been able to find to the use of this instrument is in the description given by John Curwen, the founder of the Sol-fa Movement, of his visit to Sarah Glover's Infant School in Norwich, where a chord was struck on a glass harmonicon for an eight-part canon to begin. This is contained in Curwen's Singing for Schools and Congregations, Thomas Ward & Co. London, 1843, Appendix II.
15. see Sheppard, 'Tarian Melayu,' STA 1961 pp. 45-6
16. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol I. p. 282, Fn. 1. quoting R. M. Jayadipura, gives four different kinds of jogèd - jogèd pokok (principal dance, literally: trunk or nuclear dance); j. kubahan (secondary dance, literally ornamentation); j. gandrung (love-dance), and tayub, by which the free dances are meant.
17. MacPhee, Music in Bali, p. 191, describes the jogèd as a popular dance which usually takes place at night, along the road or in the market place, and never fails to draw a crowd. The jogèd, a girl in her early teens, or perhaps younger, performs various display dances derived from the légong repertory. These are merely interludes in the main dance in which the jogèd is joined by one partner (ngibing) after another. The laughter of the crowd often covers the music as some expert ngibing draws too close to the jogèd and is expertly evaded. In some villages the performance is given by the gandrung, a boy of ten or twelve in jogèd costume. The jogèd is organised by the jogèd club primarily for village entertainment, and is accompanied by the gamelan pejogèdan.
18. Cusinier, Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan. p. 149, found no explanation why this word had been borrowed from the joget dance.

(iii) Tari Selendang, Tari Saputong, Tari Payong, Tari Piring, Tari Sabong.

Three traditional dances, believed to have been taken to the peninsula from Sumatra, make considerable use of accessories - tari selendang uses the selendang (a shawl worn over the shoulders), tari saputong, the handkerchief, tari piring, small plates or saucers sometimes containing candles, and tari payong, the umbrella.

Another dance - tari sabong - patterns its movements on cock-fighting (sabong: flying at each other, cock-fighting), a favourite sport of the Malays before it became illegal. This dance which is performed by young girls, usually at weddings and other rural festivities is particularly popular in Selangor.

It will be noticed that all the dances just mentioned have the word tari in their names. This is used for dances in which the movements of hands and arms are the most important features. When special attention is directed to foot movements the word is tandak and when the emphasis is on swaying and bending movements of the body it is liok. That tarian has been chosen as the generic term for all dances shows the importance that is attached to hand and arm movements in Malay dancing.

(iv) Zapin

A traditional dance of Arabic origin, but without religious significance, is zapin. This was originally danced only by males, and in the seclusion of royal courts, the late Sultan Ibrahim of Kelantan being considered a zapin dancer of exceptional skill and grace. Neither of these traditions is now observed. The dance is popular amongst all classes of people, especially in the State of Johore, and is often performed by members of both sexes. The Cambridge Expedition Report describes it as a 'chorus dance with two lines of interweaving dancers of either sex' and it has been included in contests organised by the Women's Institutes of the Federation.

The number of pairs taking part in a performance is restricted only by the size of the dancing area and the skill of the dancers, for zapin demands a practised accuracy of step and dignified movements to a fairly quick tempo. The accompaniment is usually provided by a gambus and the marwas, although the violin is included in some performances.

(v) Changgong and Ayam Didek.

Two more recent dances, Changgong and Ayam Didek are already becoming accepted as traditional in the state where they were created¹. Changgong dates only from 1945 when Pa'Man Wai, a musician from Kampong Wai near Kangar, Perlis, saw some boys moving the trunk of a fallen coconut tree up and down. To encourage them to sing he improvised a tune and simple words. The tune was called Changgong, meaning in Perlis 'see-saw', and when steps were devised for it by two professional dancers in Kangar, Che Intan and Che Lian, the new dance took the same name. It is danced by members of both sexes - the men forming one line, the girls another, and pantuns are often exchanged between partners as they dance. The accompanying instruments are usually a violin and drums, with the frequent addition of gongs.

Ayam Didek was created by Pa'Man Wai about the same time. Again the men form one line facing another of girls, and during the dancing pantuns are exchanged.

1. The Pesta programme, 1954, listed Changgong as one of the 'Old Joget' dances, and describes it as a popular form of ronggeng peculiar to Perlis.

2. see M. Sheppard: 'Tarian Melayu', STA, 1961, pp. 44-5

(vi) The Henna Dance (Menari Hinei)

The henna dance (menari hinei) is performed during Malay weddings. Skeat¹ described it as a dance in which the dancer carried a brass bowl (gompong hinei), containing a small cake of henna surrounded by lighted candles. She had to keep this bowl turning over and over without allowing the candles to become extinguished. The step used for the dance was called langkah tar' hinei, and the tune to which it was danced, lagu berhinei.

The henna dance is not always seen in that form, and the number of dancers varies. Describing the henna dance which closely resembles Tari Piring - the saucer dance, performed at the wedding in 1962 of Sharifah Salwah, eldest daughter of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to Tengku Sulaiman, Sheppard² says:-

On Friday afternoon, 14 palace maidens, carrying silver bowls circled a grove of henna trees in a secluded corner of the royal garden, plucking the leaves while they followed the traditional steps and music of the henna dance.

On that occasion their bowls were not used to contain a henna cake and candles but for the leaves that would be mixed with lime to form³ the paste for the henna-staining ceremony later in the evening.

The henna-staining ceremony is an important feature of a Malay wedding and takes different forms. Winstedt⁴ says that on the first night of the wedding the staining takes place in private; all the bride's fingers are stained, but only three of the groom's -counting from his little finger. On the second night the staining is in public, and on that occasion the fingers, palms of the hands, toes and sides of the feet

5

of both bride and groom are stained. Ryan describes a different procedure:

On the first night there takes place the berinai kecil or the staining of the finger-tips and feet of the bride with henna. This happens within the bride's house and generally only women are present. The second night sees the ceremony of the berinai besar when the groom and his relatives visit the bride's house and both are stained with henna. In former days this might have been the occasion of the first meeting of the couple.

Some times the dance is performed on both nights, sometimes on the first only.

TARI INAI

The image shows five staves of handwritten musical notation. The first four staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Each staff contains a melodic line with various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes) and rests, all connected by a long, sweeping slur. The fifth staff is in bass clef and contains a lower melodic line, also with a slur. The notation is somewhat sketchy and appears to be a field recording or a personal transcription.

Henna was used by the kings of ancient Egypt, and was popular with Muslims in India a thousand years ago. It is probable that its use reached the Malay peninsula with the spread of Islam in the fifteenth century. Both the ceremony of staining with henna to ward off evil influences and the henna dance itself are associated with Muslim marriages as far away from West Malaysia as Morocco.⁶

1. Malay Magic, p.377. In fn.1 he says that it was not performed at the wedding of a Raja. It is certainly performed at the weddings of rulers' children.
2. 'A King's Daughter Weds', STA.1963 p.14
3. in Middle Eastern countries the paste is often prepared from powdered henna and water alone. E.W. Lane, Modern Egyptians, London, 1860, p.166, gives a description of the staining of the hands and feet of an Egyptian bride.
4. The Malay Magician, p.118
5. N. J. Ryan, The Cultural Background of the Peoples of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1962, p. 53
6. Winstedt, The Malay Magician, p.123

(vii). Asek (Tari Ashek)

The Asek dance was once a traditional entertainment for Malay rulers. As far as is known it was last performed before royalty in 1909, but it has recently been revived by the Arts and Culture branch of the Suara Muda Club in Kota Bharu. Helped by a lady who was trained to dance it at the Kelantan court the club members led by Ismail Bakti have reconstructed its movements, reproduced the costumes and revived its music.

The five dancers are all girls. One of them, wearing a crown and an ornamental belt (pending), takes the central place whilst the others move around her, making elaborate hand and arm movements. These represent a variety of actions, e. g. pigeons in flight, (with the hands raised slightly above the shoulders), and the swell and ebb of the waves (with the hands undulating near the floor).

Dr. A. A. Bake of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, compared this dance with the Javanese serimpi which was danced only by royal maidens.

The traditional instruments for the accompaniment of the Asek were eleven geduk asek, a rebab, and a 'gembang' consisting of five small inverted gongs resting on a wooden frame. All the instrumentalists with the exception of the rebab player, used to be women; this is no longer so and the instruments are not always limited to the traditional ensemble.

Asek (Tari Ashek)

1. see Sheppard ' Tarian Melayu', STA, 1961, pp. 45-6
2. the geduk asek, a single-headed drum, which stands on the floor was used traditionally for this dance only. In a letter to me dated 19th October, 1970, Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard said that the geduk asek was always played with the fingers: it had a very lively sound, though more refined than the ordinary geduk. He was hoping to get a specimen from Kelantan and revive interest in it
3. in the collection of instruments in the Balai Besar, Kota Bharu, there is a gong called Gong Tarian Aasek . It was not possible to discover if this gong had also been used locally to accompany the dance.

(viii) Rodat

Rodat is a performance chiefly based on singing but also involving a simple form of dancing. It is found only on the East Coast, and particularly in Trengganu which claims to have the country's best rodāt team at Kampong Beladan Salat. Religious in origin, it was once restricted to men, and only chants in praise of the prophet were sung, but more recently and especially since the Second World War, much of its religious significance has disappeared, and rodāt teams now include both women and secular songs in their performances.

Rodat usually takes place in the open air in the evening, often as part of festivities to celebrate an important local event. Sometimes the stage consists only of a number of planks on a level stretch of earth or sand, with a fishing boat's sail for its roof. At other times a raised platform is constructed with a tarpaulin roof and 'green room'. The stage is divided from the audience by a low rail, against which the instrumentalists squat with their backs to the audience. Their instruments are small single-headed frame drums with or without jingles called by their Arabic name, tar. They are struck by the whole hand or the index and second fingers, and either on the edge or in the centre to produce varied sounds.

A rodāt performance usually continues for several hours with short intervals every ten minutes or quarter of an hour. Some performances last all night, with an hour singing, followed by periods of half an hour or so for rest.

Some of the changes that have occurred in rodāt over the last thirty years or so, can be seen by comparing a performance described by Sheppard in 1937¹, with one at Kampong Changgong near Bachock, Kelantan, on 30th August, 1962, given by a team from Trengganu to celebrate a local wedding.

In the earlier performance the instrumentalists were middle-aged men, but the dancers were all youths, carefully graded in a row along the stage with the shortest at either end, and the tallest in the middle. At the left-hand end of the stage four boys were seated in chairs, two dressed as princes and two as princesses wearing imitation jewellery and in one case a 'bejewelled head-dress of Indian or Western design'. At the beginning of the performance the youths knelt on their left knees with the palms and fingers of their hands joined in front of their bodies. The leader of the instrumentalists intoned his first note, and struck his tar with his right hand. His fellow instrumentalists joined in his opening phrases and played in time with him, singing an Arabic verse to a slow, lilting tune with a well-marked rhythm. At the end of the verse the youths repeated this as a chorus, but without any movement. Two or three new verses and choruses followed, and the youths then made a slow movement with their right wrists and fingers in time to the tune. Each succeeding chorus was accompanied by a little more movement, and after about the seventh chorus the youths rose simultaneously from their knees and advanced two paces towards the instrumentalists, the first time they had moved from their kneeling positions.

The instrumentalists sang a short verse at a time with the youths swaying rhythmically to the music, moving alternate feet half-a-pace forward and a little across each other with the toes pointed slightly downwards. When the time came to reply, the youths swung sometimes half right or left, sometimes full right or left according to the particular refrain they were singing. They swayed from side to side with their arms raised, curved at the elbow and breast or shoulder high, bending their hands and wrists, 'with a double-jointed grace'. As the right shoulder and right arm were raised, the right knee was bent and the left foot tapped the ground and marked the rhythm. Then the left shoulder and arm were raised and the right shoulder dropped as the right foot tapped the ground. Each verse was sung slowly, but the speed quickened for the choruses. The instrumentalists struck up a new tempo, and their leader began to sing what Sheppard says could only be described as a Music Hall song with the conventional romantic burden.

The princes and princesses with bells around their ankles then entered sideways, two from each end of the line, stepping in time to the music. One of them sang the next verse and the youths replied. So it continued with the princes and princesses performing a 'sort of miniature tap dance' as they sang. They then returned to their chairs, and after a short interval, the leader of the instrumentalists started another semi-religious chant. From that point items of religious and popular music succeeded each other.

For the rodāt performance at Kampong Changgong the team consisted of eight young men, five girls and six rather older male instrumentalists, five of whom played the tar, and one a small hanging gong. All the tar had the same sized circumferences but were of two depths, one 7.6 cm. deep and the other 12.7 cm. deep, both with jingles. The girls wore their normal Malay dress and carried handkerchiefs folded in a triangular shape . The young men wore European style shirts and trousers. No attempt had been made to grade the singers according to height.

The instrumentalists, in Malay sarongs, sat facing the singers on a low stage under a tarpaulin roof, the scene being lit by kerosene lamps. They occasionally joined in the singing, but never led it.

The performance consisted basically of an alternation between solo verses,- sometimes well-known pantuns and choruses . The verses were sung by either the girls or the young men, the choruses always by the latter. When the girls sang they did so individually, although the soloist was frequently joined by other girls on the repetition of a phrase or towards the end of the verse. The verse itself was often divided between the two soloists. The men always sang as a group -and in unison.

Each section of the performance lasted about ten minutes after which there was a short break. During this section several verses were sung , either to the same tune or with slight variations on each repetition , or to different tunes, each verse being followed by a chorus. The chorus had one tune for its basis, but this was varied slightly to accomodate different words- and moods. It sometimes took the form of

a tune well known to all the audience, e. g. 'Rasa Sayang Eh'.

The pitch of both verses and choruses tended to rise as the section proceeded, until the girls were screaming their highest notes, and the men were beginning the final chorus as much as a perfect 4th higher than the section's opening chorus. Each time the chorus was sung at a quicker tempo than the verse, and during it there was also an increased excitement in the rhythm of the tars. Sometimes the sections ended with a coda played with a great flourish by these instruments. The purpose of the gong was not clear. It occasionally played on the first of every four beats, but participation in the ensemble seemed to depend on the whim of the performer.

There was a general air of improvisation about the whole performance. Presumably the singers had some agreement about their order of singing, but at times a volunteer had to step into the breach to avoid a hiatus. The soloists moved forward towards the instrumentalists before they sang, and the young men swayed their bodies slightly to the left and right during their singing. The girls made some small and somewhat vague hand movements, but there were no elaborate foot movements from either sex - just a pointing outwards of the feet in time to the melody being sung.

The following example gives the melodies of a solo and the recurring male chorus in a section which contained six solos and an equal number of choruses:

TAY

Handwritten musical score for 'TAY'. It consists of ten staves of music. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a time signature of 4/4. The music features a variety of note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. There are several 'x' marks placed below the notes on various staves, likely indicating specific rhythmic or performance instructions. The score is written in a fluid, handwritten style.

other female voices

MALE CHORUS.

Handwritten musical score for 'MALE CHORUS'. It consists of five staves of music. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a time signature of 4/4. The music features a variety of note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. There are several '+' marks placed below the notes on various staves, likely indicating specific rhythmic or performance instructions. The score is written in a fluid, handwritten style. The word 'simile' is written below the second staff, and 'etc.' is written at the end of the fifth staff.



A. L. No. 63
Printed in England

Male chorus up a perfect 4th on repetitions.

An elderly man in the audience told me that in his younger days the performance was given by children of ten to twelve years old and that the music was generally slower. Another spectator agreed that the Kelantan tradition involved younger performers, but that in Trengganu rodāt teams had always consisted of adults.

The origins of rodāt are difficult to discover. Malay tradition claims that it came to the peninsula from Sambas, Indonesia, and that it contains elements of ancient Hindu temple dances as well as Muslim chants. ² Sheppard ³ suggests that although it was performed regularly by men from Sambas who came to Trengganu in the fine weather for trading purposes, it is really descended, like the hathrah (hadzrah), from the Arabic and Achinese Rateb. This is a type of Muslim prayer consisting of chants repeated in chorus with certain religious formulae. An eighteenth century Arab, Mohamed Samman, invented the form Rateb Samman, composing words and laying down rules for the movements and postures to accompany them. There followed two versions, the Rateb Sadati and Rateb Pulet, features of which can be seen in the Trengganu rodāt. From Rateb Sadati came the princes and princesses, and from Rateb Pulet, the tar accompaniment. In Rateb Sadati, fifteen to twenty men called dalem performed without any instruments. One of these was dressed as a princess known as Sadati and those who were skilled in chant were given the title Radat from the Arabic word meaning 'repeated' or 'answered'. This, Sheppard suggests was the origin of the name rodāt.

In all the varieties of rateb in Sumatra two rival teams took turns to perform and competed in skill, grace and melodious chanting. No such rivalry exists in Trengganu. Neither the Achinese nor the Trengganu varieties of rodāt have any religious significance, and Sheppard thinks that the Arabic recitations were meaningless even thirty years ago. Although the Arabic word formulae and tunes used in Trengganu might have been similar to those of Achine, the light relief differed considerably. In Radet Sadati they took the form of pantun and dialogue (kesah) shared between princess and dalem: in Trengganu the 'commoners' repeated only a single verse as the chorus of a bangsawan song which was the prerogative of the prince and princess. . . . The Rateb Pulah was sung completely in the half-kneeling, half-squatting position; and there were movements during the seated position in the first half of Rateb Sadati. In Trengganu the row of performers kneel or stand.

1. M. Sheppard, 'The Trengganu Rodat' J.R.A.S.M.B. XV1, Pt. 1, 1938, p. 109
2. G. L. Peet 'Trengganu Travel', STA 1963, p. 48, calls rodāt a 'traditional combination of Hindu dancing and Islamic chanting'.
3. Sheppard, op. cit.

(ix) Hadrah (hathrah)

The hadrah or hathrah which has close affinities to rodāt¹ is also thought to have begun as a form of praise to Allah. It has now lost its religious significance and is based instead on the theme of the beauty and grace of womanhood. But it is still danced only by men or boys, to the accompaniment of a male soloist, male chorus and drums.

At the beginning of the dance the performers prostrate themselves in a line with their hands clasped behind their backs and their head-dresses touching the floor. Then led by the two chief dancers they glide backwards gracefully in a narrow circle with head and feet moving in unison. In the final movement of the dance the tempo slows down and they kneel on the floor with their hands dropping over each other to symbolise a chain of falling blossoms. During recent years the dancers' costumes have grown increasingly showy.

Hadrah may also be a vocal performance only, with a male solo and chorus accompanied by drums.²

HADRAH

The image shows four staves of handwritten musical notation. The first staff is labeled 'Solo' and 'All voices'. The second staff has 'Rehana' written below it. The third staff has 'smile' written below it. The fourth staff ends with 'etc.' The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs.

Hadrah (hathrah)

1. M. Sheppard 'Tarian Melayu,' STA, 1961, p. 47, says that rodāt is also known as hadzrah. The two have similarities, but are not identical. Wilkinson (1959) defines main hadzrah as a semi-religious dance and chant by boys.
2. Aisha Akbar, 'The Evolution of Malay Music', STA, 1961, p. 23, notes that hathrah is no longer presented today as a religious dance, but its music can be heard when a Malay wedding party accompanies the bridegroom to the bride's house.

(x) Main Dabus

Main dabus , a dance described by Skeat¹ and said to have been borrowed from the Arabs, is no longer performed in West Malaysia.

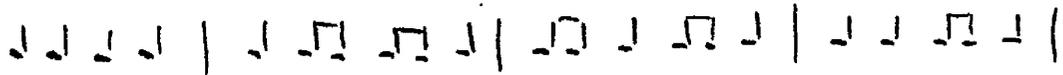
It used to be danced with iron spits on the upper ends of which were hoops with small iron rings that made a jingling noise when shaken. Sometimes bells (giring) were attached to the spit. The dancer picked up two of the spits (buah dabus) - charmed to deaden their 'bite', and shook them at each of his steps. When he had become completely 'possessed' he drove their points through the muscle of each of his forearms, and let them hang from there while he picked up a second pair. He then kept all four spits jingling together until the end of the dance. The point of each spit went through the muscle, but if skilfully driven in it produced no blood.

Wilkinson(1959) defines dabus as a puncher, but specifically as a peculiar iron spit or puncher with which devotees of the Rifaiyah Order stab themselves in their dances. The Skeat Collection at Cambridge contains a pair of buah dabus: they are described in the Catalogue (No. 709) as 'stout copper spikes whose heads are formed by four loops of stout wire, something like a sword basket-hilt, on each of which two copper rings are attached'.

1. Malay Magic, p. 466

(xi.) Bergayong Ota Ota

Bergayong Ota Ota ¹ is a dance combining elements of gymnastics and self-defence. It is usually performed by pairs of performers, ranging from three to six pairs, who carry daggers, swords or spears in one hand and shields with jingling bells attached to them in the other. Their graceful duelling movements are accompanied by a serunai and gendang, with the occasional addition of a gong. The gendang rarely plays more than the basic variants of the regular pulse, e.g.



According to one Malay tradition bergayong ota ota ² was introduced into the north-eastern states some five hundred years ago from Maras, Indonesia. When the Cambridge Expedition visited Kampong Maras, near Kuala Trengganu - the only place where the performance can be seen with any regularity - the headman assured Wavell that it came originally from Menangkabau.

Apart from the bergayong ota ota ³ I know of no other sword dance in West Malaysia at the present time, although on occasions the performers in bersilat carry krises.

⁴ The following description by Clifford of a sword dance which took place on the Terlang River, Pahang at a feast to celebrate a wedding, July 1893, suggests that sword dances were more frequent in the past:

In one part of the village two men were posturing in one of the inane sword dances which are so dear to all Malays, each performance being a subject of keen criticism or hearty admiration to the spectators. The drums and gongs meanwhile beat a rhythmical time, which made the heaviest heels long to move more quickly, and the onlookers whooped and yelled again and again in shrill far-sounding chorus. The shout is the same as that which is raised by Malays, when in battle and partly from its tone, and partly from association, one never hears it without a thrill, and some sympathetic excitement.

1. gayong: a kind of quarter staff or single stick associated in romance with magical powers and multiple blows.
2. S. Wavell, The Naga King's Daughter, p. 96 ; Wavell himself thought it was of Arabic origin.
3. Faubian Bowers, Theatre of the East, London, 1956, p. 188, talks about a fighting dance in the Malacca area called Donak Donay which involved a mock hand-to-hand combat between young men. I have been unable to find out anything about this dance and so do not know whether it was a version of bersilat or whether weapons were ever used in it.
4. H. Clifford, In Court and Kampong, Grant Richards, London, 1897, p. 126

(xii) Bersilat

A performance involving music as an accompaniment to movement is bersilat or silat , commonly spoken of as the Malay art of self-defence. This is not limited to any one region and can be seen at many local celebrations and on ceremonial occasions.

There are two main forms of silat in West Malaysia - silat medan , colloquially known as silat pulut, and silat buah . The name silat penchak is also common; it is used chiefly for silat medan, but also at times for silat buah ¹ . In Kelantan all forms of silat are usually referred to as silat gayong. Gayong is the Malay word for a quarter staff, as used in Indian fencing, but a staff is seldom introduced in traditional Malay silat .

The type of silat used for public demonstrations is silat medan , a stylised form of fighting with swift, subtle movements. Although generally performed by pairs of men in ceremonial costume, both the art itself and the music accompanying it varies from state to state, so that at one extreme there is a silat performance by a single person, and at the other, inter-team competitions. ²

A performance of bersilat in Pahang has been compared by ³ Wavell to Indian dancing :-

Fingers curve backwards, elbows are bent, and the body is delicately poised. The fighters approach each other, shift weight, change direction and balance, making delicate hand gestures; all is charmingly executed and you wonder when the fighting will begin. There is a sudden thrust, a swift counter and the opponent is thrown off balance.

He points out that although the grace and beauty still remain in Trengganu and Kelantan, the thrusts there are often violent and the legs are used.

To learn silat medan, the young man has first to master the basic dance steps with which he approaches his opponent. Next he learns to parry or dodge, and later to thrust and kick in mime, without ever completing the blow or making contact with his partner. Most of the names of the dance steps are self-explanatory: lang berlegar tengah hari (a hawk circling at mid-day), in which the arms and hands are outstretched and tilted as if in slow flight, the steps circling and deliberate; meniti batang (stepping along a floating footway across a swamp) in which the steps move in a straight line, with the arms and hands swinging forward as if helping to keep the balance.⁴

The second type of silat, - silat buah - involves real combat with quite violent thrusts and aggressive contact. It was once studied by a large proportion of male adults, many of whom, like Hang Tuan, travelled long distances to learn it. There are four main styles of silat buah - silat chekak, silat sendeng, silat terelak and silat peninjuan,⁵ but a teacher usually specialises in only one or two of these. As students of silat buah do not give public exhibitions their movements are not so dance-like, but they have to learn traditional steps to accompany their body and arm movements. Their main study, however, is learning how to avoid the blows of an enemy, and how to retaliate most effectively.

The instruments which usually accompany the performance of silat at festivals, and on ceremonial occasions, are a gong, a gendang and a serunai.⁶ At a performance to honour the visit of the Indian High Commissioner to Bachok, Kelantan, 30th July, 1962, two gendang were used, the larger heads being beaten with crooked wooden beaters, the smaller ones with the hand. The serunai was the smaller one, and there was a suspended gong.

A similar instrumental combination, two kendang, a tarompèt and a kempul is mentioned by Kunst⁷ to accompany penchak in the Sunda districts of Indonesia. Penchak is the name normally given to silat in Indonesia, where every region has its own particular style, and with the art of self defence formalised into a type of dance, as in the peninsula.

Many of the best guru silat in West Malaysia are of Menangkabau descent, and it is possible that the art of silat was taken to the peninsula from Sumatra, perhaps as early as the Malacca Sultanate.

Bersilat

1. the Malay names do not always indicate the style of the various types of silat:

medan (Pers): an open field; pulut: sticky; buah: fruit, fruit-like (rounded) object; penchak: a sword dance.

2. S. Wavell, The Naga King's Daughter , p.62, suggested that the Cambridge Expedition saw sufficient performances of silat on the East Coast to believe that a study of differences in traditions and styles of this art alone might help to determine the force of cultural impact from India, Funan, Sailendra, Sri Vijaya, Cambodia, and more recently from Thailand.
3. ibid., p62. There is a dance called lekong performed at Malay weddings on the east coast that bears stylistic resemblance to bersilat.
4. Sheppard; ' Silat, The Malay Art of Self-Defence' STA, 1958, p.12
5. chekak : a circle of over an inch diameter :to struggle or fight: propinquity, trustworthy; sendeng: heeling over, laid against something at an angle; terelak (elak) dodging a blow; peninjuan ... ?
6. The Pesta programme mentions a performance called Serunai Nafiri which involved six people, two doing the bersilat movements and the other four accompanying on musical instruments. These serunai nafiri were said to have been copied from the Indian natnaswarum' (nagasvaram?) and were made in Malaya from the memak wood. The performance, presented on that occasion by the State of Pahang, was thought to have been obligatory in the Old Malay Courts of 600 years ago.
7. Music in Java, Vol I. p.381

7. Performances involving Drama and Music

- (i) Makyong (Ma'yong)
- (ii) Wayang Kulit
- (iii) Bangsawan
- (iv) Obsolete Theatrical Performances

(i) Makyong (Ma'Yong)

Makyong or Ma'yong (the more usual form) is a dramatic performance including solo and choral melismatic singing, stylised movement and comedy. Once popular in the three northern states of Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu it is now performed regularly (if infrequently) only in Kelantan, to which state it was brought, according to local tradition from Patani about two hundred years ago.¹

Kelantan Malays relate the ma'yong to the putri dance, because they believe it was first performed by the friends of Mak Inang Bongsu, the nurse of Putri Sadong, who was an expert putri dancer. For her dancing she wore male clothes whilst her partners kept their female ones.² The theory quoted by Cuisinier that when percussion instruments were added to the putri ensemble, the dance became different from putri and took a name derived from Mak Inang Bongsu sounds somewhat far-fetched. So does that given to her by some Malays which derives the name from the words, sung at the opening of the performance, Yong diah: she points out that those words are used simply as syllables to fill up the rhythm of the line. Another theory suggested by Cuisinier herself is that the name makyong is a combination of two words, mak: mother, and hyang : divinity; the predominance of the uterine lineage in the Malay world making plausible a cult of the ancestors of the maternal line.³ If this, in fact, were so, it would seem to indicate an honouring of the mother in her male and female ancestors, poyang moyang, or as Kelantan Malays would say, pakyong and makyong. It is these who are represented, even incarnated⁴

by the performers during the trance state, with the woman, the mother, becoming the intermediary. But there was nothing in the small amount of ritual remaining in the performances witnessed by Cuisinier to enable her to affirm her theory.

Although, as is suggested by Professor W. P. Malm of the University of Michigan⁵, the origin of ma'yong may have been in ritual and magic theatricals, its more recent home was in the courts of the Malay rulers, and in Kelantan it remained a chief palace entertainment until about 1920. There it was often performed in the centre of the audience hall with no curtains, scenery or props. The sultan with his family and guests sat on three sides of the rectangle, leaving the fourth side for minor court personnel and visitors.

With the exception of a group of comedians, the cast of ma'yong is female, and until the first quarter of this century quite large groups of actresses were maintained by the rulers and their relatives. One ruler, Tengku Temenggong Abdul Ghaffar, is reputed to have kept a hundred actresses at his Kota Bharu Court. But by the 1920's, the status of the royal patrons had changed, and the ma'yong players were forced to leave the courts and depend for their livelihood on their public audiences. This is still so. Ma'yong troupes perform in local kampongs as part of domestic festivities although they are also in evidence at the Sultan's birthday celebrations in Kota Bharu. Some Kelantan companies travel to neighbouring states, and a ma'yong company is usually included in national and royal celebrations at Kuala Lumpur.

After leaving the palaces the ma'yong troupes found it difficult to gain adequate financial support without debasing, to some extent, the traditional courtly form of their performance. After the second World War, competition from the cinema and other dramatic entertainments caused traditional songs to be omitted, dances to be shortened, and foreign stories, modern dress and more action to be introduced so that the original form became scarcely recognisable.

It is not surprising then, that when Professor Malm accompanied by Mubin Sheppard, visited Kelantan in June 1968 to record ma'yong performances on video tape, none of the ma'yong actresses or comedians they met had performed in the traditional style for over thirty years. Fortunately, a revival of this style proved possible. One of the performers, Halimah, whose training at the Court of Tengku Temenggong had begun at the age of twelve and who had played the pa'yong in all the performances until the Tengku's death, remembered in exact detail the dialogue, arias, songs and dance movements of fingers, arms and feet. To her own performance was added the inspired clowning of Dollah Supang, the most famous of the surviving comedians. It was important that her knowledge and artistic ability should be used to perpetuate ma'yong, and early in 1969 the Malaysian Society for Asian Studies engaged her to train a group of young women and girls in Kelantan for an authentic performance of ma'yong at the International Conference on the Traditional Drama and Music of South East Asia in Kuala Lumpur in August 1969. That performance was not typical, for most of the ma'yong troupes continue to play as they have done since the traditional performances were

modified to accomodate new types of audience.

The minimum number of performers required for a traditional performance is fifteen - seven actresses, four male comedians and four male musicians. The chief actresses are the pa'yong - the pa'yong muda, the young prince, the ma'yong, the queen his mother, the pa'yong tua, sometimes considered his father, but more often his future father-in-law, and a princess, puteri ma'yong, destined to be his wife. These four actresses are supported by young girls taking the parts of palace attendants (inang), animals and birds. The comedians (peran), who usually worked in pairs, represent palace servants (pengasoh), the senior comedian being known as peran tua.⁶

A ma'yong company, not playing the traditional court style, may vary in size from ten to twenty performers, including the pawang or bomor and the instrumentalists. The acting group is considered complete with only two actresses playing the chief characters - the pa'yong and ma'yong, and a clown (peran).

The size of the instrumental combination varies according to the size and wealth of the company. A large ensemble consists of a rebab,⁷ two suspended gongs,⁸ two gendang (ibu or anak), one or two gedombak,⁹ one or two geduk, fifteen to twenty cherek, two mong and a serunai. A smaller combination always includes a rebab, a drum (usually a gendang)¹⁰ and a gong. Writing of the ma'yong orchestra she knew, Cuisinier gives a rebab, two gendang called either gendang jantan and gendang betina, or gendang ibu and gendang anak. This is exactly the same combination as is used for putri.

It was customary for the rebab player who was the director of the music to sit in the middle of the east side of the shelter where the performance took place, with the players of the gongs and gendang seated indiscriminately to his left and right. Nowadays, when a large combination is used, the rebab player sits nearest to the front of the stage, with his back to the audience and with the gongs near him. Next to the player of the gongs, although some distance away, is the serunai. The drum and other percussion instruments are together, often on the opposite side of the stage. Malm¹¹ says that the gongs and drums are played by musicians in the lower stage right corner.

Before each performance of ma'yong a ritual, now a mere shadow of its former self, takes place. The ritual described here was enacted by a Kelantan company visiting Trengganu just over ten years ago¹². The instrumentalists sat around three sides of the empty stage in an atap shelter. During their introductory music the pawang who was seated in front of the gongs began to recite his formulae to the spirits with incense burning in a small metal brazier between him and the gongs. Into a bowl of water he dropped grains of parched rice and a few buds of melor or chempaka¹³, and having finished his formulae he poured this water, which was believed to possess a special virtue, into the gongs. As each of the players first came onto the stage they dipped their right hands into this. Then they sprinkled a few drops of it onto their tongues, and dabbed a little onto the outer skin of their throats before taking their places for the performance.

This short ceremony contains traces of the older and much more elaborate ritual known as bûka panggong, the 'opening of the site'¹⁴. Having arrived at the chosen site, the company built a small square shelter, open at all four sides but carefully roofed in, and with a hand-rail running around it about two feet from the ground¹⁵. This was called a bangsal, and the space it enclosed, the panggong¹⁶. Before the performance came the ritual for the invocation and propitiation of certain spirits. When the company had taken their seats in the hut, a brazier of burning incense was placed in front of the pawang, who intoned an incantation, with the other members of the company repeating each sentence in chorus after him. In translation, this began:

Peace be unto Thee, whose mother is from the earth, and whose father has ascended to the Heavens! Smite not the male and female actors, and the old and young buffoons with Thy cruelty, nor yet with the curse of poverty! Oh, do not threaten with punishment the members of this company, for I come not hither to vie with Thee in wisdom or skill or talent: not such is my desire in coming hither. If I come into this place, I do so placing my faith in all the people,¹⁷ my masters who own this village. Therefore suffer not anyone to oppress, or envy, or do a mischief unto all the body of male and female actors, together with the young and old buffoons, and the minstrels and bridegroom¹⁸ together with Sri Gemûroh Sri Berdengong¹⁹. . . . under Thy care I place the male and female actors, and all the buffoons, both young and old, together with all the musicians and the bridegrooms.²⁰

As the pawang scattered parched rice stained with saffron in all directions he began another incantation:

Peace be unto thee! I am about to move from within this enclosure four paces in each direction of the four corners of the universe. O ye Holy Ones who are present in this place, within the space of these four paces towards the four extremities of the universe, be not startled nor deranged, do not remove to a distance, and be not angry or wrathful, for thy servant cometh not hither to vie with ye in wisdom within this thy territory and village. Your servant cometh to satisfy the desires of all the people who own this place, and your servant desires to abandon himself unto ye, his guardians

the Holy Ones of this place, and thus presuming he asks pardon of ye, and would commend to your care himself and the actors and actresses, O Grandsires, ye Holy Ones, of this place; and in like manner would he commend unto ye the musicians and the bridegrooms, the buffoons, both old and young. 21.

Finally he called on all the performers:

Awake, O actors and actresses, and await one upon another! Awake, O buffoons, together awake! Awake, ye drummers, together awake! Awake ye gong-smiters, together awake! Awake, ye bridegrooms, together awake! Be not removed far from your means of livelihood, nor destroyed or injured! Oh suffer them not to be hurt or damaged—all this company of actors and actresses, all this company of players who sit within this shed! 22

When this invocation was finished, the player who was to begin the performance prostrated himself before the rebab, washed his face in some imaginary essence contained in the gong, and began to act his part. 23

A ceremony with some similarities but with more attention paid to the musical instruments was witnessed by Skeat at Jugra in 1897 . 24
It was designed to drive away evil spirits from the place of the performance. After the invocation, lagu pemanggil, the pawang passed first the rebab then the masks, wooden daggers and other properties through the incense. Next he lighted three tapers and after they had been 'charmed' pointed them to the right, then in front of him, and finally to the left before distributing them. The first went to the rebab, the second to the big gong and the third on the edge of a brass ring in front of the place where he was sitting. He smeared the metal all round with betel leaf lime, and made the sign of a cross inside the ring. After putting a black cloth over his head he held a fistful of rice in the incense smoke, sprinkled some of it over the brazier and holding it close to his mouth, charmed it. Then he suddenly scattered it to the right, in front and

finally to the left, each scattering being accompanied by a single sound from the big gong. He next handed out four quids of betel. The first two went to the two drummers, the juru-gendang, the third he threw on the roof for the Jin Puteh, the 'White Genie', and the fourth he buried beneath the mat for the Jin Hitam, the 'Black(Earth) Genie'. He now placed the tip of his right thumb in the metal ring at the centre of the cross called the Heart of the Earth (pusat bumi or hati tanah), and pressing downwards with it repeatedly worked it round to the left and back again as he recited the appropriate charm. The drums were then charmed, each in turn being held over the brazier, the three loud taps on the drum at the end of this procedure being accompanied by similar taps on the other two drums. To conclude the ritual the pawang, playing the serunai,²⁵ led the other instruments in a performance of the tune called taboh.

26

Cuisinier's description of the opening ritual varies in points of detail from the ones already given. She says that it was not reserved for the orang Ma'yong as in the past, but was entrusted to a bomor who was a stranger to the group and whose invocations were exactly the same as those of the bacha kenduri, buka panggong and bertabek for putri and even for wayang. She was also told that in village companies a dancer sometimes repeated the original ritual exactly, and where there were two actresses who could go, or pretend to go into a trance, ma'yong was still respected for its powers of exorcism. In these cases, after playing a traditional story the poyang and moyang would make violent twirling movements with their heads, and follow right through the order of phases of the putri dance. Although Cuisinier had seen a large number of ma'yong

performances none followed that tradition, and in towns ma'yong had already become just a pleasant spectacle.

After the tabur the musicians moved into their places. The bomor took his position opposite the juru rebab with the incense, kenduri and keras guru between them. The few gestures accompanying his recitation were simple and with little variation, like those at the beginning of putri. After holding the large gendang (ibu) on his knees near the dish of incense, he turned it three times and tested its tuning with small, short beats on the third of which the gongs responded. He proceeded similarly with the small gendang(anak), but did not turn it, and tested it once only. Next, with his left fist clenched, the thumb on the outside and in front of his mouth, he made the gesture of appeal to the spirits (panggil hantu) by obliquely raising his right arm and extending his hand, palm downwards, with a bent wrist ²⁷. Then he removed the incense dish, and the singers and instrumentalists began the first tune: any tune could be used for this, although originally there were special tunes for ma'yong performances. Skeat ²⁸ says that each of these was appropriate to a particular section, or to one or more of the dramatis personae e.g. the Lagu Legor Radin was used when one of the performers was supposed to be sent to sleep, the Lagu Merayu for the representation of a death, the Lagu Samsam for a character supposed to be entering a jungle, the Lagu Patani Tuah for a person sitting down. Similarly the Lagu Puyuh, the Lagu Dang Dondang Lanjut Kedah, and the Lagu Sendayong Dualapis Putri were reserved for the Princess (Putri), one of the stock characters of this species of play; while there were other tunes for the princess and the raja or principal male

character, pa'yong. Others were employed indifferently to accompany any of the parts, whether prince, princess, clown (p'ran) or maid (inang). Skeat does not give the music of any of these tunes, but the words of a ma'yong song, the Patani Tua, are included in 'Malay Magic' p. 652. For the first time the bomor threw the rice and made a respectful sembah to the four cardinal points.

The bomor continued to sing the rest of the invocation with the musicians, dancers and clowns taking up the principal passages in chorus. In turns he enclosed his left hand in his right, and vice-versa - a movement called bergenggam which symbolised the power he claimed over the world. Then he sometimes raised one arm, sometimes both, and pointed the fingers of his right hand towards the earth to command the spirits (suroh hantu) to be quiet. Finally, after holding his arms in a crossed position, he extended them horizontally, one to the right and the other to the left, to make an announcement (memberi tahu).

He next took a fistful of rice, blew on it and put it onto his open hand before placing it on the earth in order to ask the spirits to keep the performers and spectators in good health. Then he quickly moved his left hand upwards into the air, and soon afterwards placed his right hand on the earth to set the spirits in motion (gerak hantu).

Although the opening ritual is now much simpler than the one described above, no ma'yong performance is considered complete without some form of it, however skeletal.

After it, the performers take up their positions for the dance. In the front is the pa'yong, with the other performers in order behind her - first the ma'yong flanked by two lesser actresses, then behind them any other actresses, and finally, the clown or clowns in the rear. When

companies could afford understudies, these positioned themselves a little behind, and to the right of the main characters they were replacing.

Although the costumes vary slightly from company to company, the essentials remain the same. Only the pa'yong has an elaborate costume. On her head she wears a special 'crown', usually black and shaped rather like a bishop's mitre, with a variety of decorations often including flowers and beads. Cuisinier³⁰ calls it a diadem (tanjok) and says that it was made of velvet and decorated with glass beads. This was the style of head-dress worn by the pa'yong in the Trengganu performance described by Sheppard, and in the troupe I saw in 1962. Cuisinier also says that in village companies one sometimes found the poyang³¹ wearing a red headscarf rolled into a shallow crown (bulang). This³² was claimed by older Malays to be the correct head-dress. Sheppard says that the more ornate and theatrical variety was introduced from Patani about 1900.

The tight-fitting blouse or tunic of the pa'yong is made of satin or silk and usually has short sleeves. Around her neck is a net cape with a fringe of hanging woollen pom-pons or a beaded shoulder covering (elau). Cuisinier's poyang wore a large collar of pearls (baju la), but older Malays claimed that this was not a part of the original costume. The trousers of the pa'yong are sometimes narrow and short, but more³³ generally loose-fitting and ankle length. They are usually made of the same material as her blouse, and over them she wears a knee-length sarong or embroidered songket. Around her waist is a sash (bengkong) into which is tucked her sheathed kris, an indispensable item, and often a folded handkerchief. Sometimes she carries a cane (pemiat) as a symbol³⁴ of her authority. The cane described by Sheppard was made of seven

strips of ratan, about eighteen inches long.

The dress of the ma'yong is less uniform. It is sometimes just the normal Malay woman's dress, a baju and sarong, with a shawl (selendang); sometimes a sarong (kain lepas) round her breast and under her arms, with one end tucked in and the other hanging loose below the left arm. Around her waist she has a belt which is sometimes without the metal buckle (pending) that was formerly compulsory. This keeps in place the finely woven piece of cloth (kain puncha potong) that hangs over her left shoulder and drops knee-length at the back and front. On her head she wears a low gilt coronet. Both the principal characters decorate themselves freely with rings, bracelets and ear-rings.

The clowns used to wear just a long, hand woven sarong of dark red silk reaching to their ankles, and around their waists a cotton sash that could be used in a variety of ways, e.g. as a belt or head-cloth, or as a covering for their bare chests. They now often wear cotton sarongs and white short-sleeved tunic shirts, with a length of cotton cloth around their waists. They never wear shoes.

In Kelantan they do not generally wear masks (topeng) but it was customary for them to do so in Perlis and Kedah, as well as in Patani .

During the period when Cuisinier was in Kelantan the tune to which the performers positioned themselves for the dance that followed the invocation was called lagu sadayong (the tune of an oar) . The actual performance began with the singing of the poyang unaccompanied by any gesture, the other dancer or dancers, the clown or clowns, and the musicians all responding to her in chorus. This was followed by the poyang and moyang kneeling down and making the same movements

together. They stretched their hands out before them, or sideways, or else with the one in front and the other sideways, and raised their fingers upwards, turning their thumbs inwards. ³⁸ They separated the little fingers from the others, or, joining the index fingers and thumbs, separated the three other fingers from these. Each position was taken up very slowly, and all the gestures were repeated several times. The complete series was gone through again, but with the dancers in a crouching position instead of kneeling. Next they put one knee on the ground, balanced their bodies and turned slowly whilst bending forwards and backwards. In a squatting position again, but with the weight only on the tips of their feet, they made a more rapid windmill movement with their two hands and then finally rose, and with a hand on the hip walked round, one in front of the other. This walk, sometimes slow, sometimes rather quicker, marked the end of the solemn dance.

The story to be performed soon followed, often interrupted by comic interludes from the clowns. The interspersed dances contained all the gestures that had been seen at the opening, but with more elaborate finger movements (mudra) that had lost their original significance and were included only for their artistic value.

At the end of the play the bomor enumerated a series of names of the characters from the story. According to knowledgeable informants these were only an arbitrary and fictitious genealogy, and not the genuine genealogy by which the orang ma'yong used to recall ³⁹ their ancestors before the correct rites had been abandoned.

To conclude, the bomor said 'Kesoh', an abbreviation of habis alkisah (the end of the story), and then came the final tabur to accompany the return of the spirits.

It is interesting to compare Cuisinier's description with that of Malm who saw the performance played according to the court traditions.⁴⁰ He noted that for half an hour or so before the entry of the actresses the instrumentalists played instrumental versions of standard tunes from the ma'yong repertoire as a sort of overture. During this the drummers worked from relatively long stereotyped patterns that altered with the change of the rebab tune .

When the whole troupe had arrived on the stage, they were all, with the exception of the clowns, led by the ma'yong and the pa'yong through a unison dance, with more of the action in the hands, called Mengadap Rebab ('facing' or 'paying obeisance to' the rebab). This ended with the group standing in a circle, and was followed by another circular dance called Sedayong Ma'yong. After a few lines of rather non-committal dialogue came a 'travelling' piece called Kijang Emas, followed by a short dialogue which led into Sedayong Pa'yong. This, in turn, was usually followed by some kind of further 'travelling' music such as a Barat or a Pa'yong Muda. The choice of the music after that varied according to the requirements of the particular play.

According to Malm, the rebab player, who is the musical leader, begins each piece with a solo rhapsody (the kepala lagu) . After this regular opening procedure, the player is relatively free

to choose from several different standard melodies the one to be used next. This means that the principal singer and the other musicians have to listen carefully to the introduction to catch the signal which tells them not only when to enter, but also the piece that is being played. The drums and the gongs catch the signal first, and the singer enters a few beats later. Malm reports that research is now trying to pin-point precisely how the performers succeed in this 'musical hide-and-seek system.' The actresses usually start their songs facing one of the sides or even the rear of the stage. 'In the most common opening movement she slowly turns to the right, with her first gestures being executed facing the rear.'

When the soloist begins, the ornamental style of the rebab is matched by an equally melismatic vocal line. Malm suggests that in good performances the two performers seem to enter into a kind of heterophonic competition, strikingly similar to that of certain forms of middle East art music. When the chorus join in, usually after one performance of the basic melody, the stage is filled with an 'exciting buzz of multiple polyphony', often fitted to such nonsense syllables as dan, dong, dang. This, again, recalls the music of the Middle East and seems to relate some features of ma'yong more nearly to that area than to West Malaysia's more immediate neighbours.

Malm emphasises this link with the Middle East by examining a number of ma'yong melodies. The first example he quotes is a skeleton outline of a lullaby (mengulek) called 'Champak Bunga' and reputed to be one of the older ma'yong songs. It is pentatonic in

structure, but not particularly typical of today's ma'yong music :

ex 1.

The second example gives the basic tonal material of 'To'Wak', the music used by clowns when portraying older men. Its three core notes could fall within a pentatonic system, and to them the rebab adds the remaining note plus an auxiliary Eb:

2.

VOCAL REBAB

'Kudang Bunga', Malm's third example is more closely related to the Indonesian slendro scale, with an auxiliary note in the second section and an ending which, as he points out, could have been influenced by modern regional popular music. Listening to these examples Malm noticed that the equidistant tendencies found elsewhere in the area (e.g. Indonesia) were affecting the intonation of such notes as those represented by E and F:



The next example giving the tonal outline of 'Sedayong' introduces a new sphere of tonal activity. In contrast to the wide spread of notes in the previous examples this contains a kernel of three very close pitches plus one auxiliary. Taking measurements on a Stroboconn Malm found that the distances between the basic pitches, as expressed in cents were:

I

II

III

135

195

The drums have various set patterns producing a kind of rhythmic dialogue, and it is interesting to notice that the drummers frequently sit back to back so that they can follow each other by ear.

To these observations of Malm on the restored ma'yong may be added those of Sheppard at the same conference. He said that the principal actresses sing many arias in which they express their feelings in operatic style. Amongst other songs are lullabies (mengulit) sung by the hero to the heroine, or vice versa, conveying romantic passion. Even the comedians sing short arias when sent on an errand by the raja. The rest of the troupe, including those sitting on the edge of the acting area intone a vigorous chorus in between verses of all but the shortest arias. Only a few Kelantan Malay actresses can now sing the large repertoire of ma'yong songs. More than thirty different ma'yong tunes were recorded in Kelantan recently, and a century ago the number was certainly much greater.

Sheppard gives the names of the best known tunes in a ma'yong performance as Kijang Emas, Pa'yong Muda, Saudara, Sedayong Putri, To'Wak, Yur, Mengulit, Timang, Welu, Chagak Manis, Sindong, Jembar, Buloh Seruas, Pandan Wangi, Dan Dondang Tonggek, and Mengambor.⁴² One tune called Barat Anjur may be used for any short aria, and may occur as many as twenty times in one night's performance.

Ma'yong stories have no definitive version: they have been handed down by word of mouth and no manuscripts of them survive, if indeed they ever existed. Nor is their plot always easy to follow. About a dozen stories have been identified by the oldest surviving actresses and

comedians as belonging to the authentic court ma'yong. Other stories performed in the palace to provide variety were borrowed or adapted from the Thai Manohra or the Javanese Shadow Play repertoire. The list of authentic ma'yong stories as given by Sheppard have the following titles given below, the English title indicating an important feature in the plot:

<u>Dewa Muda</u>	:	The Magic Kite
<u>Dewa Indera - Indera Dewa</u>	:	The Arrow of Fortune
<u>Anak Raja Gondang</u>	:	The Triton Shell Prince
<u>Bongsu Sakit</u>	:	The Flying Apeskin
<u>Puteri Timun Muda</u>	:	The Cucumber Princess
<u>Raja Tangkai Hati</u>	:	The Spell of the Giantess
<u>Raja Muda Laleng</u>	:	The Royal Gambler
<u>Raja Dua Sarupa</u>	:	The Identical Princes
<u>Raja Muda Lembek</u>	:	The Broken Vow
<u>Gading Bertimang</u>	:	The Magic Elephant

43

The performances usually last over a period of three to five days usually starting at 8.30 p.m. or 9.00 p.m. and ending at midnight. ⁴⁴

This is very different from the era when ma'yong companies played in the courts and homes of wealthy patrons, and their performances sometimes continued for several weeks, both afternoons and evenings being used - with the sole exception of Friday. As a result of Sheppard's enthusiasm to revive Ma'yong two plays were performed in Kuala Lumpur during September 1971 with a young cast from Kelantan and in a carefully shortened form. T.V. Malaysia has now agreed to record one of the plays for television audiences. ⁴⁵

Makyong: Ma'yong

1. Malm, Malaysian Ma'yong Theatre, The Drama Review, Vol. 15, No. 3, New York, 1971, p. 108, mentions an early account (Peter Flores: His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-15, ed. by W. M. Moreland (Hakluyt Society, 1934)) that talks about unspecified 'theatricals given by the Queen of Patani'.
2. Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p. 84. She says that a Kelantan informant insisted that Ma'yong was derived from putri, and that it originated in Kelantan although it may have spread to other areas. Cuisinier points out that ma'yong was, in fact, found in other states where putri was not performed. In Pahang a similar performance was called poyang, the name given by Cuisinier to the chief character of ma'yong, although her Kelantan informant said that the names were pakyong and makyong, not poyang and moyang (p. 84). She also notes that the word poyang, in Pahang and Sumatra as well as Kelantan was a synonym for sorcerer.
3. ibid., p. 85
4. M. Sheppard, Ma'yong, the Malay Dance Drama, a paper read at the International Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 1969, p. 7, says that Ma'Hiang, the mother spirit, was believed to protect the rice crop. It is to this paper that reference is made when only the author's surname is given.
5. W. P. Malm, The Music of the Malaysian Ma'yong (paper read at the International Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 1969) p. 1. Malm's field trip to Kelantan in 1968 resulted in an annotated recording of Ma'yong music (Anthology AST-4006).
6. Cuisinier, op. cit., p. 86, had seen as many as eight clowns in one performance.
7. Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 518, says that the rebab used for ma'yong was of the two-stringed variety - yang betuan. Sheppard, 'Makyong - the oldest form of Malay drama', S. T. A. 1960, p. 12, and Cuisinier, p. 87, both include a three-stringed rebab in the instrumental combinations they itemise. The rebab in the makyong ensemble I saw near Bachok (13th August, 1962) was three-stringed. The rebab player is sometimes called juru rebab, but more often pengantin.
8. Sheppard, p. 3. says that these gongs are a pair of signal gongs, tawak-tawak, and Skeat, op. cit., p. 505 Fn. 3, calls the two large gongs tefawak or tawak-tawak. Malm, op. cit., p. 3. says 'the pair of gongs used in Ma'yong are of the standard knobbed variety. Most are imported from Indonesia. They are tuned to different pitches usually about a minor third or fourth apart.'
9. to this list of instruments Skeat, p. 518, adds b'reng-b'reng. Malm, Malaysian Ma'yong Theatre, p. 111, says that the serunai was only used in tari ragan, the one dance without singing.

10. p. 87

11. p. 3

12. Sheppard, 'Makyong - the oldest form of Malay drama', STA 1960 pp. 12-15

13. Melor, melua, the Indian jasmine (*jasminum sambu*); chempaka, the champak tree (*michelia champaca*)

14. see H. Clifford, Selangor Journal, vol ii, No. 26, pp. 423-429 quoted in full in Skeat, Malay Magic, pp. 504-510

15. kampong performances are still given in shelters constructed for the occasion and companies make it quite clear that they do not perform outside this traditional setting. When, in August, 1962, visitors wanted to photograph a ma'yong company outside their shelter at Kampong Pengkalen Bharu, near Bachok, Kelantan, there were angry protests from the performers who misunderstood the intention, and thought they were being asked to perform outside the shelter. Cuisinier p. 86, says that the place of performance was not important and that it might be a stone building just as well as a traditional atap shelter. However, according to Malm, Malaysian Ma'yong Theatre, p. 112, the actual performance was given on a stage three feet off the ground.

16. panggong really means a stage erected on pillars, a raised flooring, as for wayang kulit. This being so, Cuisinier p. 85, thought that the term, buka panggong, was really incorrect since the performances of ma'yong 'she knew took place at ground level.

17. literally, 'Brothers and Sisters and Chiefs', referring to the spirits who inhabit the villages, not to humans. (Skeat, p. 505, Fn. 1.)

18. the phrase used is Penjak pengantin meaning musicians and bridegroom. Skeat p. 505. Fn. 2, says 'the former term includes all people belonging to the Ma'iong who make a noise. The latter term means a man whose wedding is being celebrated, but in this connection it is applied to the Pa'iong or jeune premier'. However, pengantin is also the term used to describe the rebab player of a ma'yong company, and as it is included here amongst the minstrels and the gongs, it may be this person rather than the pa'yong to whom it should be applied.

19. Gemûroh - from gûroh : thunder. Dengong, according to Skeat, p. 505, Fn. 3., was the word used to describe the noise made by a gong, by the wind or any other sonorous sound. It means booming or humming, e. g. the sound of a Jew's harp or a bumble-bee, the twang of a bow-string, droning or buzzing in the ear, the hum of a kite or top, and berdengong means 'to give out a humming sound'. In the invocation, Sri Gemûroh and Sri Berdengong were the names given by the Ma'yong company to their two large gongs.

20. the translation of the complete invocation is given in the Selangor Journal, vol ii. No. 26 pp. 423-428. The original Malay is included in Skeat's Malay Magic, pp. 649-650, Bacha'an Pawang handak membuka Panggong main Ma'yong.
21. Skeat, p. 507
22. Skeat, p. 509
23. Clifford spells rebab ' herbab'.
24. Skeat, pp. 510-512. It is not entirely clear if this ceremony was before a ma'yong performance. The company came from Penang and had masks: manora players also have masks.
25. the original version of this, as given by Che Hussein, the pawang, is given in Malay Magic, pp. 650-652. Taboh = tabur?
26. pp. 84-90
27. ibid., Plate II, iii. 4. The same gesture is used in putri.
28. Skeat p. 513
29. Cuisinier, p. 90, points out that this is the anjali of India, but that the Malays paid little attention to the height to which the hands should be raised, whether before the breast, mouth or forehead, according to whether one was greeting one's parents, brahmans or divinities. They invariably raised them to the intermediate position. This is illustrated by Cuisinier in Plate I, iii. 6.
30. p. 87
31. Cuisinier always uses the names poyang and moyang in preference to pa'yong and ma'yong. These spellings are kept for the performances described by Cuisinier whenever she uses them herself.
32. Ma'yong the Malay Dance Drama, p. 2.
33. Makyong - The Oldest Form of Malay drama, p. 14, describes them as 'short narrow-legged trousers, reaching just below the knee'. Cuisinier, p. 87, as ' of Chinese cut (seluar potong China) . The pa'yong I saw wore wide trousers.
34. ibid., p. 14
35. Skeat, p. 518 gives the dress required by a complete company as head-dress, tanjak(sapu tangan), g'rak gempa, sabok, bimpau g'lang, changei, saluar, sarong, baju, topeng(pran).

36. Cuisinier, p. 88, says that in Perlis, Kedah and Patani, the clowns often wore a man's and a woman's mask alternately; sometimes they were worn at the same time by the two clowns. The man's mask was similar to that worn in manora. The woman's mask differed from this in that it covered the whole face and had no feathers. If the clowns wore masks in Kelantan, it was only during the interludes.
37. Cuisinier, p. 90, wonders whether the importance of the sea and navigation in Malay life was sufficient to justify this title. Although she received no explanation from any of her informants she, herself, thought that it could be found in a sort of mystique associated with the boat and the raft. One or other always figured in the solemn offerings, and was very often if not always, mentioned in the initial formulae (bacha kenduri).
38. this hand gesture was demonstrated to me as one of the gestures still in use by Che Nik Abdul Rahman bin Haji Nik Der of Kota Bharu.
39. Cuisinier, p. 92, once saw the bomor join the clowns in a series of quick enthusiastic leaps which looked like a stylistic development of the last phases of the putri dance.
40. described by Malm in The Music of the Malaysian Ma'yong, 1969, and in 'Malaysian Ma'yong Theatre', The Drama Review, Spring, 1971, pp. 108-114.
41. Malm, Malaysian Ma'yong Theatre, p. 113
42. it is interesting to compare these with the titles listed by Skeat, and given in this Chapter as Fn. 28
43. Skeat. p. 518 lists the stories played at the time when he was writing: Dewa Sri Rama, Dewa Muda, Dewi Pechi, Gambar Lilin, Batak Puteh, Siamang Gila, Raja Gondang, Gajah Dang Daru, Bijak Laksana, Raja Muda sama Puyuh, Pran Bun, Timun Muda, Lak Kenawan, Iprat, Putri Duab'las, Dewa Bisnu, Solong Sakti, Putri Bongsu, Megat Gembang Sultan Kechil Bongsu di'Alam, Bongsu Kechil S'ri Alam, Bujang Lempawi. Only three of these are included in Sheppard's list.
44. at the wedding celebrations for the King of Malaya's daughter at Kuala Lumpur in 1962, the ma'yong performance lasted for four nights.
45. from a personal communication from Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard, 26.9.71.

(ii) Wayang Kulit

Wayang kulit is the name of a theatrical performance involving skin, leather or hide puppets. It is only the shadows of the puppets thrown onto a screen that are seen by the audience: the brightly coloured puppets themselves are seen only by the dalang - the puppeteer who manipulates them - and the instrumentalists squatting behind him whose music is so inextricably linked to the action.

In the northern states and along the east coast a wayang kulit is staged to celebrate such important occasions as weddings, births, circumcisions, the gathering in of the harvest, and the propitiation of the spirits of the sea, the kampong and the rice-field as well as just for entertainment. It is particularly popular in Kelantan with frequent performances between January and May, and special performances for state occasions, like the Sultan's birthday. Until recently there was a permanent wayang kulit theatre in the Biarritz pleasure park on the outskirts of Kota Bharu. Since Malaya achieved independence the wayang kulit which has been a feature of the national celebrations in Kuala Lumpur has usually come from Kelantan.

After the Second World War the growth of national consciousness gave new life to this aspect of Malay culture, but at the same time it faced increasing competition from the cinema (wayang gelap) and other entertainments. It has not been killed by this and it is possible that film and television may in time contribute to a revival of interest

in it.

A wayang kulit performance is more than an entertainment. It contains religious elements and implications, and its characters represent mythological heroes or supernatural beings who influence the life of ordinary mortals in a special way. It may indeed have developed out of religious ceremonies in honour of the gods, or of ancestors represented as gods. The spirits of the ancestors were summoned to be consulted and it is these spirits rather than human beings that the puppets can be considered to represent.

When, in 1969, Miss Shelagh Weir from the British Museum's Department of Ethnography purchased a set of puppets from a Kelantan dalang, Awang Lah, she had to wait three days before removing them, partly so that he could make new tracings of the old design, but partly, also, so that he could 'take the spirits out of them' in case they harmed the new owner.

The non-Islamic aspect of this religious element creates another challenge to its existence in Kelantan where the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (Partai Islam) that has ruled the state since 1960 frowns upon any performance involving beliefs or practices contrary to the teachings of Islam. Consequently the original formulae of the ritual of appeal and offering to the spirits before the performance - (buka panggong) and the dismissal of the propitiated spirits at its conclusion have largely disappeared from contemporary wayang performances.

The sacrifice and invocation once common before a performance were a survival of both Hindu and pre-Hindu ritual. For this the To'(Tok)Dalang, wearing a yellow sash over his shoulders, claimed to be the incarnation or representative of Vishnu .² He sat cross-legged with his back to the audience before a tray of offerings for the spirits of the four corners of the world, spirits of the ocean, earth, forest and locality. The offerings varied, but they usually included a special plate of uncooked rice, a raw egg, a raw thread of cotton and money for Batara Guru-Siva, the supreme teacher, who as Nataraja was lord of dancers and king of actors .³ Having fumigated his body with incense smoke from the censer (bekas bara) placed between himself and the offerings, the dalang called upon the spirits to partake of the offerings, and censuring the puppets representing Siva and Vishnu asked them to drive away all the spirits of evil.

His farewell to the spirits at the closing ceremony (Lepas Permainan) paid respect to both the Hindu and Muslim traditions:

Om ! I salute you.

Gentle rain is falling to refresh the nymphs of Shiva's heaven after the heat. Dust is flying up into the air, a sign that by virtue of our devotions the gods are mounting to Suralaya, their heaven.

Open the big gates. For Shiva the Destroyer is descending from the summit of heaven to expel all evil powers, all spirits of disease.

Before earth was of the size of a foot or the vault of heaven was framed ; when only the throne of Allah and the tablet of fate and the Kuran existed, I was the original magician, uttering the original incantation to disperse spirits of evil. I bid them to disperse to their masters, King Solomon, Shiva, the Spectre Huntsman, Vishnu and the great Dragon at the navel of the sea . It is not I who bid them go but the original primal salutation (tabek) that bids them; Not I, but the first of actors (i. e. Shiva), not I but the first of teachers (again Shiva). And my magic has the power of that teacher's magic. One! Three ! Five ! Seven ! Avaunt ! Avaunt !⁴

This mixing of Muslim prayers with traditional Hindu ritual still survives in West Malaysia. At a performance of wayang Jawa recorded by the Cambridge Expedition just outside Kota Bharu in 1962, the dalang began by chanting a Muslim prayer with selected verses from the Koran to purify his own spirit before calling the blessings of Allah upon the spectators. He followed this with a prayer pre-dating both Hindu and Muslim invocations - the prayer of salutation to the spirits of the four quarters, north, south, east and west. To the east was the chief of all the spirits, Azal Lalu Champin, to the west were spirits of all kinds known as the Ang Katam Dewa Seranjut Maharaja Wana, to the north were the spirits of the sea, the Ang Katam Penglima Hitam di Laut, and to the south, the spirits of the jungle, the Sang Raya di Hutan. All these spirits were warned that the power of the dalang remained supreme throughout the performance and that none of them must disturb the continuity of the drama or the peace of the audience.

The origin of the wayang kulit remains a matter for conjecture. In China a shadow-play was first heard of about 200 A.D. when an emperor of the Han Dynasty, mourning the death of his favourite concubine, ordered a Taoist monk to call up her spirit. This he did by causing a shadowy feminine figure to appear on a white cloth screen. It is claimed that a shadow play existed in Andhra Pradesh in South-West India as early as 300 B.C., and from there spread throughout India and to the neighbouring countries. Sultan Sallehudin of Arabia is known to have attended performances of the shadow play in Cairo before 1190, when it had already been popular for a long time. In Thailand an ancient form of the play, the Nag Yai, dates back at least 1,000 years, and although

this is no longer performed, a later variety, the Nang Talung, is still popular in rural areas, especially in the South.

⁷ Rentse believes that the shadow play originated in Java before the advent of Hinduism and then spread to the other parts of Asia, where it is still found. Its style was adapted to the local traditions in religion and lore, and the design of its puppets was influenced by local ornaments of religious art.

⁸ Another theory advanced by Dr. W. H. Rassers, is that the wayang developed from initiation rites formerly practised in Indonesia and now surviving in New Guinea.

⁹ Cui sinier joins Rentse in attributing its origin to Java, although she points out that it is not unusual for an artistic creation to appear in several different parts of the world without being carried from one to the other.

In West Malaysia there are two main forms of wayang kulit - wayang Siam and wayang Jawa, both are sometimes called wayang Melayu. A third form, wayang kedek or gedek, corresponding to the Thai nang talung and performed in Kelantan by Thais, is not often seen.

Most of the repertoire of both the wayang Siam and wayang kedek comes from the Ramayana, known to the Malays as the Hikayat Seri Ram, and based on the Serat Kanda of Java. Local episodes are added, some from Javanese sources, others of Thai inspiration. The wayang Jawa takes its subjects from the Mahabharata, called by the Malays Hikayat Pandawa, and from the Panji cycle, a Javanese epic in which facts relating to the local chronicles are transplanted onto the plan of the heroic legends.

It is understandable that the wayang Siam should be more popular in the north and on the east coast because of the close historical and geographical contacts of those areas with Thailand¹⁰. Nevertheless, Rentse claims that the wayang Siam of Kelantan is so different from the Siamese shadow play in both legend and appearance that he would prefer to call it the Kelantan Wayang-kulit.

As to the introduction of the wayang Jawa to Kelantan, Rentse (writing in 1936) quotes a tradition that maintains it was taken there a hundred years before. Munshi Abdullah, secretary to Sir Stamford Raffles, describing his visit to Kelantan during the civil war of 1838, (in Pelayaran Abdullah) mentions certain old manuscripts written on bark cloth which he saw in the possession of Raja Bendahara. It was one of these, Cherita dewa-dewa, dan mambang indera dan jin, that Rentse thought might have been a key book to the Javanese wayang kulit.

11

Cuisinier believes that the name, wayang Jawa, is not the only reason for thinking that this particular form of wayang came to Kelantan from Java. The greater part of its repertory is taken from the Javanese versions of the Mahabharata and the Panji cycle, and in the Malay text there are Javanese titles and words varying from formal court language to the more usual language of the time. She was told that the wayang was not introduced into Kelantan before the eighteenth century, but there was no real evidence for such a precise dating.

Che Nik Abdul Rahman bin Haji Nik Der, popularly known as Nik Man, and one of the most experienced dalang in the peninsula, gave me his own version of the coming of the wayang Jawa to Kelantan two hundred years ago. This is included in translation as Appendix I.

Nik Man and his pupil, Che Hassan bin Che Lah, are probably the only two dalang now able to perform wayang Jawa . The number of dalangs in Kelantan performing wayang Siam varies with the informant. The figures of seventy and three hundred have both been mentioned. What is certain¹² is that far fewer than the lower number practise with any regularity.

Nik Man traced the seven generations of dalangs from Demumin, who, he believes, introduced the wayang Jawa to Kelantan, to himself as: 1) Demumin, 2) To'Dalang Deraman, 3) Dalang Tok Ku Long Deris, 4) Dalang Jalal, 5) Dalang Cha Leh (son of Jalal), 6) Paku Tuan Kechik, and 7) Pa Nik Man. Now in his mid-sixties, Pa Nik Man began training as a dalang when he was twenty-two, and spent seven years intensively studying the art, memorising the stories and incantations, and acquiring the necessary dramatic sensitivity. Nevertheless, he still claims to be 'only 50 to 60 per cent a dalang', for 'when a person is a true dalang, even a knife cannot cut him'. A dalang is greatly respected in Kelantan, where it is believed that he is endowed with special qualities which make him the intermediary between the worlds of men and spirits. Nik Man stressed that he is not just a performer with puppets; he must also be a psychologist and a hypnotist, and sometimes a bomor . The duties of a dalang are not always hereditary, for a son is not necessarily considered fit to carry on his father's work. As part of their preparation a few dalangs still spend a period of time in isolation (bertapa), sometimes eating only fried rice and drinking water for a week. Originally a dalang went away from the peninsula for this retreat, often to Java: nowadays he may choose somewhere near his own kampong, or,

if he wishes, completely abandon both the retreat and the aesthetic practices associated with it.

The dalang is the key performer in the wayang kulit, uniting
13
both the religious and artistic elements. The stage (panggung) on which he operates is a platform which measures from 10 to 12.1/2 feet wide by 12 to 14 feet long, made of bamboo poles lashed together with ratan, raised up to 5 feet from the ground, and enclosed in a bamboo shelter with the atap roof sloping away towards the back. With the advent of power-operated saw mills and cheap transport, many theatres use timber for the posts and planks for the floor, and in some cases, for the walls. Even more significant is the fact that nails are used; these were once taboo; any infringement being thought to bring calamity to the performers and their families. The front wall of this shelter consists of a white canvas screen called kelir (pronounced kele in Kelantan) which inclines slightly inwards from the projecting roof. Access to the stage is through a door at the back or side of the panggung reached by a ladder (tangga). A detailed study of a panggung built at Kampong Chichar about seven miles from Kota Bharu in traditional style is given by Che Shahrum bin Yub in his paper 'The Technical Aspects of the Kelantan Malay Shadow Play Theatre', read at the International Conference on the Traditional Drama and Music of South East Asia, Kuala Lumpur, 1969.

Certain accepted rules govern the construction of the panggung. It should be erected on an open space a short distance from dwellings in order to keep the spirits away from human habitation. It must not be at the junction of three or four cross roads nor old wells, nor must it be built between a river and a ditch where the water is stagnant, for that is where bad demons and evil spirits like to stay.

In the centre of the stage and a few feet behind the screen the dalang sits cross-legged . Above his head hangs the lamp, (pelita or chahaya noor) , once a wick immersed in animal's fat or coconut oil, now more likely to be a kerosene lamp or an electric bulb, that casts the puppets' shadows onto the screen. There may be more than two hundred puppets and when they are not being used they are stuck into a trunk of wood (pegalan dunia ¹⁴), which stretches the length of the stage each side of the dalang. . This is often the soft stem of a banana-tree and according to Nik Abdul Rahman, the variety of trunk preferred is the pisang benggala, because it is 'haunted' . To the right of the dalang are the puppets representing the good characters, to his left those representing the bad. Puppets not in use are either stuck in the woven bamboo sides of the panggung or hung from a line stretching across it.

The box in which they are stored with incense, rice and a skein of untwisted silk or cotton is called kotak or achak . When this is not available they are kept in a large folder made of two pieces of matting and split bamboo with the ends tied together. They are stored according to their type, not their dimensions, so that characters who are enemies in the episodes of the chosen repertoire need not be put together. One puppet never kept in this bamboo folder is Semar, under the name 'Pa Dogo' (or 'Pa Dogah' or 'Pa Dogol'), the famous clown at Seri Rama's court. As the most important puppet of all, because he represents Sang Yang Tunggal, the Supreme One God of Shiva's heaven, he is hung on the wall of the stage with a cotton necklace (benang kapok) a symbol of purity, and scented jasmin flowers round his neck. His figure is

keramat (sacred) and offerings were once made to him in order to get desires fulfilled.

All the puppets are skilfully cut out of thin cow or buffalo hide, Semar always from buffalo hide - and they are elaborately painted and gilded. They are mounted on a rod of wood, bamboo or horn which extends from the tip of their head-dress to three or four inches below their feet or the support on which they rest. Their only mobile limb is their right arm, except in the case of Pa'Dogo (Dogol) and Wa'Long, the two clowns, who can move both their arms and their lower jaws. In some recent Wa'Long puppets the nose also moves. Other innovations are the insertion of panes of coloured cellophane or transparent plastic into the puppets' bodies and the creation of characters in the form of present day human beings. An essential accessory , also cut out of hide, is the pohon beringin (sometime s translated ' the tree of life') which is used to represent a variety of features - the world, a mountain, the jungle, the division of countries . Its appearance on the screen indicates the beginning and end of each performance.

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Behind the dalang sit the instrumentalists. The instrumental combination varies in format according to the type of wayang being performed, and in size according to the wealth of the tuan kerja , the promoter of the performance and the availability of instruments.

The following instruments form the basis of the ensemble used in the wayang Siam :

- 1 serunai , the directing instrument
- 2 large suspended gongs, called tetawak by Nik Man,
often gong anak and gong ibu
- 16
- 2 chanang or luk mong , small gongs lying flat in wooden frames,
sometimes called ketjing by Kelantan Malays
- 2 gendang in two sizes - anak, the smaller, ibu, the larger
- 2 geduk in two sizes " " " " " "
- 2 gedombak " " " " " "

There was a larger group of instruments than this at the wayang Siam performance at the Biarritz, Kota Bharu, 25th July, 1962:-

- 2 serunai - one larger than the other
- 3 large suspended gongs, only two of which were used, and inside one of which was a bunch of green leaves
- 2 chanang on a home-made stand
- 2 gendang - anak and ibu
- 2 geduk
- 1 gedombak
- 1 pair of kési, struck on a metal bar
- 1 roughly made gambang gangsa, consisting of three metal bars lying horizontally on a trough, played by a hammer

For this collection of instruments there were six players only - one for a gendang and two geduk, one for the second gendang and the gedombak , one for the serunai , one for the chanang , one for the suspended gongs and kési , the player's right hand striking the gongs, his left hand the kési , and one for the metal bars.

The instrumental ensemble for the wayang Jawa differs slightly from that of the wayang Siam:-

- 1 rebab dua tali¹⁷
 2 suspended gongs, anak and ibu¹⁸
 6 chanang (often more)
 1 mong¹⁹
 6 kesi
 2 gendang, anak and ibu

In this ensemble, the rebab dua tali is the directing instrument.²⁰ All the instruments have secret names : rebab - 'sri naga ulit ' ; gongs - 'sri berdengan' ; gendang - 'sri gemetar ' ; chanang - 'macham chrik' ; mong - 'macham dilatong' ; kesi : ' set bersek ' . The dalang was forbidden to speak the secret name of the rebab as this was a respected, holy instrument.

The basic instruments for a wayang kedek are similar to those for the wayang Siam:

- 1 serunai (the directing instrument)
 2 chanang
 2 luk mong
 2 geduk, anak and ibu²¹
 2 gedombak

Various arrangements of these wayang Siam instrumentalists²² behind the dalang are described by Shahrudin bin Yub . No. I was given to him by Nik Abdul Rahman from a record written down in the early 1930's and acquired from his teacher, Pak Ku Raja Mamat Empat Tampan of Kampong Jembal. This was said to go back a hundred years or so.

No. II came from Dalang Hamzah bin Muhammed, a young dalang from Kampong Dalam Pandan of Kampong Laut, Palekbang. No. III was from Dalang Hamid of Kampong Chichar, 7th Mile, Kota Bharu, and No. IV from Nik Abdul Rahman, himself.

In the diagrams the figures refer to the players of the following instruments:

1. serunai, (juru serunai); 2. gendang ibu; 3. gendang anak;
4. gedombak ibu ; 5. gedombak anak ; 6. geduk ibu ; 7. geduk anak ;
8. kesi (permain kesi); 9. chanang (permain chanang) ; 10. suspended gongs.

Arrangement I.

AUDIENCE

TO ' D ALANG

1

○
Tiang Seri

(Central pillar in a Malay house)

8

5

4

3

2

7

6

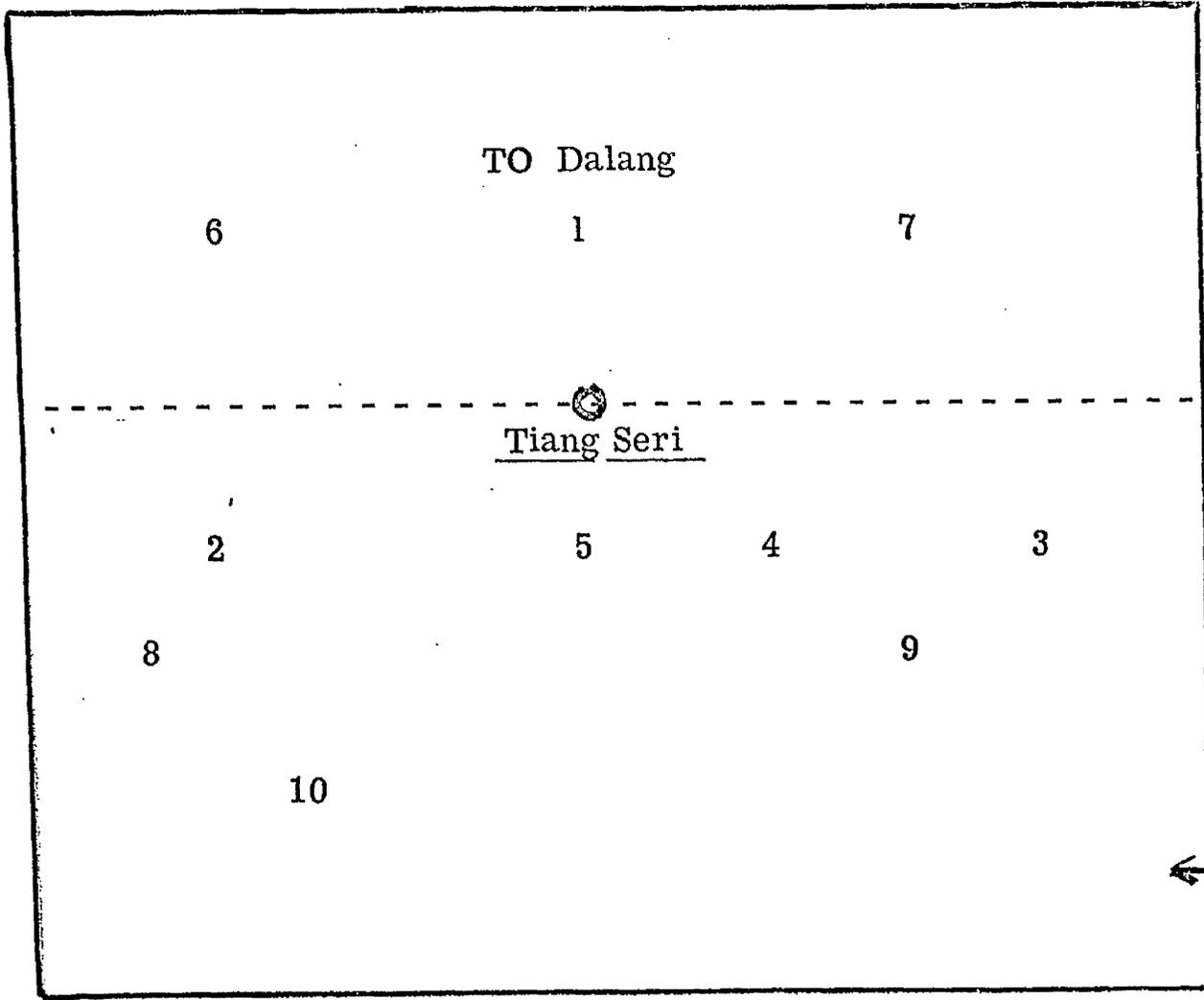
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9



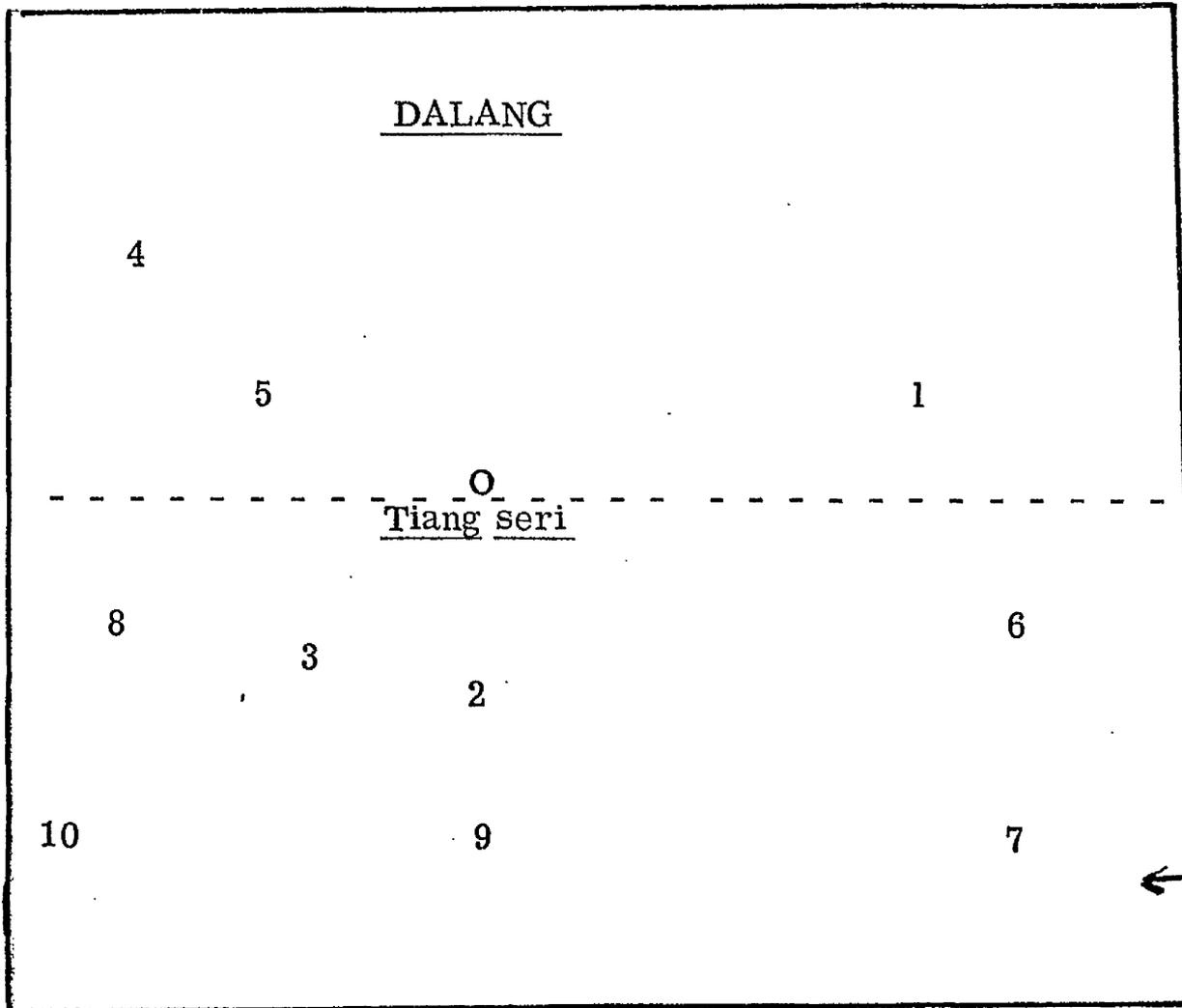
Arrangement II

AUDIENCE



Arrangement III

AUDIENCE



Arrangement IV

AUDIENCE

DALANG

3

5

8

4

1

2



Tiang seri

9

5

6

10



From these plans three features emerge:-

1. The position of the juru serunai suggests that he is the person next in importance to the dalang. During the performances any musician who wishes to leave the stage temporarily has to inform him. If the dalang leaves, his role is taken by the juru serunai. If the juru serunai is indisposed, his place can be taken by any of the geduk or gedombak players, so that they are positioned quite near him.
2. Each of the three groups of drums moves from its traditional position at the back half of the stage as seen in the first arrangement, to the front half: - the gendang in arrangement II, the gedombak in arrangements II and IV, and the geduk in arrangements II and III.

23

Shahnim bin Yub describes another instrument in addition to the major musical instruments. This was called pemintit and was made of a pair of long springy pieces of chengal or merbau wood. It was placed below the knee of the To'Dalang and was used by him to add dramatic effect to the characters during certain fighting scenes, and also as a signal to stop the music. The pemintit used for wayang Jawa is different. There it consists of a flat wooden piece which hangs on the wooden box containing the puppets. Sitting with his right foot placed across and above the left knee (i. e. in a dudok panggong position), the dalang taps the pemintit against the box with the sole of his right foot.

In Java the melodies played by the instruments are called gending, those sung by the dalang lagu. In Kelantan no distinction is made. Both are called lagu, or very occasionally, ragam.

24

At the beginning of every performance, all the percussion instruments are played together in the lagu sri panggong (wayang Siam) or the lagu prang (wayang Jawa). This lagu is obligatory, and its omission is believed to affect the playing of the instrumentalists during the rest of the performance. After that the melodies accompanying the entries and exits of the characters have special names, but these do not always seem to have any recognisable connection with the characters or actions they accompany. The instruments do not play while the dalang is actually speaking for a puppet - except occasionally to emphasise something a character has said.

Cuisinier found that it was difficult to get information about the music from either the dalang or the musicians, and this was equally true in 1962.

A list of the principal lagu of wayang Jawa, with brief descriptions of each of them was given to Cuisinier by an old pengantin, Raja Mamad. These I discussed with Nik Man, and his comments (in brackets with N.M.) are added to those of Raja Mamad. The following lagu are played by the complete ensemble:

Gandang: The march tune for the ordinary characters. Gandang implies to gesticulate gaily, but the word may be a corruption of gendang. (N.M.: gandang implies a slow tempo and was played only for unhappy events, or when someone was outlawed by a raja).

Kelajong: the melody which accompanies the exits of the characters in the scenes where the buta and (or) the Pandawa and other princes appeared. (N.M.: buta = raksasa (Skt), ogres, goblins, giants, but this music is not confined to these particular puppets. It is of a moderate tempo, neither very fast nor very slow).

Dasil : the melody of the great princes: Maharaja, Raja and Radin. This is a Javanese word of which only the ending and intention have remained, asil and angsil being indications of the kromo.²⁵
(N. M. : the word always implies slow music)

Manggong: the melody which accompanies the exit of the princes - ratu.²⁶ (N. M. : this should be manggu).

Kijang Mas: an exact translation is ' the golden hind or deer '. This music accompanies the exit of the character after the hunting episode, or after the pursuit or capture of the golden deer. (N. M. : this lagu is no longer used. It was noteworthy for its extremely slow gong strokes).

Bilu: Semar's music.²⁷ (N. M. : bilut-bilut was a term for old people. The music of bilu is no longer used).

Jurbang mong satu: the music accompanying the exit of the princesses and sometimes of their followers. (N. M. : this music is used only occasionally in wayang kulit nowadays - more frequently for the tarian asek).

Jurba mong tiga: the music of Raden Galoh Jandra Kirana. (N. M. : this tune is now lost.)

The following are played by the rebab alone:

Lagu miring: the lagu before and during the chant of the dalang when he speaks the praises addressed to Raden Ino by Raden Galoh.²⁸ (N. M. : confirmed that this tune is still used).

Lagu dederu: the tune for the praises addressed by Raden Galoh to Raden Ino: it could also accompany the praise of Arjuna. (N. M. : said that although the name still existed, the music itself was no longer used).

The following lagu were played by all the instruments during the last night only, the night of the sacrifice (malam berjamu):

Gunungan tujuh: a name borrowed by the musicians from the vocabulary of the Javanese wayang, where it is a name for the screen gunungan. It is the name of the music for a definite scene, and is the signal for the promised festival for Kala after the figure of Bataru Guru has been put back into his place (N. M. : Seven hundred dollars had to be available for the sacrifice of a buffalo before this lagu could be played. There were other conditions, the performers had to wear a thread of white cotton round their wrist, the panggong had to be draped in yellow cloth, and the following yellow clothes were obligatory: a head-dress

of wound cloth, a baju with short sleeves and a tight neck with one button, and a sarong. This ceremony of sacrifice is looked upon with disfavour by the Partai Islam who are trying to prevent it taking place.

Kelajong mong satu: the music which accompanies the hunt of Putra Kali.²⁹ Cuisinier, 30. points out that there was no longer any connection between the lagu kelajong which accompanied the exit of ordinary persons, and this lagu for Putra Kala, a particularly important character.

Lagu ganjol: the music accompanying the dance of the dalang in the main topeng.

In Java the dalang described the lagu by their names, whereas the musicians used purely technical terms amongst themselves, although they were also familiar with the names of the dalang. As the same practice was followed in Kelantan, Raja Mana's list may be a mixture of both names and technical terms.

The names of the lagu played by the instrumentalists of the wayang Siam as given to me by Nik Man, are fewer and more self-explanatory:

Lagu Sri panggong : the opening music (corresponding to the lagu prang).

Lagu belarak: the music for an assembly before any war.

Lagu buka surat: the music for a messenger.

Lagu Mahataja Wama : the music played when that character appears.

Lagu Pa Dogo : the music for the appearance of the clown, Pa Dogo.

Lagu Hulubalang: the music for the warrior.

Lagu Sri Rama: the music for Sri Rama and Sita Dewi.

Lagu angkatan perang: the music for war.

Lagu Dewa turun : the music for the coming of the spirit Dewa.

Lagu menyemah: the lagu played at the conclusion of the wayang.

The fact that the dalang can introduce into the performance any original material he wishes, as long as the bare skeleton of the story is kept, does not worry the musicians. They know, from long experience, what type of music is expected for specific puppets and types of events. Sometimes too, the dalang asks for a particular lagu.

There is no notation for any of the music, the musicians transmitting their knowledge from father to son. All of them are theoretically capable of taking any part in the ensemble, with the single exception of the rebab player in the wayang Jawa. His skill is often passed down through families, although it is no longer essential for a rebab player to be the son of a pengantin³². Originally, like the dalang, he had to go into retreat and follow various ascetic practices before his authority to perform was recognised. This practice is no longer considered necessary.

Before being used in the wayang all the instruments are passed through incense. Such importance was once attached to the rebab that the pengantin used to put a yellow turban on his head before passing his own instrument through the incense. During the bacha kenduri (the night of the sacrifice of the buffalo) the musicians if they had not already done so, rubbed the gongs and drums with a little rice with turmeric and blessed flour (tepong tewas), and threw several drops of blessed water into the gongs.

Although the dalang disclaims responsibility for the music (Nik Man was insistent about this), he is in fact completely involved in all of it, for the use he makes of his voice and gestures, including head movements and even an occasional dance is intimately bound up with the rhythm of the instruments. 33.

Nowadays, a dalang may know only one story and into this he introduces items of local interest and topical jokes. Amin Sweeney comments that the growing trend, at least amongst the younger dalangs, tends to be towards greater invention. This does not produce better stories, as might be expected; instead, the stories become much triter, and performances tend to resemble musical reviews with large amounts of comedy, many spectacular battles and a much faster pace than was previously the case. The performance takes several nights to complete, with the recitation lasting several hours each night. A single night's performance is exceptional, and when it is given it lasts all night.

A series of performances usually continues for three or five consecutive nights or for seven or fifteen evenings, lasting for six or thirteen days with Thursday evenings (the beginning of the Muslim sabbath) omitted. For such a feat of memory great concentration is required. So also is great versatility, for the dalang has to adapt his voice, and manner, to suit each of his puppet types. At one moment he must be feeble, at another rough or noble: he must create terror for the ogres, giants and monsters, and mirth for the clowns. His recitation varies from the conversational and dramatic to a pitched recitative on one note interspersed with short passages of arioso.

Armin Sweeney says that the only fixed part of the actual narrative is a number of pieces of 'rhythmic prose' called bilangap or uchap. Consisting of descriptions of certain major characters and of various scenes, they may be used wherever relevant. Although they are common to all Kelantan dalang they vary a little from one dalang to another.

One section of wayang Jawa as described by Cuisinier seems to have disappeared completely. This was an interlude during the afternoon on the day of the penultimate performance, and was a mime by the dalang without narration called main topeng, the play of masks, or joget. As has been seen, joget, as performed at the court of the Sultans of Pahang and Trengganu did not involve masks, and why it should give its name to this interlude, is not known. The dalang consulted by Cuisinier considered it more 'scholarly' than main topeng, but the latter name is more accurate.

In Java the wayang topeng or topeng dalang, is a performance with masks in which the dalang is one of the chief actors³⁸. All the actors carry a mask with a leather tongue held between their teeth. They mime their parts as they recite them, and when they have to make a retort they take the leather tongue between the fingers of their left hand, and continue the gestures with their right hand only. In Java there are sometimes fifty masks. The main topeng of Kelantan had only four masked characters: Prince Ino was included, the other three were variable, but they were always characters from the Panji cycle. Of the two sets of four masks bought by Cuisinier from two dalang and now in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, one contains the masks of Semar, Turas, Jerudi (spelt Jerudis or Jerudih in Kelantan) and Kalang, the other that of Kalang and Ino,³⁹ together with those of Guni Sari (anak Ratu Daha) and Aria Lasang. The dalang may use any of the four masks but he alone is allowed to wear that of Ino, the other dancers wearing those allotted to them.

The dancer who carried a mask was believed to enter into direct contact with its spirit. Cuisinier claimed that this religious character of the masks which had been lost in Java was restored to them in Kelantan. The kris of the tuan kerja, worn by the dancer in his belt, was another important accessory in the main topeng, making the dalang the depository of the tradition of family honour. Special importance was attached to this dance by the dalang who claimed that without it and its symbolic gestures he could not substitute Prince Ino's mythical personality for his own human personality on the following day.

The actual dance performance was rather informal of prime importance only to the dalang. Mats were laid in front of the panggung, and the white screen was raised so that the audience could see the half-opened kotak containing the masks. As the instruments were not all played together, the musicians wandered around at will amongst the audience until it was their turn to play the relevant lagu for the mask being worn. The dancers, who might be either assistants to the dalang or two musicians, or one assistant and one musician⁴⁰, wore their ordinary clothes. The dalang was distinguished from them only by the kris⁴¹ tanjang which he fixed into his belt before performing, and his right to wear Ino's mask. The very simple dance was repeated at least three times, first without masks, then without Ino's mask and finally with it. Sometimes there were further repetitions with different combinations of masks.

The dancer's walking steps was rather monotonous, varied only by its speed: it was both heavy and springy, performed with the knees bent and far apart. One of the dancers moved forward from the panggung towards the public whilst the other two crossed behind him, one from left to right and the other in the opposite direction. Or whilst one moved forwards, sometimes facing the audience, sometimes the panggung, the other two moved in a circle round him, one behind the other, one by the side of the other, or both in different directions. Sometimes all three followed each other, enlarging or diminishing the circle, but without greatly altering the distance between each other.

Their formations did not appear to have been pre-arranged and their hand movements were independent of each other. Although these recalled the mudra of India from which they have been inherited, they had lost any special significance they might have had. The dalang only knew that he was performing a serious act in preparation for the lupa of the following day.

Despite the fact that the wayang kulit is not as frequently performed in the north of the peninsula as it was before the Second World War, experiments in its presentation are still taking place. One of these has recently been reported from Kelantan. There, a dalang, Ayub Ismail, has devised a Rama Ballet in which gaily costumed dancers act episodes of the Ramayana to the music of the wayang kulit instruments at the same time as the shadows of the leather puppets are being seen on the screen. ⁴²

Much detailed work remains to be done on the music used during wayang kulit performances. This merits a full study before it is too late.

Wayang Kulit.

1. Wilkinson(1959) equates the Javanese word wayang with the Malay bayang, a shadow . Wayang has however, come to be understood as a theatrical performance, whether by living actors (wayang wong) or by puppets (wayang kulit) . The cinema is wayang gelap . R. L. Mellema points out in Wayang Puppets, Amsterdam, 1954, p. 5, that in Java the word wayang is understood to mean ' a flat or rounded puppet which is used in presenting a play' . Since the end of the nineteenth century the wayang stories have also been played by living actors, these productions being spoken of as wayang wong or ringgit tiyang . The various kinds of wayang performed or puppets are distinguished by the word following wayang . Since kulit means skin or leather, it is from these materials that we can expect the puppets of the wayang kulit to be made.
2. Winstedt , The Malays, A Cultural History, p. 30
3. A. M. Rentse , in 'The Kelantan Shadow Play', JRASMB, VolXIV, Pt. III, 1936, pp. 287-288, itemises the offering used in Kelantan when he was writing:
 - (i). rice (nasi) and turmeric (kunyit) boiled together to produce a yellow rice.
 - (ii). cakes (dadar) consisting of flour, eggs and the brown sugar content produced from the coconut palm (gula melaka).
 - (iii). parched rice (bereteh)
 - (iv). consecrated water (ayer tawar) scented with jasmine flowers.
 - (v). betel-nut, sireh leaves, chalk, gambir and tobacco .
4. Rentse, op. cit., p. 290
5. it is interesting to compare this salutation with that noted by Rentse thirty three years ago (pp. 288-290). Rentse also gives in Malay the complete incantations for the opening of a shadow play (pp. 291-298) and the ritual for the closing ceremony (pp. 295-300). These incantations were for the most part repeated to Rentse by illiterate people who spoke in a dialect different from the Malay known in other parts of the Peninsula.
6. Wavell, The Naga King's Daughter, p. 115
7. op. cit.
8. Rassers, De Pandji-Roman, Anvers, 1922, quoted by Cuisinier, Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, p. 13.
9. Cuisinier, op. cit., p. 14

10. Dr. R. Beuningen van Helsdingen, 'The Javanese Theatre: Wayang Purva and Wayang Gedok', JRASSB, No. 65, 1913, p. 21 argues that the Siamese Wayang probably came directly from the Javanese or from the Malays of Malacca (Malaya).
11. p. 38
12. some children have their own miniature shadow play theatres with improvised musical instruments; see Kijang Puteh; 'Talib the boy dalang'STA, 1967, pp. 62, 63
13. panggung, originally meant a tribune, a platform, and in Java, a tower. Today it means a platform, a raised flooring, but is also used for the whole shelter around the stage.
14. pengalan, pole; dunia: world;
15. Rentse, p. 287, says that the instrumentalists sit on the left of the dalang. This is not usual at the present time. The whole of the space behind the dalang in the panggung is usually filled by the instrumentalists.
16. Cuisinier, p. 60, says that the Kelantan Malays borrowed from the Thai the name mong as applied to small gongs resting on a support, whether singly or in twos or fours. In Thai they are called luk mong: luk means a child, and indicates that a small instrument is referred to.
17. Cuisinier, p. 62, says that when the dalang or pengantin speak of the rebab used for the performance of the wayang Jawa, they always emphasise that it is an instrument with two strings, dua tali. But the photograph to which she then refers, Plate VI, fig. 2., is of a rebab with three strings.
18. Shahrum bin Yub, The Technical Aspects of the Kelantan Malay Shadow Play Theatre, International Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 1969, p. 17, Fn. 9. says that for the Mahabharata and Panji tales the minimum number of chanang is seven and the maximum twelve.
19. Cuisinier, p. 62, mentions only one pair of cymbals. I was told by Nik Man that it is quite customary to have six of these, four above and two below.
20. these names were given to me by Nik Man, cf. the secret names of the rebab and geduk in 'putri'. naga: dragon huge snake; ulit: crooning, singing to sleep; berdangan: loud laughter; gemetar: trembling all over; macham: sort, type; chrik (?); dilatong: (?); bersek: whispering;
21. in the descriptions given by Cuisinier, p. 60, of the gedombak and geduk there is a confusion between the two instruments.
22. op. cit., figures 8-11
23. p. 17, Fn. 9.

24. Cuisinier, p. 63, was told that lagu and ragam were synonymous.
25. kromo: Cuisinier, p. 65, fn. 1. says that krama, madja and ngaka are different forms of address: krama to superiors, madja to equals and ngaka to inferiors.
26. Cuisinier, p. 65, wonders whether manggong could be linked with tanggong which appears in the composition with the title, gending plajon srepegan tanggoeng sanga. This melody was played in a passage when Arjuna left with his faithful companions and a princess, and also when several princes of the Kaurara took the place of the most popular of the Pandara on the screen. The title might, on the other hand, be inspired by the name of a Javanese gamelan, the gamelan manggong. Cuisinier agrees that both hypotheses are rather fragile, and this is supported by Nik Man's comment.
27. Cuisinier, p. 66, says that Tembilung is the name of another panakawan. These are grotesque characters in the Javanese wayang employed as servants even when, like Semar they were gods in disguise. In Kelantan they were not called by a generic term: each had his own name. Cuisinier suggests that there may be a simple phonetic coincidence here, or just a confusion of the two characters.
28. miring appears in several titles of wayang music in Java, but not by itself as here - e.g. suluk astakasola barang miring, suluk tlutur baranag miring, suluk tlutur raras barang miring. Kunst, Music in Java. Vol. I, pp. 32 and 388, mentions gamelan orchestras called gamelan miring in both East and West Java.
29. Hikayat Kelaparan Putra Kala, is given as the Appendix to Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, pp. 202-237
30. p. 66
31. Wilkinson (1901) mentions a lagu not given by either Cuisinier or Nik Man. lagu gamboh the tune played when the puppets are made to dance.
32. a distinction must be made between the blood children of the pengantin and his pupils, for like the bomor, he calls them all his children.
33. Cuisinier, p. 18, asks whether it is the musicians who are responsible for the rhythm which they communicate to the dalang, or the dalang who creates it and then communicates it in a sort of telepathy to the rest of the performers. I believe it is more likely to be the latter.
34. A. Sweeney, The Rama Repertoire in the Kelantanese Shadow Play, The International Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 1969, p. 10
35. Cuisinier, p. 20, says that when the dalang is congratulated on his memory he replies that he does not remember - he sees (bukan ingat, nampak). In the lupa he 'sees' the events that he narrates.

36. p. 4. He adds that this rhythmic prose is also found in Mak Yong, Tarik Selampit, and Main Puteri.

37. Chapter III

38. Wilkinson (1901) says that the dancers known as topeng in Java were called asok in Kedah .

39. each of the dalang who agreed to sell masks to Cuisinier assured her that his own set was the correct and traditional one , as did Raja Jembul who could not be persuaded to part with his set.

40. exceptionally there were two professional musicians from the putri dance.

41. a straight-bladed Patani kris with a king-fisher's head hilt .

42. M. Sheppard, ' Shadow Play Up-To-Date ', STA 1971, pp. 91-93

(iii) Bangsawan

Bangsawan is often, but not completely accurately, described as the Malay version of opera. Wilkinson (1901) defines it as 'a kind of native comic-opera'. It is basically an entertainment centred on spoken drama, but in which music is extremely important. The word bangsawan is stated to be of Sanskrit origin - bangsa (an adjective from wansa) meaning 'of good birth'. Mustaffa Kamil Yassin,¹ agrees about the derivation of bangsawan from two Malay words, but gives bangsa as meaning 'people', and wan 'noble'.

The idea of bangsawan is thought to have originated in Penang in the 1870's after the visit to that island of an all male Parsi theatrical troupe from Bombay - Wayang Farsi. The troupe's repertoire consisted of well-known classical stories from the Middle East and India in Hindustani, with many Hindustani songs introduced into and between scenes. These quickly became very popular, with the result that sketches from Indian and Persian tales, together with Hindustani songs sung in Malay, became major attractions at wedding parties and festivals and a feature of state functions in Penang and the neighbouring states on the mainland.

The new entertainment travelled further afield when the Sultan of Deli, Sumatra, asked Mamat Mashhor of Penang to organise an amateur group to perform at the Sultan's palace in Medan. This group included two women. When he returned, Mamat Mashhor,² helped by Kapitan Ali, a businessman, formed the first theatrical troupe.

The first professional troupe, however, was started by Mamak Pushi in 1885. His cast of thirty players, including women, toured the country with great success, and later went on to Batavia, Java, where it was finally sold by him to Jaafar - the ' Turk ' . It has been suggested that it was Jaafar's preference for themes from Middle East stories that was responsible for his troupe being called 'Stambul' after Istanbul, a symbol to the Malays of Muslim greatness. The Stambul later toured the peninsula.

The word 'opera' was probably used for the first time for that type of entertainment in 1903, when a Chinese businessman from Kuala Lumpur known locally as Kapitan Bachik, formed the Yap Chow Tong Opera. He later formed another group, the Yap Chow Chong Opera. Neither group lasted long.

Meanwhile, in Sumatra a group of royal nobles had sponsored the formation of a troupe called the ' Indera Bangsawan of Medan,' and later, other nobles and royal families of Sumatra, Timor and Langkat also sponsored or became patrons of 'bangsawans' . It has been suggested that the name bangsawan came from this connection with high ranking society.

In his Malay Magic, Skeat provides some details of the origin, performers, and place of performance of a bangsawan called 'Bangsawan Parsi Indra Sabor' - but none of the performance itself. He suggests its possible place of origin may have been Persia, adding that the dresses used were Persian in character. The performance, which involved between thirty and fifty performers, almost all of whom

were males, took place indoors with wires being sometimes used to enable performers impersonating Dewas etc. to fly. Among the stories played were Lela Majnun, Sap Jafri and Raja Gelepam.

This troupe must have existed more than ten years before any of the troupes listed by Mustaffa Kamil Yassin. These cover the years 1911 -1950, with the most popular period being 1920-1935 .

Perhaps as the result of European influence, the bangsawan was the first type of Malaysian theatre to have a proscenium stage. This was almost square, with three of its sides made of wooden planks, nipah atap or plaited bamboo, and was built specially for the performance in small towns and the countryside. Large, well-known companies who normally played in the larger towns rented the permanent 'movie theatres' and adapted the stages to meet their particular needs. The sets consisted of painted drops, wings and borders.

These later companies were smaller than those mentioned by Skeat and normally consisted of fifteen to thirty members, with men and women in equal numbers, one of their big attractions being the sequences danced by the girls between long scenes. Also included were apprentices of both sexes between the ages of twelve and twenty who took only the non-speaking or minor roles until they proved themselves as actors.

Before the start of a performance a pawang , maintained by the company, burnt incense and recited incantations to ask the spirits and God for success for the troupe and protection for the theatre. More powerful pawangs blessed the water sprinkled by the principal actors and actresses on their faces and hands before they made themselves up. This

'cleansing' was believed to increase the performers' hold over their audiences. For its success the bangsawan depended a great deal upon star artists who specialised in such type roles as Seri Panggong - the heroine, Orang Muda, - the hero, Ahli Awak - the comedians and Jin Afrit- the genie.

Most of the stories in the regular bangsawan performances came from the Middle East, India and Malaysia, and were generally familiar to the average Malay as classics from these countries had been available in Malay for many centuries. At first they were about kings and queens, gins and fairies, but gradually other subjects were introduced including religion, mystery and heroism, comedies and tragedies. There were no written scripts; the actors were given only the plot, the principle actions and the denouement, and were left to improvise the dialogue and develop the action as the occasion demanded. Some of the stories took between three and seven days to complete. As the audiences were familiar with the stories their interest had to be sustained by the performers' gestures and singing, together with their ability to make a situation topical.

The ensemble accompanying a bangsawan varied in size from five to fifteen instruments including the gambus, mandolin, drums, tambourines, cymbals and a harmonium. The early Bangsawan Parsi Indra Sabor mentioned by Skeat used a much wider variety of instruments :- biola, kechapi, gendang(dul), gong, b'reng-b'reng, piano (or argin, i.e. concertina) sam dyen (Chinese), chên-chên (cymbals), rebab and the gendang singa. Gradually more sophisticated Western instruments such as the flute, guitar, clarinet, trumpet and saxophone were introduced and

the piano became essential. The music was originally from Indian and Arabic sources, but later Malay music was used, and sometimes tunes were specially written which, in turn, became accepted as Malay classics.

During its career the bangsawan also staged various plays based on Western plots, e.g. Shakespeare's 'Hamlet' and Hugo's 'Hernani'.

7

Commenting on this, Rutter suggests that although the bangsawan was almost entirely devoid of any literary value, it gave the Malay actor scope for his powers of mimicry and sense of comedy:

Whilst it is not faithful to classical tradition it has not yet cut adrift from romantic legends or produced original plays with local settings. The Malay impressario cares nothing for convention or criticism, but is concerned only with studying the predilections of his laughter-loving audience, so that in his hands Hamlet becomes a comedy in which the part of the ghost is played by a clown.

The decline of bangsawan was caused by a variety of factors. There seems to have been a series of doubtful financial transactions, and this was not helped by the intense competition for the solo stars. The prevalence of drinking, gambling and smoking by women brought the troupes into disrepute in a Muslim country, and the advent of radio, cinema and television all helped to deplete them of their leading artistes.

Mustaffa Kamil Yassin says that the two bangsawan groups that still exist are not organised as professional troupes, but are available for special occasions and festivals. Some attempts have been made by the radio to revive bangsawan with modern social plots.

Bangsawan

1. much of the information in this chapter comes from Mustaffa Kamil Yassin's paper, The Malay Bangsawan, which he read at the International Conference on the Traditional Dance and Music of South-east Asia at Kuala Lumpur, 27-31 August, 1969.
2. A. H. Edrus, Persuratan Melayu, III, Drama, Singapore, 1962, pp. 49-50
3. Syed Abdul Kadir and Zen Rosdy, Sejarah Seni-Drama, Singapore, 1963, p. 147
4. Edrus, op. cit., p. 57
5. Syed Abdul Kadir, op. cit., p. 153
6. p. 520
7. O. Rutter 'Malaya,' The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, O. U. P. 1967, p. 614

(iv) Obsolete Theatrical Performances

1

In Malay Magic Skeat lists the following 'theatrical performances' with Siamese or Chinese influences, which, as far as I know, are now obsolete. Skeat gives minimal details of the performances and none at all of their musical content.

Lekun or Lakun

The reputed places of origin of this performance were Kedah
2
and Siam . There were between one and two hundred performers, all of whom, with the exception of the musicians, were women. The instruments used were: gendang besar, gong, gambang dua-b'las,
3
kromong (or mong-mong), anak ayam, breng-breng, serunei, cherek.
The performances took place indoors with scenery, dresses and masks and the stories presented were S'ri Rama, Dewa Matahari, Sendrong and Prak Jusin.

Wayang Kun

This was also reputed to have had its origin in Siam. The thirty to forty performers of both sexes played the same stories as those in the lekun, indoors and without scenery.

The instruments used were the gong, gendang, kromong, anak ayam, b'reng-breng, gambang dua-b'las and serunai. Skeat says that the airs (lagu) used were different from those of the lekun.

Mek Mulong.

Again the place of origin of this performance might have been Siam. Eight to fifteen performers of both sexes took part out of doors and used a panggung. The stories performed were Malim Bongsu

and Awang Selamat, and the instrumental ensemble consisted of two gongs, two gedombak, one gedu-gedu, two mong-mong, a serunei, two anak ayam and between ten and twenty cherek.

Mendura

Another performance which possibly originated in Siam. There were about ten to fifteen performers - all male, including the princess. The stories presented were S'ri Rama, Lak Kenawan, Timun Muda, Iprat, Prak Jusin, Pran Bun, Sendrong, Dewa Matahari. They were played out of doors with no scenery.

Instruments used were the gedombak, gedu, serunai, cherek, mong, brenng-brenng and anak ayam.

Mendu

The suggested place of origin of this performance is Pontiak. In it between twenty and fifty Malays of both sexes acted Malay stories in Chinese dress. It took place indoors with the same basic scenery as in Chinese theatres. In Skeat's day there were small theatres for the Mendu in the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca.

Some of the stories played were Saifu'-l-Yazan, Siti Zubeidah, Ken Tabohan, ' Abdul Muluk, Bestaman, Mara Karma, Bidasari, Dewa Mendu di Negri Langkadura. Most, if not all of these had war-like themes.

There was a mixture of Malay and Chinese instruments: gendang (dul), gong, b'reng-b'reng, biola, kechapi, piano or argin (i. e. concertina), sam dyen ⁿ chê - ⁿ chê (cymbals) and gendang singa.

Wayang Makau

The reputed place of origin of this performance was China. There were between twenty and fifty performers of both sexes, and the stories performed were Siti Zubeidah (Malay) and unspecified Chinese subjects. The instruments used were the same as those for the Mendu, the dress was Chinese in character and the place of performance was indoors.

1. pp. 517-521

2. Wilkinson(1959) gives lakun as ' properly the acting or illustrative narration(on the stage, screen or dancing floor) of any story.'

3. Skeat's spellings for the instruments are used here. Wilkinson(1959) when saying that keromong(kromong) formed part of the orchestra of a lekon mentions that it was an importation from Batavia. Anak ayam is a chicken. I do not know to which musical instrument it refers.

8. Traditional Songs and Stories

- (i) Songs
- (ii) Selampit and other forms of story telling

(i) Songs

Considering the general appeal of music to the Malays, it is surprising that there seems to be such a dearth of folk or traditional songs. Perhaps more songs exist than one is aware of, and they have not been sufficiently investigated. In a communication to me of 26th September, 1971, Mubin Sheppard whose knowledge of the Malay traditions is extensive, wrote:

Folk songs have been so badly neglected that it is not surprising that you have not been able to find out anything about them..... I suspect that there is information still to be discovered in Kelantan.

When I taught Malayan students and teachers (1955-59)¹

I was able to transcribe only about twenty songs which were thought to be traditional, and several of these later proved to have been written by recent composers. There is, as far as I know, no published comprehensive collection of traditional songs, and few are available on recordings.

The tradition of singing games is maintained by children, and during my investigation I discovered seventeen melodies of these, but the words were not always remembered by the singers. There is a marked verbal resemblance between one of these games 'Bang Selebu',² and a singing game called 'Sanebang' described by Skeat in Malay Magic.

In that game two players sat on the floor facing each other and chanted the following rhyme, one of them lightly touching the other's left arm in time to the music:

Sanebang sanebu
 Kuala Sambau
 Ujan bunut
 Mandi katong
 Sentak pelok
 Tangan Tuan Putri

Sanebang ! Sanebu !
 At the mouth of the (river) Sambau
 In the drizzling rain
 Bathes the Katong 3
 Twitch and embrace
 The Princess's hand.

Skeat provided no music, but the tune of the singing game,
Bang Selebu, quoted below fits his words, with the sole omission of
 one repeated musical phrase:

Bang se-lě - bu ku - a - la sa - wah, Hu -
 jan gu - roh man - di ka - tong, Si -
 reh ram - pai pi - nang běr - sě - ri, Sen -
 tak pě - lok ta - ngan ki - ri.

The title has similarities to Sanebang! Sanebu! and it looks as if the words of the two games have a common origin. Still popular in Johore, Malacca and Negri Sembilan, Bang Selebu is an example of a traditional singing game handed down for over seventy years (probably more), with the slight modification in words that might be expected during such a period of transmission.

A second singing game described by Skeat - 'Sapu-sapu 'Ringin ' no longer exists as he knew it, but it has not completely disappeared. In this, two players sat down on the floor opposite each other, with their legs stretched out in front of them, and their hands in their laps. They sang the following lines together:

Sapu-sapu beringin,
Katimbun dayong-dayong ,
Datang 'Che Aji Lebai
Bawa buaya kudong.
Kudong kaki, kudong tangan,
Tiada boleh berpulangan.

Brush, brush the banyan-tree,
A pile of oars lies stacked;
Here comes 'Che Aji Lebai
Bringing a maimed crocodile;
Maimed in foot and maimed in hand,
It can't go home again.

At this stage both players doubled up one leg under them as they sat; then they repeated the same lines, doubling up their left legs when they had finished. Next, they closed their fists and piled them one on the other, the lowest resting on one of the player's knees. As they did so, they said:

Pong along-along
Kerinting riang-riang
Ketapong kebalok
Minyak 'Arab, minyak sapi
Pechah telur sa-biji

.....
Crick-crick(?) (sing)the crickets (?)
.....
Arabian oils and ghee
Here's one egg broken

The lowest fist was then flattened out. In the same way each of the four eggs (i. e. fists) was broken until the top was reached, when the four hands were moved up and down on the left knee of one of the players as the chant recommenced:

P'ram p'ram pisang the plantain,
Masak sa-biji di-gonggong bari-bari	The fruit-bat seizes a ripe one,
Bawa lari,	And takes it away
Terbang-lah dia !	As off he flies !

Here both players raised their hands above their heads; then one of them began to rock to and fro with folded arms, the other holding him (her) by the arms and crying:

Goyang-goyang Pah Ponggor	Swing, swing, Father Ponggor ;
Pah Ponggor mati akar !	Father Ponggor, the climbing rattan is dead !
Si ' Ali ka padang	Si 'Ali's gone to the plain,
(Di-) tudongkan daun	Sheltered by the leaves,
Sa-hari ta'makan,	With nothing to eat for a day,
Ta' makan sa-tahun	Nothing to eat for a year.

They hooked their little fingers together, and rocked their bodies to and fro, singing:

Angkei-angkei p'riokthe cooking-pot
P'riok deri Jawa	The cooking-pot from Java;
Datang 'Wa' Si Bagok	Here comes Uncle Bagok
Bawa ketam sa'ekor :	Bringing a crab.
Chepong masok ayer	A dish(?) to put water in,
Chepong masok api,	A dish(?) to put fire in,
O nenek, O nenek.	O granny, O granny,
Rumah kita ' nak runtoh !	Our house is tumbling down.
Reh ! Reh ! Rum !.

Finally they sat still with their hands clasped on their knees and sang:

Nuria ! Nuria !

Tali timba ' ku
'Nak 'nimba lubok dalam,
Dalam sama tengah
Saput awan tolih mega

.....
The rope of my bucket,
To draw water from a deep hole,
Right in the middle of it,
Veiled by the clouds, looking up at (?)
the welkin

A fragment of this singing-game seems to have remained
in a finger game from Penang known as 'Rangkai-rangkai Periok'.
This is quoted below, followed by lines from both with certain
similarities:

Rangkai-rangkai periok
Periok dari Jawa,
Datang maksu chabok
H'bus apita' menyela

Angkei-angkei p'riok
P'riok deri Jawa
Datang Wa' Si Bagok
.....

Ram-ram pisang,
Pisang masak layu,

P'ram p'ram pisang
Masak sa -biji.....

1. Rang - kai rang-kai pē-riok, Pē - riok da-ri Ja-
2. Ram - ram pi - sang, pi - sang ma - sak la-
wa, Da - tang mak su cha - bok, H'bus a -
yu, Ja - toh da - lam ku - bang, Sam -
pi ta' mēnya + la.
bar - ba - pa yu

As might be expected, the range of seventeen singing games is fairly restricted - 3 use a range of a third (the smallest range), 7 that of a sixth, and none exceed an octave. All of them are in duple or quadruple time, 12 of the melodies were built on a pentatonic basis and the other 5 are in the C (Ionian) mode. Their structure is simple; 8 consist of various repetitions of the initial phrase: A A or AAA, plus a single note for the recitation of a verbal pattern, or AAAA with a slight modification to the last phrase, or AAAAAA (with the first two modifications being identical and the second only slightly different). Other melodies use binary patterns: AAB; AAAB; ABAA; ABAB; ABAB; ABAB; ABAB; and ABBB , plus a single reciting note. One is made up of three different melodic phrases, ABCB.

Their rhythmic structure is also simple, each phrase consisting of two or four bars involving combinations of crotchet and quaver groups .

The melodies of the other singing games follow:

BURONG KATIK - TATEK

KELANTAN

PAK, PAK, LANG.

"A"

JANG - JANG JALA

Handwritten musical notation for the piece 'JANG - JANG JALA'. It consists of four staves of music in treble clef, 2/4 time signature. The melody is written on the first staff, and the accompaniment is on the second, third, and fourth staves. The music features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some beamed notes and rests. A long slur covers the first three staves.

chip chap
(like 'Oranges & Lemons')

RANG - RANG PISANG

Handwritten musical notation for the piece 'RANG - RANG PISANG'. It consists of three staves of music in treble clef, 2/4 time signature. The melody is written on the first staff, and the accompaniment is on the second and third staves. The music features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some beamed notes and rests. A long slur covers the first two staves.

"B"

Negri Sembilan

Handwritten musical notation for the piece 'Negri Sembilan'. It consists of three staves of music in treble clef, 4/4 time signature. The melody is written on the first staff, and the accompaniment is on the second and third staves. The music features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some beamed notes and rests. A long slur covers the first two staves.

CHANG CHAPIT (cf. "B")

Malacca

04.
14.

Handwritten musical notation for 'CHANG CHAPIT' in 4/4 time. It consists of three staves with treble clefs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 4/4 time signature. The music features a series of eighth and quarter notes, with a long slur spanning across the first two staves. The third staff concludes with a double bar line.

CHANG NAI

Pahang

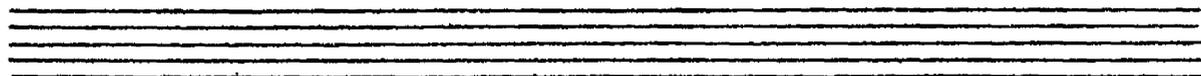
Handwritten musical notation for 'CHANG NAI' in 2/4 time. It consists of three staves with treble clefs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The music features a series of eighth and quarter notes, with a long slur spanning across the first two staves. The third staff concludes with a double bar line.

"C"

Handwritten musical notation for 'C' in 4/4 time. It consists of two staves with treble clefs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 4/4 time signature. The music features a series of eighth and quarter notes, with a long slur spanning across both staves. The second staff concludes with a double bar line.

"0"

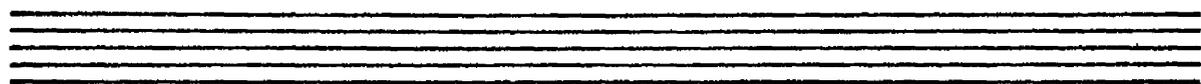
Handwritten musical notation for the first system, consisting of three staves with treble clefs and 4/4 time signature. The music features a melody with various note values and rests, with long horizontal lines above the staves indicating phrasing or breath marks.



BUAI LATU₂

Johore

Handwritten musical notation for the second system, consisting of two staves with treble clefs and 2/4 time signature. The music features a melody with various note values and rests, with long horizontal lines above the staves indicating phrasing or breath marks.



0Y

Handwritten musical notation for the third system, consisting of two staves with treble clefs and 2/4 time signature. The music features a melody with various note values and rests, with long horizontal lines above the staves indicating phrasing or breath marks.

ITEK GEMBOL

Each Count

Handwritten musical notation for 'ITEK GEMBOL' in 2/4 time. It consists of four staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style with eighth and quarter notes, and is accompanied by a bass line. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

MAIN CHINA BUTA

Handwritten musical notation for 'MAIN CHINA BUTA' in 4/4 time. It consists of three staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style with eighth and quarter notes, and is accompanied by a bass line. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

GIGIT, SEMUT

Handwritten musical notation for 'GIGIT, SEMUT' in 2/4 time. It consists of two staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style with eighth and quarter notes, and is accompanied by a bass line. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

JAPU₂ LILIN

Handwritten musical notation for 'JAPU₂ LILIN'. It consists of four staves of music in treble clef, 2/4 time signature. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a 2/4 time signature, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written with eighth and sixteenth notes, featuring a long slur over the first three measures. The second and third staves continue the melody with similar note values and slurs. The fourth staff concludes the piece with a double bar line.

LENGANG₂ KANGKONG

Handwritten musical notation for 'LENGANG₂ KANGKONG'. It consists of three staves of music in treble clef, 2/4 time signature. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a 2/4 time signature, and a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The melody is written with eighth and sixteenth notes, featuring a long slur over the first three measures. The second and third staves continue the melody with similar note values and slurs. The third staff concludes the piece with a double bar line.

Another simple song 'Tepok Amai', is associated with play in that mothers often sing it when teaching their babies to clap.

1. Te - pok a - mai a - mai, B' la lang ku - pu ku - pu,
 2. Su - su le - mak man - is, San - tan tar - oh gu - la,
 Te - pok ra mai, ra - mai, Bo - leh u - pah su - su'
 A - dek jangan 'nang is, E - mak hendak ker - ja'

The repetition of the initial phrase at a different pitch is a feature of other Malay songs.

The following six songs are also popular with children . None exceeds an octave range; 4 have a pentatonic basis and the other 2 are in the Ionian mode. Their melodic and rhythmic structures are as simple as those of the singing games:

DUDO, DOM

Du - do dom dan pa - tah tan - dak,
 Che' Meh kena go dam Che A - wang ke na tum - bok,

Bu-ah jam - bu ma - sak, ma - sak hu - jong ju - lai,
 Apa ja - mu ka - kak, nasi de - ngon gu - lai.

AYAM PUTEH PONGGOK

Ayam pu - teh pong - gok, pu - teh pong - gok,
 Makan pa - di jē mor, makan pa - di jē mor.
 Puteh dudok menum bok dudok menum bok,
 Bagai bin - tang ti - mor Bagai bin - tang ti - mor.

ANAK KAMBING SAYA

Di mana di - a A - nak kambing sa - ya, A -
 nak kambing sa - ya ada di po - hon war - u.
 Chan mali - chan, Chan mali - chan,
 Chan mali chan kati - pong pa - yong

AYAM DIDEK

Di . ma na di - a di - dek, didek ku ta - di
 Pa - di ku tum - pak, di bawah tang - ga,
 Di ma - na di - a sa - yang, sayang ku ta - di
 Ha - ti ku su - sah kē - ra na di - a

IKAN KEKĒK

i - kan ke - kek mani - lok i - lok
 I - kan gē - la - ma mak i - lak i - lak,
 kē - lek a - dek tēr - sē - lut pu - yok,
 kē - lek a - bang terki nak ki - nak.

Other songs are rather more complex. 'Lanang Si-Paku Lanang', which follows, has a flattened seventh in its melody, includes a syncopated rhythm and introduces a sequence at the fourth between the first and third phrases:

A-yoh la - nang si - pa - ku la - nang

La - nang ma ri di gu - nong sa - ri

Bu - kah lah lanang si ma - bok pi - nang - - -

La - nang lah ma bok si jan - tong ha - ti

Some of the same features are found in the next example, 'Mak Inang'⁴ - the inclusion of a flattened seventh, together with the flattened third, a syncopation and modified sequential patterns:

Selen dang mak i-nang selen dang

Anak-lah ra-ja tu-run ka-ta-man

kami me-na-ri berka-wan ka-wan

Me lenggang lenggok sam pai ka pe-tang

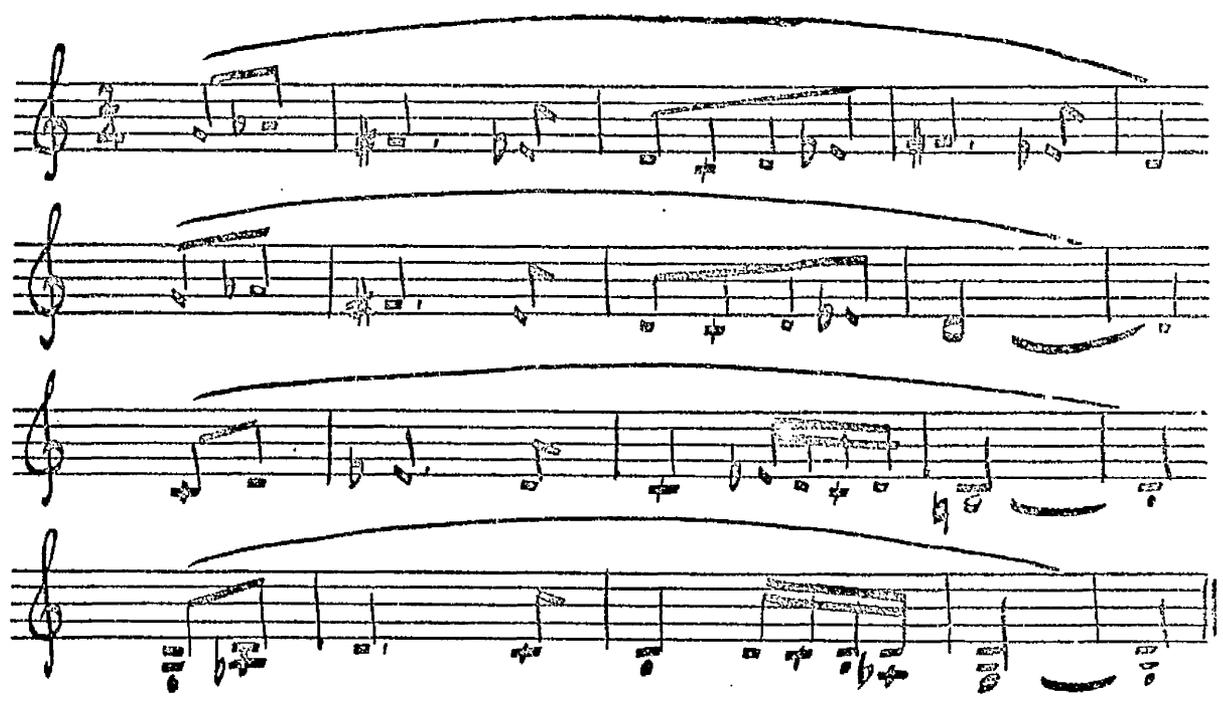
kami me-na-ri berka-wan ka-wan

Me lenggang lenggok sam pai ka pe-tang

The following lullaby also contains the flattened 7th, has an interesting phrase structure and involves a surprisingly large range:

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a lullaby, consisting of seven staves of music. The music is written in a single melodic line on a treble clef staff. The time signature is 4/4. The melody is characterized by a wide range, spanning from the second space (D4) to the second space (D5). The piece features several long, sweeping phrases, often marked with large, curved lines above the notes. The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes, with some rests. The overall style is simple and melodic, typical of a lullaby. The score is written in black ink on a white background.

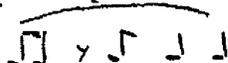
The last example contains the sort of chromaticisms and augmented intervals that are found in Middle East melodies. The Malay who sang it could give no words nor any knowledge of its origin, but he believed it to be traditional:



The dearth of information about traditional songs suggests the urgent need for a special study on this specific area of Malay music.

Songs

1. at the Malayan Teachers' College, Brinsford Lodge, Wolverhampton, Staffs. I later built up the collection to 40.
2. pp. 500-502. Recognising the difficulty of making satisfactory translations of nursery rhymes he says that his versions must be regarded as tentative and necessarily imperfect.
3. Skeat, p. 500 Fn.1, suggests that katong is probably the species of sea-turtle known by that name.
4. in Songs of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, Mak Inang (No. 8) is said to be in Masri tempo and has the following rhythms throughout its accompaniment:



In the introduction Ahmad Merican defines Masri as a 'tempo of Arabic origin where the tambourine or kumpang is the sole rhythm instrument'. This is not always the case with Mak Inang, but Masri may well have Arabic associations, coming as it does from Misri, the word used in the peninsula for the Egyptians.

(ii) Selampit and other forms of Story Telling

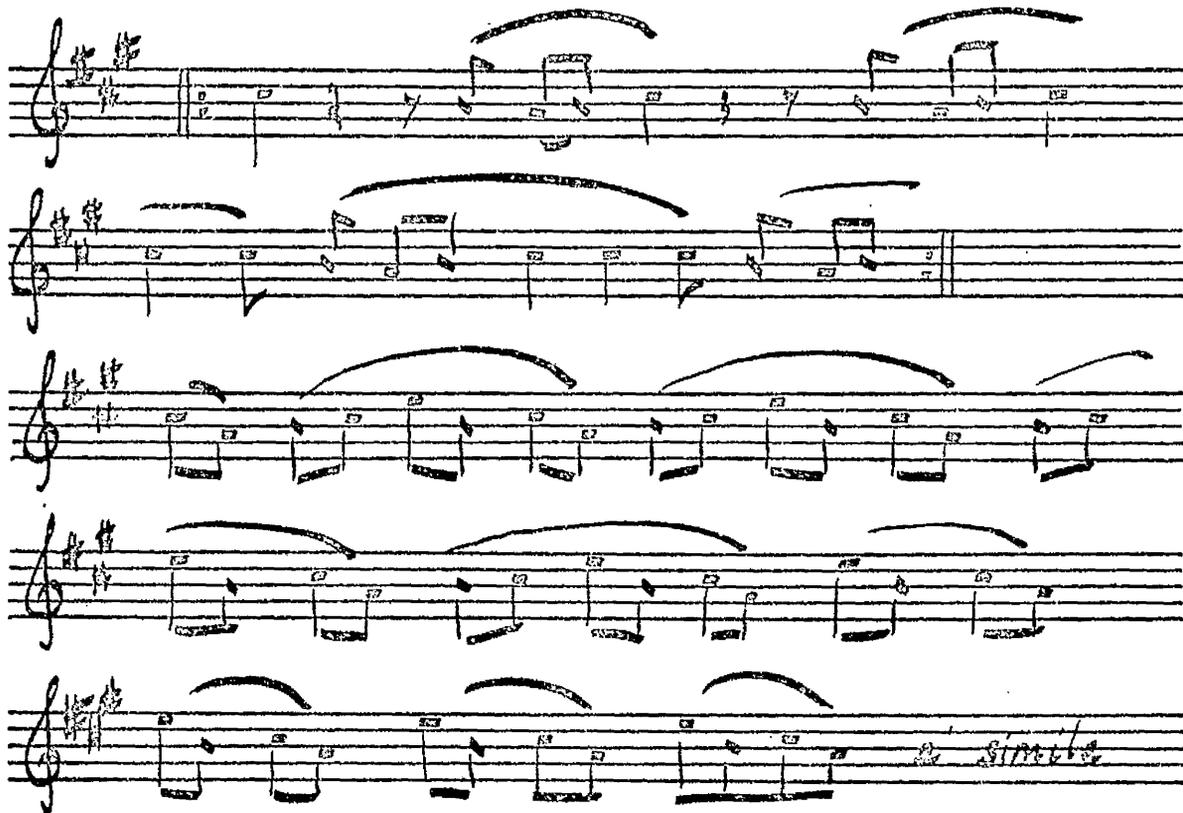
One of the oldest forms of Malay entertainment is story-telling, often called tarik(tarek)selampit. It is now practised professionally by only a few men in Kelantan.

The name selampit (sometimes spelt selapit) is given to both the performer and the performance which is a form of story-telling, partly in rhythmic spoken prose and partly in song, accompanied on the three-stringed rebab (rebab tiga tali) by the story-teller himself. Wilkinson(1959) says that selampit is properly the name of the hero of a Kedah folk tale; it is from him that the story-teller gets his own name.

Blind people are usually chosen to perform selampit, as they are thought to be able to memorise their stories more accurately than their sighted peers, keeping to a basic plot whilst letting their imaginations roam around it to make the story contemporary. Their stories usually last for many hours, and sometimes continue over several days. The performance on July 29th, 1962, of Che Mohamud Norr bin Awang, a blind performer from Kampong Balang Salah near Kota Bharu, lasted for five hours without a break, and that was only the first instalment of his story. This related how a fortune-teller foretold that the king's wife would produce unworthy children. On receiving this news the king asked the mid-wife to get rid of the babies immediately they arrived and substitute for them a dog and a cat.

Obeying his commands, the mid-wife threw the baby girl and boy into the river from which they were saved by a crocodile. They were then looked after by an elephant and finally by a tiger. An elder brother who managed to find them kicked them up into the sky. From there they were saved by two anglers and a mother squirrel. At last, seeing that all his efforts to dispose of them were in vain, the king repented, called them home and forgave them.

During the narration the rebab accompanied the singing and 'punctuated' the recitation - occasionally adding imitations of animal cries. Sometimes it played the melody with the voice, sometimes it added a decoration. The following melodic pattern was introduced at intervals, like a recurring refrain:



There are other methods of story-telling. Cuisinier¹ says that the practice of public story telling was already beginning to die out in the Malay peninsula when she was there thirty or so years ago. The story-tellers she knew in Kelantan were known as tukang hikayat or juru hikayat². Some of them narrated their stories without any bodily movements; others mimed them, and as they did this to the beating of an improvised drum, there was some suggestion of a dance in their mime. The story-teller did not compose his own stories. He often learnt them exactly from his father, and some of them were thought of as family possessions. They were long, lasting for three sessions of three or four hours each. When Cuisinier showed admiration for a narrator's powers of memory, he replied that he did not memorise, he saw - bukan ingat, nampak.

The stories were told in a setting which gave them a certain magical significance as can be seen from Cuisinier's description of a typical story-telling session of the period. One man was seated before an incense container and a small kenduri, consisting of some rice cooked in water (nasi), some more rice, fried or unfried, and a quid of betel. Another man, sitting a little behind him, held a copper bowl (batil) or a hollow copper dish (bokor). This he used as a drum, striking it with his fingers, the heel of his thumb, or a bamboo beater, and producing a sound rather like that of a poor gong. On this improvised drum a tabur was played to call people to the performance. During the bertabek incense ascended towards the spirits whose names were recited by the story-teller in a sing-song voice and with a quick rhythm. Having finished, he scattered handfuls of rice around him

and the percussionist beat his batil to mark the beginning of the story.

The word used to describe the narration of the story was not the usual one for narrating - mencheritakan or menchitrakan, nor for singing - nyanyi, but instead, bertarek³. Although this indicated a faithful sing-song following of the words, rather than singing proper, the quality of the voice was always considered to be a contributory element to the success of the narration.

Some story-tellers had only one story and were known by the name of its hero, his own name being joined to theirs. Others with more stories tended to adapt them all to an identical sing-song style of performance. Those who maintained the tradition of using an appropriate tune for each story were getting increasingly rare. Their tunes consisted of a few bars only, and were repeated with very little variation throughout the whole evening. The subjects of the stories came from folk-lore - not strictly local, and their language was full of archaic terms. As the beginning of the stories was usually concerned with a genealogy of the hero or heroine, story-tellers who used mime had to wait an hour or so until this was finished before they could begin to rise, walk, run, sit or lie, moving in a stylised manner in time to the music.

Originally Malay rulers maintained several story-tellers but these had disappeared by the third decade of the present century. In Pahang their function was being continued outside the court by aborigines⁴ who tried to reproduce exact versions of the stories, but whose way of speaking Malay made some of the narrative incomprehensible. They used no mime in their performances.

There was once a practice in Kelantan of reading aloud in a sing-song manner from old manuscripts, but without the incense, kenduri or mime described above. This, too, seems to have disappeared although there are regular public readings and recitations from the Koran.

1. Danses Magiques de Kelantan, pp. 115'-7

2. tukang: a craftsman, a skilled workman, juru: a trained worker (or some occupation other than a handicraft)

3. tarek, menarek, menarekkan: to draw in (a long breath), or prolong (a note in singing).

4. op. cit., p. 117 uses the word Sakai and orang hutan for the aborigines but does not specify from which tribe the narrators came. They may have been Jakun, who were numerous in Pahang, and are most akin to the Malays.

9. Vocal and instrumental performances

- (i) Ghazal
- (ii) Kronchong
- (iii) Dondang Sayang
- (iv) Rentak Kuda
- (v) Berdikir (Bedikir) Barat
- (vi) Dzikhir Rebana Kechil, Dzikhir Pahang, Main Zikir, Zikir.
- (vii) Boria

(i) Ghazal

In West Malaysia ghazal is usually a vocal and instrumental performance, although the vocal element is sometimes omitted. Its chief home is Johore State and it is particularly popular in the regions of Batu Pahat, Muar and Pontian. Regular performances by ghazal parties are given in private houses and during festivals and other celebrations.

The instrumental combinations of these ghazal parties vary as can be seen from two I heard in Johore in 1962. The first, on 1st September at Rengit, centred around the gambus whose player used the long nail of his right hand index finger as a plectrum. A violin was bowed in the Western style, and the other instruments were a gendang, two marwas, maracas, a tambourine and a cherachap. The vocal phrases of a male soloist were each time repeated by a chorus of young men, with interludes played on a violin in the following manner:-

Solo repeated by chorus

Violin

The instruments of the second ghazal party at Batu Pahat on 2nd September, were a small portable harmonium (made in Calcutta), a gambus plucked with the fingers, a violin, two guitars, a pair of tabla and two sets of suspended small bells¹. The two soloists, male and female, sang love songs with high-pitched nasal voices and without a chorus².

A different ensemble accompanied the singers at a performance given by the University Music Society at Singapore, in 1957³. This was composed of the gambus, violin, kechapi, kronchong and guitar. The programme note said that originally only three instruments were used in ghazal - the tabla, the most important, the shereng-gi and the sitar. The note described the shereng-gi as 'like a Chinese fiddle except that it had three main strings with innumerable secondary strings below them..' This sounds like the Indian sarangi. Later the harmonium was added, the violin took the place of the shereng-gi and the gambus that of the sitar. The tabla remained, but it is often replaced by a Malay gendang or a pair of marwas, and a piano accordion is sometimes added instead of, or in addition to, the harmonium.

The same programme note also said that many people in Penang, Johore and Singapore could recall the introduction of ghazal to the peninsula in the 1890's by the Victorian-Persian Theatrical Company. It took root in Johore because that was where an Indian ustad was teaching local Malays the art of playing the tabla and the sitar. He may also have known ghazal both as the name of an art form and a performing group in India. One of his pupils, the late Hon. Dato. Haji Yahaya, was

chiefly responsible for maintaining the tradition of the ghazal party in the state. It is in kampongs with a large proportion of Malays of Javanese extraction that ghazal is still most popular.

In the Middle East the ghazal is well-known as a type of poem in Persian literature and in the Turkish literature influenced by it. Fairly short and precise in form, it uses language very carefully and avoids all vulgar and cacophonous words. Although its subject matter is usually erotic, other subjects like the poet's response to spring, wine and God may also be found.

In India, where its words are probably Persian rather than Sanskrit in origin, it retains its love theme, but with God sometimes becoming the 'beloved'. It was almost certainly taken to North India by the Muslims. The Prophet himself is recorded as having asked Bilāl ibn Riyāh (Rabāh, Ribab) al-Ḥabashi (d. 641), his purse-bearer and one of the first Abyssinian converts to Islam to sing him a ghazal.⁴

A different use of the word ghazal by 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Ghaibi (d.1435) is as the name of one of the suite of movements of the nauba.

1. there seems to be no special Malay name for this instrument. It is known in Java and Bali. Kunst, Music in Java, Vol. I. p.184, calls it 'schelleboom' (bell-tree), and gives its Javanese names, genta and klinting and its Balinese name, gentorag.

2. the man sang Siri Johore, the woman, Sri Sedili.

3. the songs performed were Gunong Ledang, Laksaman Mati di buroh, Makan Sireh.

4. H. Farmer, A History of Arabian Music, London, 1930, p. 37

(ii) Kronchong

The word kronchong is used with a variety of meanings. It is applied to a vocal performance consisting of chorus and verses based on the Malay pantun, to a type of dreamy, sentimental music played by groups of instrumentalists, often with a vocalist, and to the group itself which performs the music. Very loosely, it is used to describe any instrumental music with a Western influence.¹ In its performance such Western instruments as the piano, violin, accordion saxophone, trumpet, double bass and guitar are widely used, and to these are often added a few local instruments, e. g. the rebana and percussion instruments.

It is almost certain that kronchong reached the peninsula from Indonesia. There its origins have been traced by Kunst² to the Portuguese folk music which was taken to the archipelago in the sixteenth century and which, when mixed with indigenous elements produced a new style known as kronchong (krontjong). This was also the name of a Portuguese guitar-type instrument - small and very narrow with five strings and pegs at the back of its neck.³ It is probable that the instrument gave its name to the type of music with which it became closely associated.

⁴Lamsweerde notes two varieties of kronchong music in Indonesia - the monesco in the major, and the proungo in the minor. At first the texts of the monesco were Portuguese love songs of four-line verses, later they were Malay pantuns, the form being a sort of song duel with interludes. The proungo (lit. 'for one') was for a soloist,

the monesco involved more performers. In West Malaysia much of the kronchong music has kept the character of a sorrowful love serenade, in its development from both the monesco and the proungo .

A near relation to the kronchong is the setambul - the chief difference being that the setambul has no chorus . Perhaps the best known example of a setambul is ' Terang Bulan', a popular song, the melody of which is also that of the state anthem of Perak and the national anthem of Malaysia.

1. none of the meanings seem to bear any relationship to the definitions given by Wilkinson (1959), the first three of which are all associated with percussive effects: 1) hollow metal anklet, worn in a set one above the other, so as to clang when the wearer moves about, 2) metallic clanging such as the clang of anklets, the ring of swords in their sheaths, the note given out by certain clappers, etc., 3) a clapper hung around a buffalo's neck as a bell or used in the fields to scare birds from the rice crop.
2. Music in Java, vol I. p.375 . A quite different theory as to the origin of kronchong was advanced by Dol Ramli, then of Radio Malaya, in a letter to the Straits Times , 7th September, 1959. He suggested that kronchong music was based on Chinese music heard in Indonesia, pointing out that from the start, kronchong appears to have been especially popular among Indonesians of Chinese origin.
3. during Kunst's stay in Java the kronchong was being skilfully copied by local craftsmen in Kampong Tugu, near Batavia. The music called by its name was then played by the Indo-European population ' with enthusiasm and unmistakable musicality but without the slightest real culture.' (see Music in Java, Vol I. p.375)
4. F. van Lamsweerde, 'Krontjong,' Etsevier's Encyclopedie van de Muziek II, Amsterdam, 1956-7, p.254
5. in Java the stambul is a comedy performance with music . (see Kunst, Music in Java, Vol. I. p.288)

(iii) Dondang Sayang

Dondang sayang is a popular form of Malay entertainment. The name, dondang sayang now used rather indiscriminately, was originally associated specifically with the singing of improvised pantuns, and in some kampongs, especially around Malacca, individuals or teams still match their skill in the art of improvisation in competitions which may continue for many hours. They are often brought to an end by a team or individual dropping out from sheer exhaustion.

Malay women are not discouraged from participating in this performance which gives them the opportunity to maintain lively repartee with members of the opposite sex, without fear of being considered immodest. (It should be added that, despite official discouragement, women are increasingly involved in all Malay performances).

The competitive element is not always present, especially when dondang sayang is performed in towns. In Penang, for example, the name is loosely applied to a performance in which groups of Chinese sing Malay songs and pantuns with fixed words and melodies to the accompaniment of Western instruments. This performance can usually be heard on the fifteenth night after New Year, when gaily-lighted coaches take singers and instrumentalists through the town to the Esplanade. The name, dondang sayang, is also given to improvised pantuns in a ronggeng session and sometimes to the ronggeng dance itself.

(iv) Rentak Kuda

Rentak kuda is basically a rhythmic accompaniment to voices, usually male. A drum is always used and to it gongs and a melodic instrument like the flute may be added. The singers, who may be divided into soloists or groups, sometimes follow each other in the phrases they sing, and sometimes join together, but they do not answer each other antiphonally. The performance may also consist just of one solo voice accompanied by two instruments like the flute and drum:

Solo Male Voice

Drum

The flute plays in octaves with the voice, or adds decoration to it.

Rentak kuda is performed only in Negri Sembilan, and is
2
thought to have been taken there from Menangkabau . Tradition
maintains that during a week of festivities many guests and
entertainers were growing tired and restless when a beautiful lady
appeared with songs and poetry. This proved a tonic to the tired
group who joined in her songs , tapping their feet and hands to a
rhythm resembling that of a galloping horse.

1. rentak(merentak): stamping the foot in anger or excitement, kuda:
a horse.

2. see Pesta programme . On hearing a tape of rentak kuda, the late
Dr. A. A. Bake of the University of London suggested that the music
showed strong Arabic influence.

(v) Berdikir (Bedikir) Barat

In the north of the peninsula and particularly in Kelantan teams called bedikir laba compete against each other with improvised versions sung to a variety of melodies. These teams usually contain not less than eight people, and their performance, which often lasts all night is known as berdikir (bedikir) barat,¹ or sometimes zikir (dikhir) barat .

On 14th August, 1962 I attended a performance of berdikir barat at Kampong Rengas, near Kota Bharu which was part of the festivities following the marriage of a young man from the kampong. Several hundred people from the senior members of the community to babes in arms had gathered to listen to the performance.

The two competing teams, both of males, took their places under a temporary atap shelter, divided from each other by a small bamboo partition. For the greater part of the performance they remained seated, but the leader of each team stood up when he sang, and as the excitement reached fever pitch all rose to their feet, using their arms as well as their voices in a somewhat frenzied manner.

The performance began just before 11 o'clock p.m., with the teams singing quite slowly to a well-known melody words which in rough translation read:

Team A. Tonight we are enemies, tomorrow we shall be friends.
We are all Muslims - we wish to be forgiving. We must sacrifice everything: this can be either life or property. We ask forgiveness from everybody. It is customary for us to come here to do this. We thank all our listeners. It is fated that we two teams should have this contest.

- Team B. Good evening, everybody. We're starting slowly. Listen, everybody to what I'm going to say. You come from as far away as England, some of you, just to listen to this: if you listen attentively, the other team will reply.
- Team A. We'll begin again. Perhaps you think this entertainment is strange. You are impatient to listen to me: our visitors are going back tomorrow, so we must do our best tonight. It is only in Kelantan that bedikir barat can be found. We are doing this partly for your sake and partly for the bridegroom's.
- Team B. Tonight we are enemies; tomorrow we shall be friends. We are sorry that we are late. We cycled here - that is the reason we are late.

Having introduced themselves in this manner, the teams began their competition, improvising verses about and against each other. The leader sang an opening phrase which was then joined in by the rest of the team. More solos followed, repeated in chorus. With the increasing excitement and the growing determination of each side to win the battle of words, the tempo of the singing increased, the rhythm became more aggressive, and the pitch rose higher. The highest notes screamed aloud and sustained for an exaggerated length of time, drew tremendous applause from the audience. The singing was accompanied by a rhythm on the drum, clapping and intermittent beats on the gong. This performance continued until the dawn.

Slow beginning, solo.

Gong (intermittently) x x x

Chorus

drum throughout

Solo

OTHER VOICES JOIN

Handwritten musical notation for a solo section, consisting of three staves with various notes and rests.

etc.

Solo repeated by all (in slightly varied form)

Handwritten musical notation for a section where the solo is repeated by all, consisting of ten staves with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

* Rapid beating of drum at moments of great excitement, with voices screaming rather than singing.

It has been suggested by Wavell , that this form of berdikir barat is derived from the Thai blen kiao , a harvest rhyming game. Farmers invite friends and neighbours to help gather in their crops, and after a spell of work a male rhymester sings a 'call' - the cry of a bird to its mate. This is answered by a woman who is said to 'call in response'.

Then all gather in a circle, each with a sheaf of rice ears in the left hand and a sickle in the right. Feet are stamped to a rhythm, sickles are swung in mime, the rhymes grow fast as the circle moves round:

'How beautiful are these celestial ladies', the rhymester sings. 'How wonderful is my good fortune'. Then approaching closer, he feigns shock. ' How disillusioned I am', he cries. ' Are these grey hairs? Where is the vision of loveliness which I imagined? ' and item by item, he denigrates the lady's charms.

Quick in response, the experienced woman rhymester heaps insults upon her assailant, calling him drunkard, gambler, philanderer and urging the police to come and arrest him. There is much excitement and laughter and much wine drunk. Frequently at appropriate intervals, the chorus joins in. 3

Features of berdikir barat such as the way the improvised verses grow increasingly malicious as the performance proceeds lend some support to this theory, but the name of the performance itself suggests an origin in the Arabic world and Islamic religious practices. There the word dikir (zikir) really means ' reminding oneself' (of Allah). This act of reminding consists especially of the tireless repetition of an ejaculatory litany - the repetition of the name of God, or of the profession of his unity. The most common form of zikir is a recital of the ninety-nine names of God, for Mohammed promised his followers who recited these a sure entrance into Paradise (Mishkāt Bk. cxi).

Lane gives several descriptions of the performance of the zikr by the darweeshes (dervishes) of Egypt, for whom they were religious exercises. Sometimes standing in a circle or oblong, or in two rows facing each other, and sometimes sitting, they exclaimed or chanted 'Lá ilâha illa-llâh' - 'There is no deity but God' - or just 'Allâh ! Allâh ! Allâh !', or other invocations repeated over and over again with an accompaniment of head, arms and body movement until they were almost exhausted. From time to time the zikeers who performed the chant were joined by the 'munshids' (the singers of poetry) who sang to the same air, or a variation of it, parts of a kaseedeh, or a muweshshah - an ode of a similar nature to the Song of Solomon, generally alluding to the Prophet as the object of love and praise.

This zikr continued all night until the morning call to prayer, with the performers growing increasingly excited, repeating their ejaculations with greater rapidity, violently turning their heads, and in some cases jumping up and down. Lane concludes his description of this performance:

The contrast presented by the vehement and distressing exertions of the performers at the close of the zikir and their calm gravity and solemnity of manner at the commencement was particularly striking . 5.

Such a statement could well have been made about the performers of berdikir barat at Kampong Rengas, who began by singing in a quiet, rhythmic manner with only the leaders of the group standing, and ended by screaming and hurling abuse at each other with a great deal of bodily movement. Is it possible that into an Islamic religious framework has been incorporated some of the elements of a rhyming game from neighbouring Thailand?

Berdikir (Bedikir) Barat

1. dikir: (be(r)dikir) : to sing religious chants , especially at a commemorative feast; barat: west, the local name for Thailand.
2. The Naga King's Daughter, p.225
3. ibid.
4. F.W.Lane, An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, pp.243, 445-6, 448-450
5. ibid., p.450

(vi) Dzikhir Rebana Kechil; Dzikhir Pahang; Main Zikir

Several other vocal performances associated with Islam use a variant of the word dikir.

Dzikhir Rebana Kechil is a Muslim prayer chant usually performed to the accompaniment of a rebana kechil or redap.

Dzikhir (or Dikir) Pahang consists of the chanting of memorised Arabic verses in praise of Allah, the Prophet and the Prophet's family.

Performers take turns to chant part of the verses to the accompaniment of their rebanas. There is no fixed number of performers and some performances starting in the late evening last until dawn. When the Cambridge Expedition recorded Dzikhir Pahang at Belareh Kepong near Kuala Trengganu, they noted that the two men and two women hid their mouths behind their 'tambourines' (rebana or redap) ? Dikir Pahang used to be particularly popular among the villagers at the mouth of the Pahang River, but it is now a dying art confined to elderly people.

Main Zikir is the name often given to the chanting of passages from the Koran. Skeat says it was commonly called jikir maulud when unaccompanied, and zikir berdah if accompanied by musical instruments. This distinction is not maintained. A zikir, known in the south of the peninsula as kompang (kumpang), is chanted to the accompaniment of rebana (also known as kumpang) as the bridegroom is escorted to his bride's house. This procession is often brought right up to date, as when the secretary of a local Scooter Club in Johore Bahru was taken to his bride's home in a procession of scooters, the singers steering and the rebana players riding pillion.

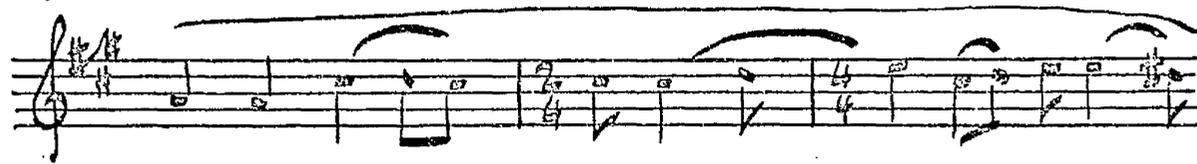
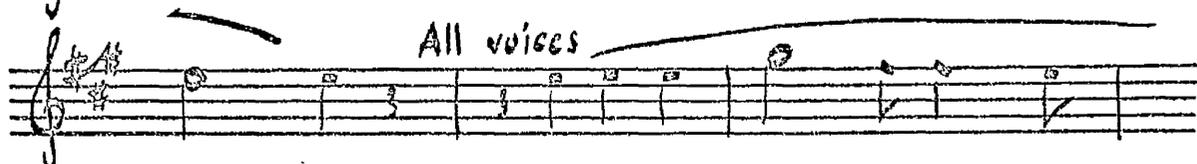
1. Malay Magic, p.374, Fn.1. maulud: birthday, with special reference to the Prophet's birthday; berdah (burdah): a hymn in honour of the Prophet.

ZIKIR : Kampung Ujang Pasir.

Solo voice



All voices



etc.

(vii) Boria

¹
Boria, or ria as it is popularly known, is thought to have been taken to Penang by the Indian sepoy of the East India Company in the eighteenth century.²

Originally it had a religious significance, with participants singing the praises of Hassan and Hussein, Mohammed's grandsons who sacrificed their lives in the cause of Islam; but over the years it has completely changed its character.

It turned into a performance by serenading minstrels of Penang during Muharram, the first month of the Muslim year, and then changed to a sketch based on a historic theme, with fiction and comedy added later. This dramatic item was followed by a chorus led by the tukang karang³ who improvised songs in praise of prominent people in the audience. Boria troupes were often engaged to perform in the private homes of wealthy patrons.

When the Federation of Malaya came into existence, boria was adapted for use on Federation Day and the singing element became of prime importance. Since then specially written words often with political or social significance, have sometimes been provided to honour distinguished visitors and recent radio performances have urged listeners to support the current government.

It is customary for a soloist to sing the verses with improvised or composed words, and for a choir to follow with a refrain which often keeps the melody of the verse, but repeats one set of words. The accompaniment is provided by a variety of instruments, sometimes

a complete Western style dance band, but for the following tune (broadcast by Radio Malaysia) the accompanying instruments were just a violin with tambourines and drums:

Violin intro.

Tambourines
Drums

simile

Male solo

Male Chorus joins on repeat

1. the word boria is of Hindustani origin. Its shortened version, ria, is also a Malay word meaning 'joy' - 'joyful entertainment'.
2. see Pesta programme - no source is quoted, but the Muslim association with boria suggests that it probably originated in the Arabic countries.
3. tukang: craftsman; karang: literary composition.

10. Popular Musical Contests

- (i) Rebana Besar
- (ii) Playing the Kertok

(i) Rebana Besar

One of the most popular musical contests in Kelantan, and unique to that State, as far as I know, is called rebana besar. It is in great demand at local festivities, state celebrations and ceremonial occasions. The name is, in fact, misleading, for the drums used for the contest are likely to be the rebana ubi which stand on the ground rather than the rebana besar which are usually suspended.

These rebana ubi are played by teams of three, four or more men, each drum being beaten by two men at a time, with replacements standing by ready to take over. The alternate blows of the two drummers produce sounds which can be quite deafening in the near proximity and which carry for five or more miles on a calm evening. As they prepare for the blows, the players jump excitedly into the air, changing their beater from hand to hand until they are exhausted and their replacements take over, making sure not to miss a beat or break an established pattern.

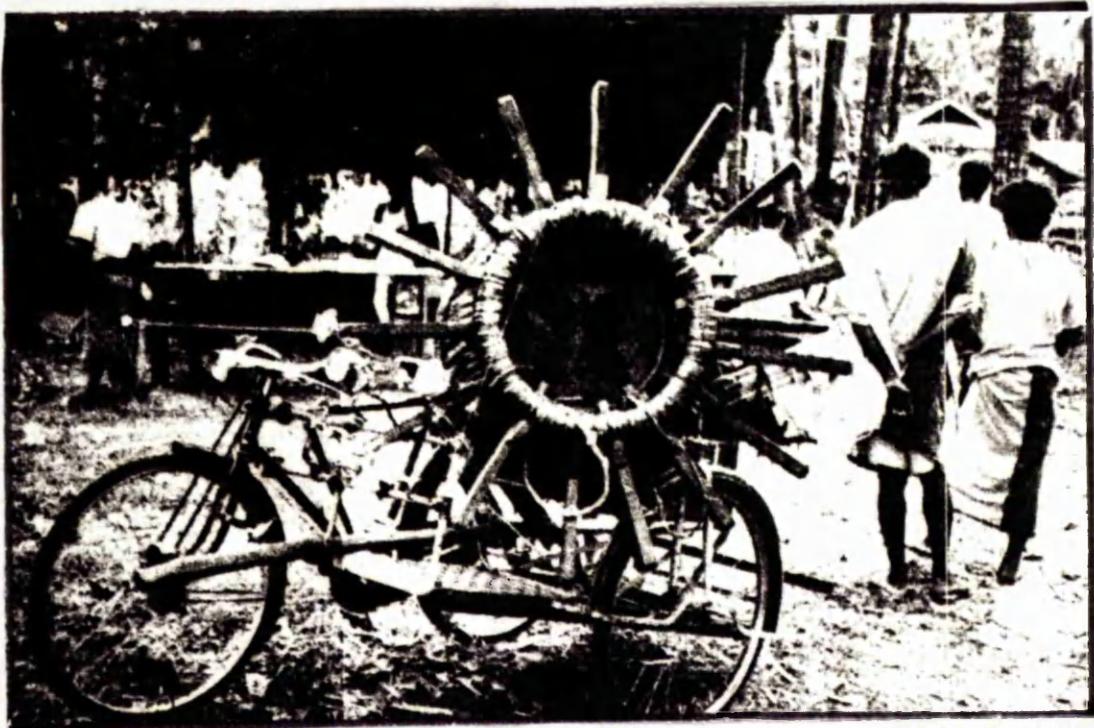
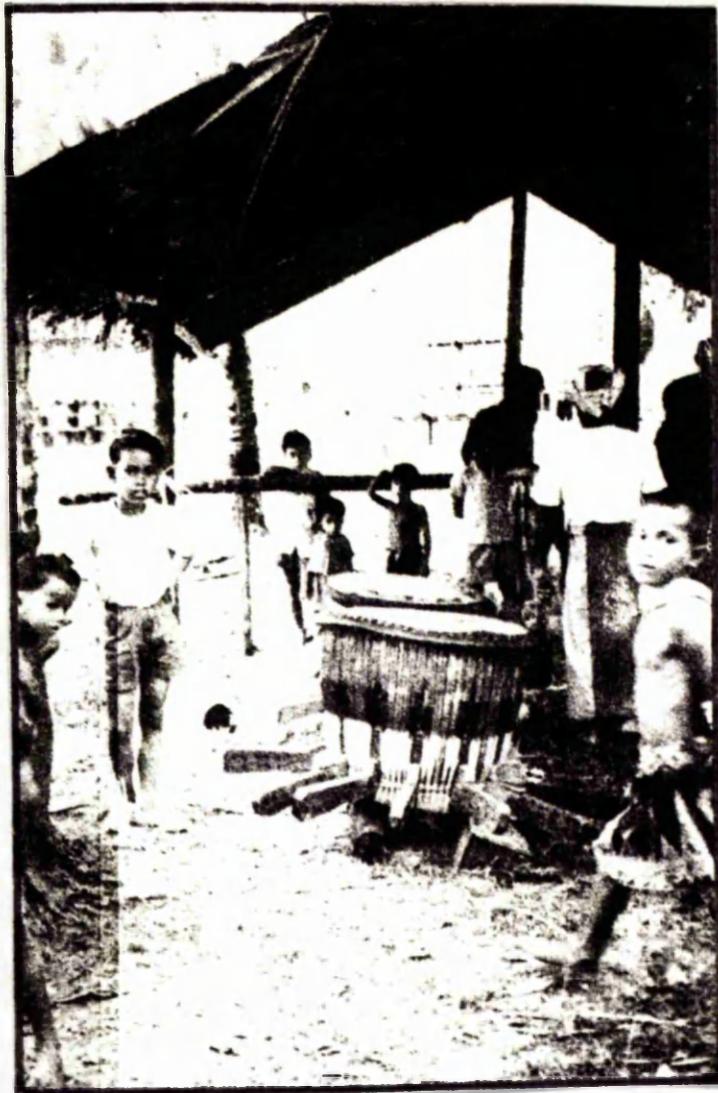
Although there is no one standard test in the competition, the points for which the judges look are endurance, precision, intricacy of rhythm and variety of tone.

At a rebana besar competition at Kampong Rengas, Kelantan, on 14th August, 1962, each team had three drums, with two men and their replacements at each drum. Some of the rebanas were carried to their positions, each hanging from a pole resting on the shoulders of two men; others were brought in trishaws. They were placed on logs of wood to increase their resonance and the two teams were separated

by a small bamboo partition.

Much time was spent tuning the drums, first by knocking in the wedges at their base with large mallets, and then by hammering hard at the rubber surrounds made of old tyres encircling their heads. For the first playing of two minutes the tuning took over an hour. This was exceptional. Other beatings continued for a quarter of an hour or so until the whole atap shelter where the performance took place seemed to vibrate. On this particular occasion 'beating the rebana besar' was only one of the many entertainments following a Malay wedding and so the contest was short, beginning at 7.30 p.m. and continuing until 10.30 p.m. Performances sometimes start at the same time and last until dawn.

The competitions are marked by intense rivalry and occasionally end in law-suits, the rebanas of one team having been slashed by the hatchets of their opponents !



(ii) Playing the Kertok

Another popular contest is the playing of the kertok. This is confined to Kelantan and some parts of Trengganu and Kedah.

For much of the year the kertok is kept unused in store, but preliminary practice in playing begins when the padi crop is nearly ripe, and then just before and after the harvest, the instrument is played frequently, its sound carrying as far as two miles.¹ Kertok competitions provide a good excuse for the people of two kampongs to come together in the dull off-season period, usually after the harvest.

For a kertok contest, teams usually consist of between ten and twenty men who beat their instruments together in an exact rhythm dictated by their leaders. Sometimes there are two men to each kertok, one with a wooden beater in each hand, the other with a single beater. A variety of rhythmic groupings are played, each with its own name, which may be traditional or modern, e.g. Kereta Api, Gadoh,² Kerbau berhambat, Kachang goreng and Sedang. The teams sit opposite each other and take turns to play for the judges, who make their decisions on accuracy of team work, rhythm and 'musical' arrangements.

The contests at which the kertok are beaten often last from morning until sunset, with just an interval for the midday prayer and meal. If the contest continues until midnight, a second break is made at sunset.

Playing the Kertok

1. see Kijang Puteh, ' The Coconut Drum of Kelantan ', STA, 1964, pp. 78-9
2. Kereta Api: railway; gaduh; tumult, loud disputes; kerbau berhambat: pursuing buffalo; kacang goreng: fried bean; sedang: intermediate; the happy mean, medium, average.

11. Music Associated with the Harvest

In Negri Sembilan a traditional practice known as tumbok¹ (tumboh)lesong or lesong emping is maintained. This involves the making of musical sounds by pounding unripe padi rhythmically with long poles in a wooden mortar (lesong). Three or four people of either sex usually take part, their collective pounding creating a variety of rhythmic patterns. Only two pitches are normally obtained, the higher by striking the top of the mortar, the lower by striking its sides.² Sometimes the sides are beaten by the stalks of the rice.

An unusual ceremony involving lesong emping,³ together with other traditional music, has been described by Wavell. A Malay had committed a serious crime at a spot in the padi fields near an irrigation dam at Beranang. He had since died but his crime had not passed unnoticed by the spirits of the rice field (semangat padi), who registered their protest by leaving the region and settling on a hill about twenty miles away. From that moment the padi was stricken with disease, and for four years the crop failed. The Ketuas on the Mukim Council decided that drastic action was required, and a ceremony, dormant for thirty years, took place in the padi field. This was called Bersemah or Peace-making, and it was hoped that during it the semangat could be persuaded to return to bless the new seed.

After the throats of a cow and three goats had been cut, the pawang played quiet music on a flute to recall the spirits, and then wilder music. Next he ordered entertainment for the spirits: the chaklempong was played, bersilat performed, and the tari piring danced by young

Malay children.

The harvest proved a great success. The first stalks containing the spirit of the rice-baby were cut and preserved in a special box, (kepok). More stalks were cut by hand with the ceremonial wooden tuai, and pounded rhythmically by three women with long poles into the curved hollow on a wooden block. Wavell says that both the action and the musical sounds were known to the Malays as lesong emping. The rhythm was taken up by the chaklempong, and bersilat was again performed.

A similar action to the pounding of the rice described above is practised in West Malaysia's neighbouring areas. Its use in Central and East Java where it is known as kotékan, géjongan, béndrong or gendong,⁴ has been described by Kunst. There it was not confined to the harvest, but could be heard on moonlit nights, at times of eclipses of the sun or moon, and in the Sunda districts where it was called lesung, at circumcision festivals. The mortar was a long, hollowed-out tree trunk resting on two rollers so that its resonance should not be impaired. Against its sides six or eight women each beat out her own rhythm. As the mortar varied in thickness and width and each player beat it in a different place and in a different way, a rich texture of sounds resulted.

In Bali bamboo stamping tubes (bumbung) are pounded against a stone or plank to accompany a dance known as jogèd bumbung which is sometimes performed at harvest festivities, but they are not used to pound the actual rice.⁵

Dancing was once a feature of the harvest festivities in West Malaysia. Winstedt⁶ has left a description of one 'dance' in which the performers were a group of fifteen or twenty boys and girls carrying winnowing-sieves and other tools of the harvester. They were invited forward by an old lady who took up her position on the threshing-screen and proceeded to sing to the children. They responded by dancing and giving her questions to answer in verse. The performance ended in a rather curious manner. The girl leader of the children sang a verse that purported to be a charm 'making all things brittle'. Having done this, with the idea of making the threshing easier, she led her group of dancers to the screen to test the efficacy of the magic. The children trampled and stamped on the screen and when a lath showed its brittleness by breaking, the charm was supposed to have done its work and the performance ended.

Activities connected with the harvest are sometimes incorporated in dances still being devised - e.g. in a recent dance called dikir bendang⁷ four girls make movements representing the action of reaping padi.

Other dances with harvest associations have recently been revived. One of these, Ole Bandar⁸, has been rescued from oblivion by the Suara Muda Club of Kota Bharu. Ole Bandar was a trance dance with the care of the rice spirit and the success of the harvest as its main themes. It was performed by a number of girls (often three or five) and two young men. The principal dancer called bandar⁹ danced until she fell down in a trance, after which she was considered fit to undertake the delicate task of sowing the best seeds kept from the previous season

(semangat padi) to become the guarantee of another good harvest.

While she was in the trance, the other women acted as her assistants and the young men as her protectors.

On the East Coast, in the States of Trengganu and Kelantan the celebration after harvest is called main pantai, literally 'playing on the beaches'. It was customary for the people from inland to gather each year on the beaches to listen to traditional music and participate in varied forms of entertainment. This no longer happens with any regularity.

1. tumbok: to strike a pounding blow; lesong: a mortar for rice pounding; emping: rice plucked, crushed and cooked before it has attained maturity. lesong pengemping: a pounder for young rice. In Skeat's Collection at Cambridge, there is a model of a canoe-shaped rice mortar called in the catalogue (No. 515) lesong pengimping.
2. these two pitches can be clearly heard on the tape of tumbok lesong made by Ivan Polunin at Kampong Sepri Tengal, Jelebu, Negri Sembilan. This tape is housed at the Institute of Recorded Sound, London.
3. S. Wavell, 'Miracle at Beranang', STA 1957, pp. 21-23. This event was originally described by Wavell in The Lost World of the East, London, 1958.
4. Music in Java, Vol. I, pp. 194-5; Illustration, Vol. II, p. 429, No. 84; on p. 195 Kunst reproduces an elaborate rice-beating score noted down by J. S. Brandts Buys.
5. C. McPhee, Music in Bali, p. 23
6. The Malay Magician, p. 53
7. bendang: a wet rice-field.
8. see M. Sheppard, 'Tarian Melayu' S. T. A. 1961, p. 46
9. bandar: (Sum: Jav:): watercourse; Persian) port, a trade-centre on sea or navigable river. There appears to be no connection between either of the meanings and the dance.

IV. The Music of Other Communities.

- (i) The Chinese
- (ii) The Indian
- (iii) The Eurasian
- (iv) The Thai

(i) The Music of the Chinese Community

The Chinese who emigrated to Malaya during the nineteenth century valued the culture of their mother country sufficiently to build schools and form their own societies to preserve it. But few of them were skilled in their traditional music so that the Chinese music heard in the peninsula today reflects at several removes the richness of its past, and has grown increasingly more popular in its emphasis. Moreover, despite the fact that Chinese music of some variety or other can hardly be avoided, especially in the urban areas, its influence upon the music of the other races has remained minimal.

It continues to play an important part in religious ceremonies. These usually reflect a variety of beliefs, Buddhist, Tao and Confucian, as well as ancestor worship. The Chinese who are Christians are more likely, in their Churches, to use music imported from the west by the missionaries (many of whom came from the USA) than their own traditional music.

Both traditional and Western music is a prominent feature of the funeral rites conducted by Buddhist or Taoist priests when the dead person's spirit is persuaded to enter a 'spirit tablet' on the family shrine. A conglomeration of noisy sounds accompanies this procedure made by an instrumental ensemble which often includes a ti-tzu, a so-na, a pang-ku, a lo, two small po and a variety of bells. The playing may continue all night with only brief rests for the instrumentalists. Funeral processions usually involve

a band which plays Western style music whilst the drums, gongs, cymbals and triangles maintain a continuous din to drive away evil spirits. Although there may be Chinese instruments in the percussion department, the band is likely to have a preponderance of Western instruments and to select its repertoire from marches and other lively tunes popular in Europe and the USA.

Such Western instruments as the trumpet, clarinet, flute, and oboe are also in evidence at wedding celebrations, together with Chinese percussion instruments, but at traditional weddings Chinese instruments are usually heard.

On 16th August, 1962, I attended a ceremony in the market place at Penang designed to drive away evil spirits and bring prosperity to the stall holders who had joined together to pay for it. Waiting to be burnt was a model of Kuan Yi, the goddess of mercy, surrounded by Hell Bank Notes, offerings of food and joss sticks. The musical instruments used on that occasion were a san-hsien, pang-ku, yang-ch'in and wood block.

A limited amount of music can be heard in the temples, the number of instruments owned by each temple depending on its wealth. The Buddhist prayers and hymns are chanted with occasional spontaneous utterings of a more melodic nature punctuated by the sound of rapid drum beats. Gongs and small bells as well as the large temple bell contribute to the general mosaic of sound. The traditional instrument used by the priests to mark time in the recitation of prayers is the mu-yü, a ritual slit drum made from a block of camphor wood with a small skillfully carved ball moving

freely in its interior. This is often called 'the wooden fish', and indeed it may have had that shape, but it now often resembles a human skull. Up to a foot in diameter, and lacquered red and gold, it is either placed on a cushion, or suspended, and is struck with a heavy stick. In the open-air corridors of the Kek Lok Si Temple at Ayer Itam, Penang, the suspended wooden slit drum, about three feet in length and shaped like a fish marks the beginning and end of periods of work.

Music in some form or other is always heard at the Chinese festivals, the chief of which in West Malaysia is Chinese New Year with celebrations lasting from New Year's Eve to the fifteenth night of the first moon. Some other important festivals are Cheng Sooi's birthday (particularly in Penang), Ching Ming (or Cheng Beng), the Dragon Boat and Mid-Autumn (Moon) Festivals, and festivals in honour of Too-Tee, the god of wealth and Kuan Yin, goddess of mercy. At festival time two of the most popular dances are the Lion and Dragon Dances, both accompanied by a drum. They signify peace, prosperity and power. Of them Tony Beamish writes:

The flashing eyes of the dragons and the colourful round-headed lion with its lolling tongues are an endless source of delight to children of every race. All Chinese dancing requires astonishing agility and physical fitness, but for sheer demoniac energy the man who carries the sea pearl as dragon bait must take the palm.

Two well-known dances for girls are the Fan and Flower Dances - the Lotus Blossom Dance being particularly popular. Sports clubs and guilds are actively encouraging these and other traditional Chinese Dances.

During important festivals it used to be customary for a Chinese opera to be performed on a temporary stage specially erected near a temple. This custom is becoming increasingly rare. Chinese opera (the name is perhaps misleading) is a mixture of song, speech, instrumental music, acrobatics and clowning. It was chiefly developed during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). In course of time its language became too archaic, and its general literary and musical features too remote from the tastes of the people so that a decline set in about the middle of the nineteenth century. With the sacking of Soochow during the Taiping rebellion the opera lost its main home and gradually another centre developed at Peking.

It is not the Peking Opera, however, that is usually performed in Western Malaysia, but one of the provincial types - Cantonese, Hokkien or Teochiew. The Cantonese opera with its lively recitative, folk-like melodies and preference for open-throated singing tone is perhaps the most common. There is a tendency for the performers to dress in very gaudy costumes and for a generally casual attitude to be adopted to the performance. The instrumental ensemble contains a large battery of percussion with the pang-ku as the main time beater in addition to melody instruments, so-na, hu-ch'in yüeh-ch'in, and san hsien. The instrumentalists sit on the side (or sides) of the stage or concealed in the wings, where they can watch the actors and fit their own music carefully to the action. This, despite the fact that they seem to talk and joke amongst themselves throughout. The performance begins in the early evening and continues until midnight, with the audience coming and going at will,

feeding whenever they wish, and taking every opportunity to catch up on news with their friends. The plots, which are usually drawn from Chinese folk-tales and legends, are so well-known that concentration on them is not considered necessary.

As well as being a feature of festivals a Chinese opera can sometimes be found housed in a more permanent theatre in the Happy World parks, and extracts from the operas are broadcast on the radio every day. Because of a belief that Chinese Opera is gradually dying out in West Malaysia innovations have sometimes been made, such as the addition to the traditional ensemble of a combination of Western instruments, e.g. piano, saxophone, trumpet and drums.

Many young Chinese are certainly interested in learning to play Western instruments - as can be seen by the very large number of entries for the examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, but some of them also retain a lively interest in their traditional instruments. At Malacca (15th July, 1962,) I was invited to a performance by such a group of young musicians - two girls and eight boys, all High School pupils who met twice a week for rehearsals during their summer holiday. The instruments in their ensemble were a p'i p'a, two sizes of hu-ch'in, two sizes of san hsien, a yüeh-ch'in, a yang-ch'in and a ti-tzu. Their programme included a Cantonese opera tune and a popular folk melody harmonised in Western style. They read from numeral notation. Pupils can use Chinese instruments when they take music in the Lower Certificate Examination, but none have yet done so.

Glove-puppet performances, called 'operas' are sometimes seen in Malacca and Penang, and more rarely in other towns. Two or three singers and a dozen or so instrumentalists are usually involved. These puppet operas, of Hokkien origin, were introduced into Singapore from Formosa. Their costumes are made in Singapore, but the finally modelled puppet heads are imported from the Chang Chow district of the Province of Fukkien.

Itinerant minstrels were once a feature of Malayan life, but it is rare for any of them to be encountered nowadays, even in the streets of large towns. Amongst them was the fortune teller who went around carrying a yüeh-ch'in and strips of inscribed wood. One of these strips was selected by the passer-by or householder who then had his fortune sung to him for a small sum of money.² Some minstrels just sang songs for the pleasure of their listeners. When an engraved stick had been chosen from the minstrel's bundle, he sang the song engraved on it to his own instrumental accompaniment. There were also a few elderly wandering minstrels who would fit whatever a person was reading, whether story or poem, to tunes they knew. Other street singers, often former actors or actresses, used to go from cafe to cafe and for a small sum of money sing songs, usually accompanying themselves by striking a rectangular wooden block with a beater. The san-hsien, formerly a favourite instrument of street ballad-singers is now rarely heard in that context.

Another type of music - light, Mandarin music, is being popularised by Chinese films. Many Western 'hits' too, have been translated into Mandarin. These, together with original Mandarin compositions can be heard in the amusement parks of the large towns and over the radio, and are popular with other communities in the peninsula. It should also be added that the development of serious Western music in the peninsula in a variety of forms, instrumental and vocal, in private practice and public concerts has depended very largely on the sustained interest and efforts of members of the Chinese community.

It is interesting to compare the music of the Chinese community today with that described by Vaughan almost a century ago. He says that men would amuse themselves for hours on 'rude guitars', with one, two or three strings, which they accompany with their voices in a shrill falsetto, most disagreeable to a musical ear⁴. For him there was no distinguishable melody, 'simply a sliding up and down the strings with the finger at random' the strings being struck with a piece of iron and producing the 'most extraordinary sounds'. He also mentions a 'fife' which was not a favourite instrument, and the violin borrowed by the Babas from their Portuguese neighbours on which they played a number of fandangoes, European polkas, waltzes, and quadrilles. He considered the Babas 'exceedingly musical', able to learn European tunes correctly and very clever in extemporising words to their tunes. They would entertain themselves and their guests for hours by singing pantuns and Malay lagus, accompanied

by fiddles and 'tomtoms'. One of their favourite instruments
5
emitted a tone resembling a bagpipe. Indeed, it was discovered
that an effective way to stop disputes between rival societies was
to strike up a tune on the Scottish bagpipes:

The Chinese would flock out of their strongholds by
hundreds and regard the player with wonder, and march
along in his wake, seemingly delighted with what they
doubtless thought was Chinese music.

Vaughan gives a list of other instruments then being used -
drums, cymbals, flageolets and wooden and metal instruments of
percussion, struck with sticks:

When a host of these instruments are played at the
same time, as they are at theatres and processions,
the noise is as discordant as can be imagined. Noise
is apparently, the desideratum.

After work, the Chinese spent their evenings watching
what must have been their traditional operas: to Vaughan these were
'unmeaning spectacles':

There is no scenery, and no orchestra beyond half a
dozen fellows who sit on the stage and during the whole
performance keep up an incessant din with flageolets,
cymbals, gongs and wooden clappers. During the domestic
dramas the music is somewhat modified, and sometimes
a vocal solo is indulged in which has not the faintest
shadow of a melody about it.

No females were included in the cast - the women's parts
being played by young men. The operas were usually performed
(except in Singapore) by itinerant companies on a hastily erected
stage, the audiences standing in the open air.

Vaughan adds that as well as living actors there were
puppets or marionettes dressed like them and performing the same
plays.

Musical instruments of the Chinese Community

The following section contains brief notes about each of the instruments already mentioned. Those marked with a star are on display in the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur. The Chinese classified their instruments under the 'eight sounds' (pa yin) system which was based on the materials from which they were made:- clay, stone, metal, skin, wood, bamboo, gourds and silk. This classification is used here.

Metal (Idiophones)

* Lo: a flat, bossless gong with a bent-back shallow rim varying in diameter from 24-60 cm. It is suspended by a string usually held in the hands, and is struck with a copper beater.

* Po (or t'ong-po): bronze cymbals with a pronounced central boss and flat or slightly upward-curving rim, in different sizes up to 60 cm. in diameter.

Skin (Membranophones)

* Ku: a generic term for drums, specifically used for a drum with a single head secured by copper nails.

Pang-ku: a small flat drum, 15-25 cm. in diameter, with a single nailed head of skin. It usually rests on a wooden tripod.

Bamboo (Aerophones)

* Ti-tzu: a transverse flute made of a cylindrical bamboo tube, lacquered and sometimes bound round with waxed thread. It has

eight holes - one to blow across, one covered with a thin membrane usually of rice paper (a mirliton device) and six finger holes. In addition there are several holes at one or both ends for silk tassels or other ornaments.

* Hsiao (or tung hsiao) : an end-blown bamboo flute, about 1'8" in length. A natural node closes its upper end and in this a notch is cut leaving a narrow flue with four or five finger holes down the front and a thumb-hole at the back.

So-na: a conical oboe with a double reed. It is made of wood with a flared brass or copper bell, and with a metal pirouette and reed case. Down its front there are seven finger holes, at its rear a thumb hole.

Silk (Cordophones):

Hu-ch'in: a two-stringed fiddle . Its body is a small cylinder or hexagon of bamboo, wood or coconut, with its lower end open and its upper end covered with a lizard or snake-skin belly. The tubular neck pierces the body and there is no finger board. As the pegs are in the back of the neck the two strings, usually of silk or silk gut and tuned a fifth apart, are aligned vertically over the belly and are played with a bow that passes between them and so cannot be removed. The instrument is held in a vertical position and played with a great deal of vibrato and glissando . A very popular fiddle similar in construction to the hu-ch'in is the êrh hu. *

* Yüeh -ch'in: a short-necked lute with a flat, circular wooden body, c.35 cm. in diameter from which comes its name, "moon guitar". It has ten raised frets on its wooden soundboard and neck, four lateral pegs, silk (sometimes copper) strings tuned in unison pairs a fifth apart, and a frontal string fastener. A thin metal tongue is suspended inside the body, rattling against it when the instrument is played. Normally a plectrum is used.

San hsien (or hsien tsu): a long -necked lute with a small shallow frame body of various shapes based on the square or rectangle and usually made of redwood. It has snake skin on both its faces.

This body is pierced by a slender redwood neck that carries three lateral tuning pegs, two on one side and a third on the other. Its three silk or metal strings which are tuned to I IV I or I II VI, are played with a heavy plectrum, or sometimes with the fingers.

P'i- p'a : sometimes known as the "ballocn guitar", this instrument is a short-necked lute with a shallow pear-shaped body. Its soundboard and fingerboard are made of wood, and both have a number of frets on them - four on the finger-board and up to fourteen on the sound-board. Its four silk strings, usually tuned to e a b e ' run from lateral pegs in a reversed peg-box, two to each side, to a cross-ledge near the lower end of the sound-board. It is played in an upright position with the fingers or a plectrum.

Yang-ch'in: literally 'foreign-zither' - a type of dulcimer, varied in form, size and number of strings. It usually resembles a rectangular

trapezoidal or oval box, often with a lid, and has two round sound holes cut in the wooden sound-box. There are between fourteen and twenty sets of metallic strings with two, three or four strings to each note, passing over and through two bridges. Half of them pass over one bridge and through the holes of the second: the other half, vice-versa. The strings are secured by tuning pegs inserted into the right wall of the box, and are played with two light bamboo sticks.

The Chinese

1. T. Beamish. The Arts of Malaya, Singapore, 1954, p.56
2. see L. Comber, Magic and Superstitions in Malaya, Singapore, 1957, p.42
3. J.D. Vaughan, The Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements, Singapore, 1879, pp.38-39 and 82-84
4. probably erh-hu , hu-ch'in, yüeh-ch'in and san hsien
5. the so-na ?

(ii) The Music of the Indian Community

Before the Second World War most of the Indian population was transient, and their contribution to the musical culture of West Malaysia was limited in much the same way as that of the Chinese. They are now tending to stay longer, and as they grow increasingly to think of themselves as Malaysians, a greater contribution may be expected from the comparatively small number amongst them who are versed in their folk and classical traditions as singers, instrumentalists or dancers. There are several good teachers in the large centres of population and these centres are also visited by artists from India. Carnatic music is popular and is encouraged by the local arts societies and by the occasional visits of distinguished performers from India, Hongkong and other parts of South-east Asia.

There is little music in the Hindu temples. A few possess a mrdāṅga or nāgasuram, but in others, small cymbals (tālā) may be the only instruments available.

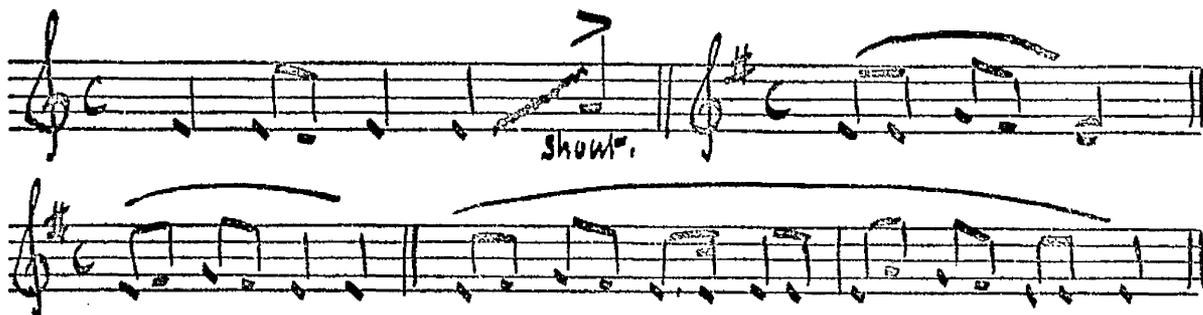
During the festivals, music can usually be heard in the grounds of the temples. This is often music from popular Tamil films, played either on gramophone records or by small instrumental ensembles in which some of the most common instruments are the violin, piano, accordion and harmonium. It is also this popular film music that is likely to be sung by the tappers on the rubber estates.

Perhaps the most interesting traditional music of the Indian community can be heard at the beach off Batu Ferringgi on the northern side of Penang Island. Here, as the Tamil Muslim fishermen pull in their nets in the evening, they sing what has become known locally as

'The Fisherman's Litany'. Early in the morning they take their nets out a distance from the shore, and at sundown in two columns a hundred yards or so apart they begin to haul them in with two ropes. Around their waists they have a piece of material which is also tied to the ropes, so that they haul with their whole bodies and as they do so they sing and occasionally shout short phrases antiphonally to each other. One man sings a short abrupt phrase and this is immediately answered by another man or group of men. The following musical example gives several of these short phrases:



As the net is brought nearer to the shore and the two columns draw closer to each other, the tempo of the chanted phrases increases, the pitch grows more strongly melodic and the men haul harder and faster.



Sometimes the improvised words are commands for the men to pull together, sometimes they extol the beautiful maidens of the sea, sometimes they tempt the fish to escape from the nets, and occasionally they praise the gods of the ocean for the catch. As well as helping the fishermen with the hauling, the rhythmic phrases serve as a signal to summon the local people to the sale of the fish.

The Indian instruments represented in the collection of musical instruments at the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, are chiefly those popular in South India. Brief notes on each of these are given below.

Membranophones

Mridanga (mrdanga): a barrel-shaped drum made from a single block of wood - preferably jack - or red-wood. The diameter of the two heads varies, that of the left head being about one and a half times that of the right. They are fastened over hoops which are laced together by leather thongs, and are tuned in two ways - by the use of tension wedges between the thongs and the body and by the application of tuning paste. The tuning paste on the right head is permanent and is made of manganese dust, boiled rice and tamarind juice, or of iron filings and boiled rice.

For the left head it is made of boiled rice, ashes and water : it is applied before playing and scraped off after performance. It tunes this head to the octave below that of the right head. The mridanga is played with the wrists and finger tips, or with sticks called dhol.

Tabla: a popular drum of N. and C. India, with a body of clay, wood or metal - nowadays usually of copper. In shape it resembles two truncated cones joined at the widest part. Its single head has an outer hoop which is

laced with thongs forming a zig-zag pattern: it is tightened with movable cylindrical wooden chocks. There is black tuning paste on the head, and a small hammer is also used for tuning.

Bayā: The N. and C. Indian name of the bāmyā (bānyā in Bengal)

a small kettledrum played exclusively in conjunction with the tabla.

It is made of clay, wood or copper. Its single head is stretched over a hoop laced in a W or Y pattern with leather thongs and tensed with wedge bracings. When black tuning paste is permanently applied to the head it is closer to the edge than the centre.

Tavil: a cylindrical drum of S. India. It is hollowed out of a block of wood, with its two heads lapped over projecting hoops, laced in a W pattern and with a central tension ligature. The right hand is played with the wrist and fingers of the right hand, the left with a stick.

Aerophones

Nagasvaram (nagasuram): the large shawm of S. India, made of wood or metal, with a conical bore terminating in a metal bell. It has twelve holes, seven of them equidistant finger holes, the remaining five, tuning holes. Its compass is 2.1/2 octaves, and intervals smaller than a tone are produced by the control of the breath or by the partial covering of holes. Two sizes are available: timiri- the smaller, being about 60 cm. long, and bari - the larger, about 75 cm. The nagasvaram is usually played with the ottu, a drone oboe.

Ottu: this instrument resembles the nagasvaram to which it provides the drone, but it is slightly longer. In the lower end there are four or five holes which, when partly or completely closed, bring the keynote of the instrument to the desired pitch.

Pullangkullal (pillānkulal): a cross flute made of cane with a node at its upper end and three or four finger holes. It is also played as a nose flute. This instrument is the Tamil equivalent of the vāmsī.

Concussion Idiophones

Talam: (tālā) small, heavy cymbals with a sloping rim and a broad central boss, or without a rim. They make a tinkling sound and are not normally joined together. The pair of cymbals in the Muzium Negara are connected by a cord, and are made of thin bronze with a wide, flat rim and a central boss. Their name should more properly be jhānjha - the 'clashing' cymbals of India.

Cordophones

Sāraṅgi: a bowed cordophone of N.India, usually made out of a single block of heavy wood. Its clumsy body has a waisted belly entirely covered with skin, and a short neck with lateral pegs for three gut strings to which a fourth wire string is usually added. Between eleven and fifteen sympathetic wire strings are attached to smaller pegs in the neck. There is no fingerboard. The sāraṅgi is held vertically, the strings being stopped on the side by the player's fingernails. The hand holding the bow has its palm facing upwards.

Vina (mahati vīnā): a long lute with an extra resonator, still showing traces of its stick zither ancestry. The stick is held obliquely across the player's chest, one of the gourds resting on his left shoulder, the other on his right knee. There are four strings, two of steel and two of brass, plucked with the finger nails of the right hand or with a triangular wire plectrum. Three open strings, off the fingerboard, are played

as an upper drone by the little finger, and used to mark the time. The four main strings are tuned in one of the following ways:

G c g c ' ; F c f c ' ; G d g d ' . The total range is about three octaves and there are twenty-four semitonal fixed metal frets.

Vina: is the name given to this instrument in S. India: In N. India a similar instrument is called bin.

Tambura: a long-necked lute for providing a drone. The body is made from wood or from a spherical gourd with a flat or slightly convex soundboard. The broad neck is without frets and there are four wire strings tuned to the tonic, fifth or fourth and two octave unisons. Its pitch is adjusted to the range of the singer's voice. The strings are never stopped, but are gently plucked one after the other with the player's right forefinger. The tuning pegs are both frontal and lateral, and a movable ivory bridge is placed on the neck. The tambura is held in an upright position with the body resting on the player's right thigh.

A popular Indian instrument not included in the Muzium Negara collection, but used by performers of N. Indian classical music in the peninsula is the sitar. This has a piriform body made out of hollowed-wood or a gourd, with sound-holes pierced in its wooden belly. On its long neck, 7.1/2 cm. wide, is a flat fingerboard with between sixteen and twenty movable frets made of gut or wire, brass or silver. The sitar has between four and seven metal strings attached to frontal and lateral pegs, two of which are usually inserted in the neck, and the remainder in a peg-box. The basic tuning is g. c¹ f c². The melody is played on one string only, the other strings (cikari) providing the drone accompaniments. There are also sympathetic strings (tarab). The strings are plucked with a wire plectrum worn on the player's right forefinger.

(iii.) The Music of the Eurasian Community

As has been seen, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to make an impact on the life of the peninsula, particularly in Malacca and its immediate hinterland. In this area the descendants of the Portuguese conquerors still sing the songs, and perform the dances of their ancestors' homeland. Whether all these songs and dances have continued in an unbroken succession is not known. When I visited the Portuguese community in Malacca on 16th July 1962, I was told that much of the traditional music featured on the radio and in festivals was taught by the parish priest to his parishioners to celebrate a visit from the Portuguese ambassador in the 1950's.

Many of the songs became known throughout Malay as a result of the records, broadcasts and films of a trio of young men of Portuguese descent from Malacca - Horace St Maria, Camilo Gomes and Ernest Rodrigues who called themselves The Trez Amigos. Singing in Malay and English as well as in the Portuguese patois and accompanied by a guitar their songs were popular with members of all races. The guitar is usually the instrument that accompanies the songs in Malacca: rhythmic handclapping, too, is common.

BON BON FILHA

claps. x x x x x x smile - - -

etc.

A number of tunes of Portuguese derivation (e.g. 'Jingli Nona') are in regular use for ronggeng.

The Dutch followed the Portuguese as conquerors of Malacca but there is no music of a specifically Dutch character still performed by their descendants. Any influence there may have been appears to have come via Ambon and Java. A well-known example of this is 'Rasa Sayang Eh ! ', a popular song combining varied pantuns with an unvarying refrain.

(iv) The Music of the Thai Community

The small Thai communities in the north of the peninsula maintain some of their own traditions. Whenever there is a festival music can usually be heard in the vicinity of the temples if only as part of a wayang kulit siam, or for a rambong (ram wong) dance. This used to be a circular dance with many hand movements similar to those of the classical dance of the theatre, but now it has some affinity to ronggeng. The dancing couples weave their way around the floor with the woman setting the course of the movement, followed by the man, and with their bodies never touching. The dance is often accompanied by a Western style band.

The temples are usually too small to have a court for temple dances, and in any case, they are generally not wealthy enough to afford classical dancing as part of their worship. The few dances that are performed are accompanied by a small instrumental ensemble which is likely to be a mixture of Malay and Thai instruments including drums, gongs (but rarely a complete gong chime) and a metallophone.

The best known example of a performance containing music given by members of the Thai community is Manora (menora). This mixture of music, dancing, mime and slap-stick comedy is performed near Buddhist shrines and temples in Kedah and Kelantan, and is also included in large-scale local celebrations and state occasions like the Sultan of Kelantan's birthday.

Local Malays claim that manora came to the northern states from Thailand about a hundred years ago, although its exact place of origin remains uncertain. One theory suggests it was Ligor in the Isthmus of Krai¹, another Nakawn², whilst a Patani tradition³ traces it to the island of Seechang on the east of the Gulf of Thailand.

Although it is now generally played only for purposes of entertainment, manora was originally a performance offered to spirits to avert or remove sickness.⁴ Cuisinier⁵, writing more than thirty years ago, says that although manora was even then not organised with magic intent, the dancers themselves were convinced of the activities of the spirits who had been invoked before the performance. At all the posts of the shelter, under the mat on which the dancing took place, and near the musical instruments little charms were scattered. Behind the scenes, the bomor traced certain signs on the back, arms and cheeks of the dancer to protect him; and the gestures which retained their precise meaning for him were those to which a magical significance was attached. The most indispensable of them was the gesture to 'draw out the voice'. For this the manora placed his right thumb between his lips, closed his fist, and then drawing his thumb out of his mouth let it slide slowly to his chin. His fist was then lowered to his knees with the thumb pointing upward.

The original significance of the manora⁶ performance seems to be emphasised by the fact noted by Cuisinier that a manora company was as essential for the Kelantan ceremony of blessing the sea (puja pantai) as the putri and wayang jawa companies. In this ceremony the role of the manora dancer was not limited to the performance itself, for it was

he who, at dawn, was responsible for one of the last ritual acts -
 the striking of the waves with a lance ⁷ . The only reminder of these
 magical associations today is the ceremony before the performance when
 the spirits are invoked and their aid is sought in protecting the performers,
 audience and performing area from evil. ⁸

In both Kedah and Kelantan manora has male actors only, the
 female parts being taken by young boys who let their hair grow long
 until the age of twelve or thirteen, and who make up and dress to suit the
 part. ⁹

The most important character is the hero - the manora. He ¹⁰
 wears an elaborate gilded pagoda-shaped crown called kechopong which
 is sometimes decorated with imitation jewels, a waistcoat (sibadayan) ¹²
 with woven bands across the chest ¹¹ , jewelled wings at waist level, ¹³
 and long curved finger nails of silver, brass or gold called kuku. The
 other characters vary according to the particular story, but indispensable
 to all manora performances are the clowns in their wooden masks whose
 comic interludes, like their costumes, are often brought right up to date.
 There is a Kelantan tradition (told me by Che Nik Abdul Rahman bin Haji
 Nik Der of Chepa, Kota Bharu,) that the manora masks should be made
 in February, and that when the tree from which they are to be made is
 cut down, all cutting it must join in laughter. These masks do not cover
 the chin or the lower lip, The upper teeth are often shown, and like the
 eye-balls are sometimes covered with mother-of-pearl. ¹⁴

The performances are centred around a cycle of twelve stories
 based on legends common to many S. E. Asian countries. The Malay
 dramatist, Mustafha Kamil Yassim says that the Manora story (which is

attributed to a Buddhist source) deals basically with a prince's love for a princess belonging to the mythical race of bird-people, the Kinnaras:

Seven Kinnara sisters go out to the jungle to play, and one of them is kidnapped by a hunter who hands her over to the king of the country. The king's son falls in love with her and marries her; but she is badly treated by the court when the prince goes away to war. She escapes from the palace and returns to the abode of the Kinnaras. Later the prince tries to trace her whereabouts. After many adventures, he arrives in the kingdom of the bird-people and is united with his bride; they live happily ever after. 15

Although there are no strict conditions governing entry into a manora company except dancing and acting ability, the manora performance is, in fact, often a family affair with the performers accepting their work in a spirit of religious dedication. A long period of training is necessary before a performer is considered ready to accept responsibility for the principal part, but the traditional ceremonies leading up to the recognition of a person's fitness for this role are not maintained as rigidly as they were thirty or so years ago. Then no boy could begin his apprenticeship without his father's permission, and any disobedience was believed to bring on a fever and other illness. ¹⁶ From his acceptance as an apprentice at the age of twelve or thirteen he belonged to the manora company, although he had not actually entered it. Entry came only by gradual steps and after several years. In the meanwhile he lived with his parents, married and earned his living, which was later supplemented by the small income he received from performances in which he took part.

After a year or two of lessons, he was allowed to play the feminine roles. When he had made further progress he was given the masculine role of manora , but was still not allowed to wear his real

badge of office, the ' golden ' crown. This was kept from him until after his consecration, although he was permitted to wear a head-dress of the same shape but not so high and less ornamental . It was only after six years, and sometimes more, according to his ability, that his teacher considered him worthy of consecration.

The ceremony in which the dignity of manora was conferred upon him was a great religious festival, during which bonzes reminded the participants of the Buddhist commandments. To prepare himself worthily , the dancer was expected to make a three days' retreat to the pagoda, and to wear the yellow robes of novices on the day of their entry into orders. Once he had been consecrated he was considered to be adopted by the ancestors who received the revelation of the dance. This consecration was demanded of both the hereditary and non-hereditary manora, and gave each of them an equal status, the only difference between them being that the hereditary dancer who intentionally abstained from performing was likely to become ill and die of fever.

Manora does not require a stage and there are no changes of scenery. The action usually takes place in an atap shelter specially built for the purpose, with a screen hiding the green room from the audience.

A great deal of dancing is involved, for much of which the knees of the performers are kept bent and their leg movements are slow and deliberate.

The instrumental group providing the accompaniment consists
18
of a serunai (the leader), two geduk, two gedombak, two large suspended gongs, chanang, kesi and a number of pairs of cherek - pieces of bamboo which are struck together .
19.

The Thai

1. quoted by O. Lim, Pelita, Singapore, Vol I. No. 2, 1962. p. 23
2. Wavell, The Naga King's Daughter, p. 229
3. ibid, p. 160
4. Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan p. 119, includes it in the 'magic' dances, and points out the ritualistic basis beneath its spectacle.
5. ibid, p. 126
6. p. 126. Fn. 1.
7. in Patani, Manora takes pride of place at the Puja Pata, a similar ceremony to the Puja Pantai of Kelantan,
8. Cuisinier, p. 124, gives this ceremony a Thai name bō'k rong - to 'open the stage'. The ceremony was the responsibility of the bomor who might not be a consecrated dancer.
9. there is no ban against girls participating in Nora, the corresponding performance of Southern Thailand. When Wavell, op. cit., p. 150, pointed out to a girl dancer that the manora of the Malay peninsula was performed by males only she said that long ago the same tradition was observed in Thailand.
10. kechopong - ketopong : a helmet or shako mentioned in old Malay romances.
11. Wavell, p. 26, suggests that the woven bands are reminiscent of the costume of a Khmer prince of Angkor.
12. one of the legends relating to the origin of manora says that it was first learnt from five hundred 'bird maidens' at the Lake of Anotatnathi, by the Princess Nang Nuen-Samli of Ayuthia (Wavell, p. 228)
13. kuku: nail, claw, hoof, talon.
14. see Skeat, Malay Magic, Plate 21, opposite p. 513
15. Mustapha Kamil Yassim, in an interview with A. J. Gunawardana, 'Theatre in Malaysia', The Drama Review, Vol. 15. No. 3 1971, p. 108. The story recorded by the Cambridge Expedition was Tuan Podi Mas. Although many of its words were identifiably Malay it also contained much Kelantanese, and some words which even the performers themselves could not identify. The story (Wavell, p. 134) was about the loves and transmogrifications of two princes and their sister. It involved magic, demons, human crocodiles and flying horses, much of its action taking place in the ancient kingdom of Suraat.

16. see Cuisinier, p. 124

17. Cuisinier, p. 125, calls this crown by its Thai name , sō't , and describes it as 'une sorte de tiare haute de trente-cinq ou quarante centimètres environ, faite de bois et de carton-pâte; elle est doré et garnie de perles et d'éclats de métal ou de verre de couleurs'.

18. sometimes a pair of gendang (ibu and anak) are substituted for the gedombak , but the geduk seems to remain invariable. I have also seen the hanging gongs replaced by chanang .

19. in the fragment of a performance I saw at the Buddhist temple at Balai, Kelantan, 13th August, 1962, three pairs of cherek were used.

V. Music common to the various communities

(i) The National and State Anthems

(ii) Western Music

(i) The National and State Anthems

The national and state anthems of the Federation of Malaysia are shared by all races. The national anthem, 'Negara-Ku' (My Country), is the anthem that was chosen for the Federation of Malaya when it became an independent state in 1957. The words were written by a Cabinet Committee, headed by Tunku Abdul Rahman, then Prime Minister, its melody is an adaptation of Perak's state anthem which in turn is based on a tune very popular in the Seychelles towards the end of the nineteenth century. Sultan Abdullah of Perak was then living in exile on Mahé in the Seychelles, where the tune was often played by a French band giving weekly performances near his house. On a visit to this island Raja Chulan, his elder son, liked it so much that he learned to play it on the violin and also taught it to his brother, Raja Mansur.

It was whilst Raja Mansur was acting as aide-de-camp to Sultan Idris of Perak on a visit to Queen Victoria in 1888 that quite by chance this popular song became Perak's state anthem. When the Sultan arrived at Southampton with Sir Hugh Low, the British Resident, and Raja Mansur, a representative of the British Government asked the aide-de-camp for the Perak anthem so that it could be played at the Sultan's official reception. Rather than admit that no such anthem existed, Raja Mansur decided to create one on the spot. He explained that he hadn't a copy of the anthem with him, but that he would hum

the tune to anyone who could write it down. When a bandmaster came for this purpose, Raja Mansur hummed the popular tune from the Seychelles and from that day it was accepted as Perak's official anthem.²

About the same time the tune was introduced into an Indonesian bangsawan, 'Indra Zanzibar' or 'Wayang Kassim', then being performed in Singapore, where it became popular as 'Stambul Satu'. Much later it was sung to romantic words under the title 'Terang Bulan' - Moonlight ,

Ten years or so ago a gramophone record of 'Negara Ku' was sent to the Seychelles to see if any confirmation of this story about the origin of the tune as told by present day members of the Perak royal family could be obtained . When it was broadcast an old resident immediately recognised it as a tune that had been popular on the islands over seventy years ago.³

When Malaya became an independent state an international competition was held for a national anthem. None of the entries, although some came from distinguished composers, proved acceptable. Instead there was a demand for the tune 'Terang Bulan'. Perak, whose anthem pre-dated this song gave permission for the use of its melody on condition that it could also be retained by the state, together with the words already being sung to it there. New words were provided for its national use, and the tune was arranged in a manner considered suitably dignified. the style of playing associated with 'Terang Bulan' being forbidden.

Each of the Federated Malay States had its own anthem. In Johore, a Malay tune, Dondang Sayang was adapted by M. Galistan, Bandmaster of the Johore Military Forces for the approval of the state's ruler, Sultan Ibrahim, in 1879. His arrangement is still in use. English words were provided for it in 1910 by H. A. Courtney, the first agent of the Hong Kong Bank in Johore Bahru and a writer of operettas: Malay words were added in 1914, by Captain Mohamed Said, Staff officer of the Johore Military Forces,⁴ and accepted by the Sultan, Sir Ibrahim, in 1915.

Selangor has had three anthems. Early in this century when Sultan Suleiman Shah was Raja Muda, he and Raja Haji Bot, chose a tune called Chantek Manis, which was composed in Selangor, but the name of the composer is not known. This was orchestrated by Bandmaster Daniel Ortego, a Filipino. But in 1908 on his accession to the throne, he asked the same bandmaster to compose a tune of Western type to take its place. Out of three compositions then produced, he chose the one that remained in use until 1967, when the present anthem Duli Yang Maha Mulia with words and music by Enche Saiful Bahri was substituted.

In 1911 Tuanka Muhammed, the Yang Di-Pertuan of Negri Sembilan, approved a composition by a young British Civil Servant,⁵ Andrew Caldecott, who was then District Officer, Jelebu, for use as the official anthem of that state, instead of a version of the Malay tune Bunga Tanjung that had been in common use before. Caldecott's words were slightly altered after the Second World War.

The anthem for Pahang was the winning entry of a competition in 1923, the successful competitor being a Miss Sworder LRAM, then on a visit to her father, the Agricultural Officer for Pekan.

The Unfederated Malay States followed the Federated States in having anthems. The first of them was Trengganu. In 1927 Sultan Sulaiman Badrul Alan Shah asked Che Guru Mohamed Hashim bin Abu Bakar to compose a tune for his birthday celebrations. Che Hashim was leader of the Boy Scout Band in the State Capital, and later bandmaster of the Trengganu Police Band. When he first sang the anthem to the Sultan he was accompanied by his Boy Scouts Band. It was only on a second performance to the Sultan by the children from the Malay Primary School at Paya Bunga where Che Hashim was an assistant teacher that it was officially accepted as the State Anthem. The words as well as the tune written by Che Hashim are still sung with a slight amendment to the fourth and sixth lines made during the Japanese occupation.

6

About the same time M. S. Menezes, the Goanese bandmaster of the Kelantan Police Band, was asked to compose a tune for the birthday celebrations of the ruler, Sultan Ismail, on 5th July, 1927. The words were added three years later by Dato Haji Mohamed, Dato Laksamana, then the State Secretary. Thi s still remains the Kelantan State Anthem.

In 1930, the Vice-President of the Perlis State Council, Tuan Syed Hamzah ibni Almarhum syed Safi Jamulullail, composed

the tune that five years later became adopted as the Perlis State Anthem. As he could not read or write musical notation, the tune was written down and harmonised by Raymond G. Isles, the State Engineer, and then passed on to the Bandmaster of the Malay regiment, Mr. Lenthall, for orchestration. The words were also written by Tuan Syed Hamzah.

Kedah was now the only Unfederated Malay state without an anthem. Early in 1937 the conductor of the Selangor Club orchestra J. A. Redhill, ⁸ was invited to compose an appropriate melody, and the words were written for it by Syed Abdullah Shahabudin. Both music and words were officially approved by the State Council on 22nd March, 1937, and the new anthem was first played in honour of Tunku Badlishah, who that year became regent for the state because ⁹ of the prolonged illness of his father.

NĚGARA-KU

Maestoso

The musical score is written on a single treble clef staff in 4/4 time, with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The tempo is marked 'Maestoso'. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Ně - ga - ra - ku! Ta - nah tum - pah - nya
da - rah - ku, Ra' - yat hi - dup bĕr -
- sa - tu dan ma - ju, Rah - mat bah -
- gia Tu - han kur - ni - a - kan,
Ra - ja ki - ta sĕ - la - mat bĕr - takh -
- ta, Rah - mat bah - gia Tu -
- han kur - ni - a - kan, Ra - ja ki -
- ta sĕ - la - mat bĕr - takh - ta.

JOHOR

Allah pě - li - ha - ra - kan Sul - tan, Nu -
- gěrah - kan dia sě - ga - la kěhorma - tan, Se - hat dan ri -
- a, kě - kal dan ma' - mor, Luas - kan kuasa měnaung -
- kan ka - mi, Ra' - yat di - pim - pi - ni, Běr - za -
- man la - gi, Dě - ngan měrděheka běr - sa - tu ha - ti,
Al - lah běr - kati Johor, Al - lah sěla - mat - kan Sul - tan.

KĚDAH

Al - lah sě-la - mat Sul - tan Mah - ko - ta, Běr -

- pan - jang an u - sia di - a - tas takh - ta, Měmě -

- li - ha - ra u - ga - ma Na - bi ki - ta, Ně -

- gě - ri Kě - dah sa - ra - ta - ra - ta.

KĚLANTAN

Lan-jut - kan u - sia Sul-tan ka - mi, _____ Sul-tan Kě -
 - lantan Ra - ja Ik - ra - mi, _____ A - man sěn-to -
 - sa Tu - han__ si - ra - mi, _____ Běr - kě - ka - lan ma -
 - sa mě - mě - rin - tah ka - mi. Ka -
 - seh dan ta - 'at di - sěmbah - kan, Sa - pě - noh kě - ri - a -
 - ngan pa - tek__ u - chap - kan, _____ Sě-ga-la kě-bě-sa -
 - ran Al - lah chuchor - kan, _____ Dar-jah kě - mu - lia -
 - an Al - lah tam - bah - kan.

NĚGĚRI SĚMBILAN

Bĕr - kat - lah Yang Di - Pĕr - tu - an Bĕ -
 - sar di - Nĕ - gĕ - ri Sĕm - bi - lan,
 Kurniai se - hat dan ma' - mor kase -
 - hi ra - 'a - yat lanjut - kan u - mor,
 A - kan bĕr - ka - ti sĕ - kalian yang sĕtia,
 mu - soh - nya ha - bis bi - na - sa,
 Bĕr - kat - lah Yang Di - Pĕr - tu - an Bĕ -
 - sar di - Nĕ - gĕ - ri Sĕm - bi - lan.

PAHANG

Ya Allah Tu-hanyang ka - ya, Pan - jang - kan u -
- mor — yang ma - ha — mu - li - a, Ja - uh - kan da - ri - pa -
- da ma - ra - ba - ha - ya, Kě - kal ka - -
- rar — sa - ti - ap ha - ri di - da - lam ba - ha - gia.

PERAK

Di - lan - jut - kan Al - lah u - si - a -
 - nya Sul-tan, _____ 'Adil dan mu - rah mē - mē - rin - tah wa -
 - tan, _____ Di-pu-ji ra' - yat ki - ri _____ dan ka -
 - nan, Iman yang sa - leh Al - lah kur - ni - a -
 - kan, Al - lah bē - ka - ti Pe - rak Ri - dzu -
 - an, Al - lah sēlamat - kan _____ Nēgēri dan Sul - tan.

PĒRLIS

A - min A - min Ya - Rab - bal - Ja -
 - lil, Do - 'a ham - ba yang sa - ngat za -
 lil, — Ting - gi - kan dau - lat sĕrta-nya 'a -
 - dil, Kĕ - kal pĕrin - tah Ja - ma - lul - lail.

SĔLANGOR

Andante maestoso

SAIFUL BAHRI

Du - li yang ma - ha mu-li - a Sĕ - la - mat di -
 a - tas Tahta Al - lah lan-jut - kan u - sia Tu-an - ku Ra -
 'ayat mo-hon rĕs-tu Ba-wah du - li Tu-an-ku Ba - ha - gi - a sĕ -
 la-ma-la-ma-nya A - man dan sen-to-sa Du-li yang ma-ha mu-lia

TĚRĚNGGANU

Al - lah pĕlihara-kan Ra - ja ka - mi, Mĕmĕrin -
 - tah Tĕrĕngganu Nĕ - gĕri, Al - lah pĕlihara-kan Ra - ja
 ka - - mi, Sĕjah - tĕ - ra su - a - mi is - tĕ -
 - ri, Al - - lah pĕli - hara-kan Ra - ja
 ka - mi, Sĕn - to - sa ra' - yat Nĕ - gĕri.

The National and State Anthems

1. it is believed that this tune was composed by the French composer and poet, Jean Pierre de Beranger, 1780-1857, but it has not been possible to verify this.
2. for further details see Mubin Sheppard, The Origin of Negara-Ku, Malaya in History, Vol 6 No. 1. July 1960 pp.14-16.
3. on hearing me play the tune of Negara-Ku on the piano, a student from Uganda recognised it as a song called "Manoula Moan" she had heard sung by an old lady who had moved from the Seychelles to her village.
4. later Dato Haji Mohamed Said bin Haji Sulaiman .
5. later Sir Andrew Caldecott
6. M. S. Menezes became a Muslim, taking the name, Inche Mahmood bin Hamzah.
7. The Malaysia Year Book, 1970, says that the words were by Tengku Mahmud Mahyiddeen.
8. Redhill, who was of Russian extraction, was also known as Reutenburg.
9. Much of the information about the State Anthems is contained in an article by Mubin Sheppard, then Keeper of Public Records - 'How the State Anthems of Malaya came to be written ', Malaya in History, Vol. 6 No. 2. April 1961. pp. 27-33. Other information has been supplied by the Secretaries of the various states.

(ii). Western Music

There are comparatively few Europeans or Americans in West Malaysia at the present time, but over the past hundred years the music of the west has forged important links between members of all the main communities. Malay, Chinese and Indian children have joined together to sing European (especially English) traditional songs, young people of the three communities have shared the latest 'pop' hits, and the main races have all been represented at recitals and concerts of Western 'classical' music.

It was with the establishment of an English educational system in the late nineteenth century that western music began to make a strong impact on the young members of all communities. Many of the 'English' schools were mission schools, founded by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Plymouth Brethren and American Methodists. Children from the various races went to them, although each race also had its own schools. There were Government Malay Schools, and before these there had been the Kor'an schools, when Malays had learnt the Arabic script through studying the Islamic religion. These schools received some assistance from the East India Company during the early part of the nineteenth century, and this role was later taken over by State governments. By 1937 the Chinese vernacular schools, founded, financed and administered by the Chinese community to support their own language and culture were second in number to the Malay schools, but many Chinese parents sent their children to the English schools. The same was true of the Indian

community. After 1912 the Government ordered all planters to provide Tamil schools on estates with ten or more Tamil children, assisting them by paying per capita grants. But Tamil education was not very satisfactory and parents who could afford it sent their children to English mission schools. The Malays, being Muslims, remained outside the direct influence of the missions, but amongst the Chinese and Indians there were a number of converts who heard Western music in their churches as well as in their schools.

The introduction into education of an alien musical culture early had its critics. When he was criticised for teaching European songs instead of traditional Malay material, R. Lumsden Milne², a teacher in the English Government School at Muar, Johore, in the 1930's, justified his practice by saying that he taught singing primarily as an aid to English pronunciation. He argued, too, that the Malay boys themselves got great pleasure from learning European songs. His approach to their vocal music was clearly the result of his own musical training for he complained of the way the Malays sang with the back of the throat only and forced up the chest to produce very raucous upper notes. They had an exaggerated portamento, scooping up to or down from a note, and an early 'break' in their voices, due, he thought, to the climate.

For the songs sung by the school choir a Malay teacher wrote verses in the vernacular. Malay poetry of literary value existed, but it was not sung, and the Malay words of the songs were often both worthless and nonsensical since they were used in a haphazard fashion to complete a rhythmic pattern. A number of traditional English songs were translated into Malay and given a local setting. 'Widcombe Fair' became Pasar Selabu, the grey mare changing into a water-buffalo, 'Golden

Slumbers' was translated as Tidor Sayang , and ' Haste to the Maypole' as Hai Adek. Purcell's ' I attempt from Love's Sickness to Fly' was also translated, its sentiment being considered particularly appropriate to the ' love-sick youth of Malaya'.³ Two brothers teaching in the school worked together on new songs, one writing the words and the other the music - in a style popular amongst European dance bands of that period.

The least successful of Milne's musical ventures was the orchestra. Many boys played the violin, mandolin or guitar ' by ear' and ' the light of nature', but the average Malay boy was unwilling to master the technical difficulties of an instrument and tended to be bored if his part was insufficiently melodic.

Milne summarised his work in words which many teachers facing the problems of a multi-racial society will understand:-

I have had to make the best of circumstances , and since it is my creed that art should know no frontiers, I have given them (the pupils) access to what seemed to me the best. They have developed a keen enjoyment of European music, and a critical faculty which helps them to discriminate in the appreciation of their own songs and singers.....

4

Writing about the same time, H. L. Hodge described his use of the gramophone in school for one period a week over three years. He played European music, preceding each record with a short introductory talk which explained the story or intention of the music .⁵ Other records illustrated Western instruments. In his multi-racial school this period was always popular, especially amongst the Malays and Indians. He observed that even at that time - forty years ago - people in the towns were already rapidly absorbing Western culture through the medium of the 'talkies' and since he thought that this was not, as a rule, a desirable thing, he wanted to instil some appreciation of worth-while music into his pupils before it was too late.

The general use of European music in schools continued after independence. In January 1960, the Federation's Ministry of Education produced a 'Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers in Primary Schools'⁶ and devoted chapter 18 to the teaching of music. This is almost completely European orientated. In the section 'Cultivation of an Interest in Music',⁷ one Malay instrument only, the rebak, is mentioned. The piano is suggested as a very useful instrument if there are members of staff who can play it, and the only musical example quoted is from the Welsh traditional song, 'All thro' the night'. The percussion band might be that of any English school, just one concession being made to the Malayan scene the inclusion of halves of coconut shells. The books in the book list were also written primarily for English schools and with the needs of their pupils in mind. Although a final sentence recommends the use of 'local books of songs', none are listed, and it is admitted that it may be difficult in some cases to find material ready to hand:

Teachers should look for suitable local songs of the folk song type, i. e. the music of the ordinary people. Those who can do so, should set simple poems to already existing tunes, or even make up their own tunes. Only thus will a collection of suitable school songs be built up. Teachers must use their initiative in this respect if schools are to make a real contribution to national musical culture.

'A Song-Book for Malayan Schools'⁸, published in 1955 contains 115 items; of these all are European, with the exception of a Chinese folk song and one Chinese and one Moorish melody. An original composition, 'Land of our Birth' was included - composed by a European for the Singapore Children's Orchestra and Combined Schools' Choir.

It was a European who in 1928 was appointed Master of Music for the Schools of the Straits' Settlements, and for the next forty years the Organiser of Music for the Federation of Malaya, and later of West Malaysia, remained a European.

Most schools with an active musical life have drawn heavily on European importations, from songs and light orchestral works to Gilbert and Sullivan operas. But things are changing, and there is some evidence of an awareness amongst young people of the value of their own musical traditions. Since 1968 it has been possible to offer music in the Lower Certificate of Education, and in addition to questions on the analysis and appreciation of western music, sections are included which relate to the music of the various communities in the peninsula.

Outside the schools children and adults have opportunities to attend the limited number of concerts of Western music given by international orchestras which play at Kuala Lumpur and Penang after their performances in Singapore. There are also a number of visiting recitalists including examiners from the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music and Trinity College of London who usually include recitals in their examination tours.

The number of examinees continues to increase, having already exceeded 5,000 in Malaysia for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music - many of these coming from West Malaysia. The most talented of them often come to England for further training in a music college and then return to their own home environment with a deeper understanding of Western music, which, in turn, they spread through their own teaching. At present few of them seem to get involved in the traditional musical activities of their own community.

Another inescapable Western influence continues to be 'pop', transmitted by radio, transistor, record player and cinema. All the pop music of the West is available in Malaysia, and although it was the USA that once set the standards for young people in the East, more recently the UK has assumed that position. English pop songs, with their words translated into Malay, Chinese and Tamil take their place beside the Malay, Chinese and Indian pops.

Western music has perhaps influenced the music of the Malays more strongly than that of the other races, possibly because of the diatonic nature and comparatively simple rhythm of Malay music. The Malays are an adaptable people and when, shortly after the Second World War the peninsula was invaded by sambas and rumbas from Latin America, they were quick to respond to the lively rhythms of the tunes and were soon playing them themselves, interpreting them in their own way and translating any words into Malay. This adaptation of Malay tunes to western styles was encouraged in 1957 by a group called 'Tiga Sekawan' formed by Radio Malaya. Another early attempt to westernise Malay music and to interpret it in a western classical manner produced a style known as seriosa.

The music of the other large communities has not completely escaped western influence, for although their melodies belong recognisably to their home countries, they are often harmonised in a western style and are sometimes performed on Western instruments.

1. The Penang Free School, founded in 1816 by the Rev. R. S. Hutchings, was an exception.
2. see ' Music in Malaya', an article in Oversea Education, October, 1935, reprinted in Education in Malaya, at the Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1948.
3. for younger children there was Haji's Book of Nursery Rhymes, published by the Australian Publishing Co. Pty. Ltd., This was a collection of English nursery rhymes, translated into Malay by A. H. Hamilton, with some settings by H. A. Courtney, of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Malacca. They were first published in pamphlet form at the time of the Malaya-Borneo Exhibition of 1922 and finally revised in the enlarged edition mentioned above, in 1947.
4. H. L. Hodge, ' The Gramophone in Malayan Schools ', an article in Oversea Education, April, 1932, reprinted in Education in Malaya, 1948.
5. this approach was typical of the Appreciation Movement then in vogue in England.
6. compiled by Kementerian Pelajaran, and published by Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1960
7. presumably rebab .
8. A Song to Sing, A Song-book for Malayan Schools, by Moyra Burnett and Janey Alcock. University of London Press, 1955

VI. Post script

When Malaya became an independent state in 1957 the government recognised that it must find means of welding the various peoples of the peninsula together into one nation so that they would think of themselves primarily as Malaysians, prepared to give to Malaya complete allegiance. For help in this national unification the political leaders looked to the schools. Optimistically, Dato Abdul Razah bin Hussein, then Deputy Prime Minister, wrote:

In less than a generation, I believe that our nation can create a truly united Malaysian nation and people. This is the avowed object of the new education policy. 1

This policy aimed to satisfy the needs of the people as a whole and promote their cultural, social, economic and political development as a nation, whilst at the same time preserving the language and culture of groups other than Malays living in the peninsula. The desire to promote a national culture as well as preserve the culture of the individual races had found practical expression in the Pesta inspired by Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister, and held in Kuala Lumpur in 1956. At that Festival of Culture three races contributed representative performances of music and dancing from their traditional cultures and the hope was expressed that from a fusion of these there might emerge a new national form:

The chance is here for the cultures of the Far East, India and the West to learn from each other and to merge and fuse into a Malaysian national form; that it will be taken is everyone's hope and the country's challenge. It is a chance in a million. 2

However desirable and expedient a common national culture might seem it could not appear overnight: nor would it be created as the result of a White Paper drawn up by a government department. If it came into existence at all it would do so only as the result of a gradual organic growth, rooted in the soil of common experience and nourished by a common purpose.

But a common purpose was not shared by all. There were Malaysians who believed that the culture of one race should form the basis for the national culture, and that since the peninsula was the home of the Malays, with Malay as its official language, and Islam its official religion, this culture should be that of the Malays. This argument had been advanced by the Society of Malay Students in England as early as 1945. Drawing attention to the dominance of their religion they advocated a study of the possibility of 'Indian and Chinese assimilation in Malay life and culture' and argued that the modern history of Europe and the near East had taught the futility of forcing a fusion between races with conflicting ideas, allegiances and backgrounds.

Other people, whilst opposed to forcible cultural assimilation saw clearly the problems created by the effort to foster national unity and at the same time to encourage the development of individual racial cultures within the nation. Speaking to the Teachers' National Congress in Kuala Lumpur on 5th January, 1959, Professor J.H. Silcock stressed the need both to strengthen the ties that bound all the peoples in the peninsula to Malaya and to weaken those that bound them to their homelands. This would not be easy:

... Malaya has relatively little history, and history is a powerful factor tending to bind people together. It is therefore going to be extremely difficult for Chinese with their centuries of culture and cohesion or for Indians or Indonesians who inherit very ancient civilisations to feel that they belong to Malaya and have broken their ancestral ties with these other countries. 4

Since Professor Silcock's speech Malayans have been asked to extend their loyalty to a still larger unit - the Federation of Malaysia, and so the words 'national culture' must now, presumably, refer to a Malaysian culture for a Malaysian nation. What form the Federation of Malaysia will take in the future remains to be seen. Singapore withdrew in 1965, more recently Indonesia has tried to make it part of a different grouping based on the archipelago, and a challenge to its autonomy has also come from the Philippines. But whatever happens to this larger grouping, it is probable that the peninsula area will remain an entity, provided the racial tensions which found expression in the violence of May 1969 can be contained or resolved.

It is the music of this one area which has been the concern of the present thesis - the music of its separate races and the music they share together. Each of them has, in varying degrees, borrowed from its fellows, and Western music has influenced them all, with the exception of some aborigine groups. Nevertheless, the fusion of cultures that was hoped for has not yet been achieved in the case of music. That it cannot be forced artificially is certain, but is it conceivable that as the peoples of the peninsula continue to grow together as West Malaysians, sharing common loyalties and aspirations and absorbing each other's cultures, a 'national form' may emerge that will express something of their community of experience, and assume

an identity that is recognisably West Malaysian?

1. Dato Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 'Unity through the Schools', STA, 1958, p. 22
2. Che Yaacob bin Abdul Latif, Foreword to the Pesta Programme, quoting from T. Beamish, The Arts of Malaya, Singapore, 1964, p. 13
3. quoted by R. Winstedt, Malaya and Its History, London, 1958, p. 150
4. T. H. Silcock, Towards a Malayan Nation, Singapore, 1961, p. 78

Appendix 1

The introduction of Wayang Jawa to the Malay Peninsula .

Nik Man, one of the most important dalangs in Kelantan gave me the following account (his version) of the way the Javanese shadow play was introduced to his state about two hundred years ago by Dalang Demumin.

The Bendahara of Banggol, Long Jenal Ibni Long Yunos, became so interested in the tales of sea travellers passed on from one to another that he sent the son of a dalang who was interested in these tales to investigate the play they were hearing about. When he set sail he had no idea of going to Java, because he didn't know where the tales came from. A storm at sea brought him and his shipmates to Temasek (Singapore) where they stopped for the storm to blow over. While there they happened to have a conversation with some people who originally came from Java, and who suggested that they should set sail in the hope of finding the island.

When they actually arrived at Java, they didn't know where they were. All their goods for trading purposes had gone, and they had no food left. After some months the eighteen of them took any type of job as woodcutters, cooks etc. Demumin was one of the youngest and was the only one not working as a labourer, because he intended to try and find out more about the play, his father being a dalang.

He finally arrived at Gegleng, which 'by the grace of God' was the kampong where the play was performed. The Malays by their nature can easily win the hearts of other people, so he told the kampong

people that he had drifted for a long time and that he had no money. It was up to them to help him. He was seventeen, and he would like to study. Between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one he was adopted by Dalang Uda Ismara Nitrat who taught him the art of the Javanese shadow play. During the course of his studies he went in search of his other friends and asked them to study the music for the play. But out of eighteen, six had died. Of the remaining twelve only three managed to learn the art of Javanese music and for the play there should really be twelve musicians. When he was twenty-one Demumin decided that he should return to Kelantan. On his arrival the people gave him a big reception.

In those days there was a type of music named Lagu Gong¹ Gunangan Tujoh that was prohibited until Puja Pantai. Demumin had brought with him a complete set of Javanese puppets (about one hundred and thirty) with which he could play any type of story. While the music just mentioned was being played there was a great storm, and all his puppets were destroyed - except four, - Arjuna, Derma, Kesuma, Bima and Duru Wati (Krisna). People believed that demons had come to fetch the puppets back to Java. Fortunately Demumin could remember them sufficiently clearly to make them all again.² The puppets he made are still kept in Kelantan.

Appendix I

1. Puja Pantai, the propitiation of the sea, was celebrated every year until 1925. After that it was celebrated every three years, until the Pan-Islamic Party abolished it because of its Hindu ceremonies.
2. they were said to be kept by an old dalang behind the Balai Besar in Kota Bharu, but I failed to find either dalang or the puppets.

Appendix 2

The Chinchem Song and Dance

The following account of the origin of the Chinchem song and dance shows how a revelation from a gunig was used by a Temiar group for the welfare of their community .

In about 1933 the wife of an influential Temiar hala died. Shortly after her death her spirit appeared to the hala, and after making herself known said that she had come to help the community in its difficulties. Many people had died in an influenza epidemic and the community had become so dispirited that they had neglected their cultivation areas. Moreover, they were despised by the local Malays because they ate the flesh of the wild pig. Against the evil spirits causing these troubles the familiar of the hala seemed powerless. But now the spirit of his wife promised to become the group's protectress if they would do as she commanded. They must learn her song and dance, the Chinchem, and use specific leaves and flowers when they performed it. They must make the eating of such unclean foods as pork and chicken taboo, clear the weeds from the cultivation area, move to a new site, and bathe daily in the nearby streams.

After this encounter with its gunig the soul of the hala returned to his body, and he followed implicitly the commands he had received. The group moved to another area and when they stopped eating pork the Malay's attitude towards them changed completely. Eventually the influenza epidemic left them and bumper crops were

harvested in the following year. Their morale greatly improved² and they began to lead happy, care-free lives again.

1. this account was given by Richard O. Noone, brother of H.D. Noone in a talk ' Some Ceremonial Dances of the Aborigines of Malaya' on the Third Programme of the B. B. C., Tuesday, 30th April, 1957..
2. Holman, Noone of the Ulu, pp. 54-61, gives fuller details of the dance and its origin, based on H.D. Noone's account to his brother, Richard. He names the hala as Dato Bintang, the most influential hala of the Temiar and the uncle of Anjang, to whom Noone was married.

Appendix 3.

Dress and Decorations for Aboriginal Dances:

Most aborigines enjoy dressing up for their dances and decorating themselves elaborately with leaf, flower and bark ornaments.

Both Temiar men and women paint their faces in gay colours - red, yellow, black and white. The paints are generally prepared from natural sources, red from the seeds of the kesumba shrub, yellow from the root of the kunyit (turmeric) plant, white from lime or pipe-clay, and black from the latex of a jungle tree. They are applied with the finger, a stick or porcupine quill, or with specially prepared wooden stamps¹. Lipstick is also used when it can be obtained. In the Kuala Kenrap group only the women painted their faces, especially their foreheads, the predominant colour being a brilliant red.

On their heads the men wear crowns of flowers, plaited grass, mengkuang or chalong². The women wear leaves, flowers and coloured fungus in their hair. Some men still wear loin cloths of tree bark, and the women fungus skirts: but many men are now making their loin cloths from cloth or wearing Malay sarongs. The women too, tend to dress in the Malay fashion, although the upper part of their body often remains uncovered. One boy at Kuala Kenrap who was being educated at the school at Kuala Wias, proudly wore a white shirt and khaki shorts.

Into a girdle of plaited grass around their waists or sometimes into their sarongs the men stick stiff leaves (the licuala leaf is frequently used for this purpose). Similar leaves project from the bands of plaited grass around their wrists and ankles. At their backs are often bunches

of leaves or tufts of the same sweet-smelling grass that they invariably carry in their hands. Across their bare chests the men have two diagonal bands of woven palm ³, and at Kuala Kenrap the women wore necklaces of gaily coloured beads.

The Semai festive dress is similar to that of the Temiar, although at the time when Skeat ⁴ was writing, the Perak 'Sakai' wore a sort of high turban made from bark-cloth as an alternative to a wreath of sweet-smelling grass or leaves. Like the Temiar, many of them now wear Malay sarongs but they still keep the woven bands across their chests, and round their waists, ankles and wrists.

The basic pattern of leaf fillets around the head and waist, and the use of chalong leaves is also shared by the Negritos and Aboriginal Malays. So is the use of sarongs and other garments made from cloth. From the head-dress of the Bেসি men a row of fringe-like streamers hangs down and almost completely hides their faces as they dance. These streamers are missing from the Bেসি women's head-dress: in their place are little upright spikes on which sweet smelling flowers or leaves are often fixed. ⁵ An additional piece of equipment once used by the men was a carved dance-wand (cheb-chas) ⁶ carried in the hand.

Appendix 3

1. P. D. R. Williams-Hunt, An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines, Kuala Lumpur, 1952, p. 30
2. At Kuala Kenrap these crowns were known as daun palas. They were placed on the men's heads by the women before the dance started. Daun palas is the name usually given to the bunches of grass and leaves worn on the body or carried in the hands rather than to the crown. Palas is a kind of palm, (*licuala peltata*).
3. S. Wavell, The Naga King's Daughter, p. 27, asks if the crowns and woven coconut bands worn across the chests of the Temiars are the jungle version of the golden ornaments once worn by Khmers.
4. W. W. Skeat, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Vol II, p. 137 Fn. 1, quoting from A. Hale, On the Sakais, p. 293. The word 'Sakai' almost certainly refers to the Semai-Senoi which was the Senoi group to receive the main attention before the work of H. D. Noone. Both the male and female head-dress from the Skeat Collection are shown in the picture opposite p. 146.
5. the significance of these decorations has been lost. Skeat, p. 119, says that, according to Vaughan-Stevens both the Sakai and Jakun wore 'artificial leaf decorations consisting of long white strips of palm-leaf plaited up into various fantastic shapes, intended to represent flowers, fruit, krisses, and nooses especially designed to trap any unwary demons which might attempt to attack the wearer during the performance of the dance. Bunches of these 'demon-traps' were inserted in the girdle and head-band of the dancer.'
6. Skeat, p. 145, had not heard of the use of this by any other tribe but adds that Borie mentions the use of wooden swords (probably Malay fencing sticks) in the dances of the Mantra. There is a picture of the dance wand opposite p. 146.

Appendix 4SKEAT COLLECTION

in the University Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology,
Downing Street, Cambridge.

I. MALAY SERIES

<u>Catalogue No:</u>	<u>Section 13</u>	<u>Musical Instruments:</u>
691, 692		Two varieties of a stringed instrument of bamboo, the strands, which are 'twanged' with the fingers, being formed by partially detached strips of the outer cuticle of the bamboo itself.
693, 694		Two Jew's harps, with bamboo cases attached to increase the volume of sound. Chiefly used by children.
695, 696		Two dulcimers: one with wooden, the other with iron plates.
697, 698		Two drums (<u>gendang</u>), ordinary form; (see also Nos. 67-77 and 150-153)
699		A tambourine (<u>rěbāna</u>), the form in common use.
700		A lute (<u>gambus</u>) ;
701-3		Three flutes (<u>sěruġing</u>)
704		A fife (<u>sěrunei</u>) (see No. 994)
705, 706		Two bamboo 'horns' (<u>tuang-tuang</u>) consisting of short cylinders with a large hole in the side and an open end. Finely carved with animals, leaves and scroll-work. Length 12.3" and 14" respectively. Pirates on the Langat coast used the booming note of this instrument for signaling to each other, and they are still used by the fishermen of Kuala Selangor; also by boys during the 'durian season' (see also Nos. 67-77).

<u>Catalogue No.</u>	<u>Section 13</u>	<u>Musical Instruments</u>
707, 708		Two models of the <u>buluh perinder</u> , i. e. the plaintive bamboo, a kind of AEolian harp made of long bamboos, which is fastened to the top of a tree near a house and which is played on by the wind. This contrivance is more usual among the Sakeis than the Malays.
709		A pair of <u>buah dabus</u> , i. e. stout copper spikes whose heads are formed by four loops of stout wire, something like a sword basket, -hilt, on each of which two copper rings are attached.
710		A gong formed out of the carapace of a small tortoise and a wooden striker
711, 712		Two small bull-roarers of bamboo, spear-shaped. They are attached by string to rods. Used for scaring elephants from padi fields, hence their name of <u>buluh lunbing nalau gajah</u> ('bamboo spear for scaring elephants'). These bull-roarers are the first found on the Asiatic continent (see also Nos. 503, 504, 543-544A).

Other Musical Instruments of the Malays (not included in I
Section 13).

Section 3. Insignia of Royalty

- 67 - 77 Models of the Insignia of H. H. The Sultan of Selangor containing:
- (4) the lempiri, a trumpet,
(5) two drums,

Section 9. Agriculture

- 503, 504 Two clappers, gerdang, for scaring birds from the fields.

Section 10. Hunting and Fishing

- 543 A Buluh dekut, i. e. pigeon -call made of a bamboo tube, used from a cachet with the aid of a decoy bird to bring wild pigeons within the reach of the fowler's noose which is attached to a long rod,
- 544 A model showing the Buluh dekut in use,
- 544a A pair of deer-calls, with wood and horn mouth - pieces.

Section 12 The Theatre

- 683 Four musical instruments of the orchestra attached to the performance of the wayang.
(b) 150-153 One box with musical scale, one flute (seruling), and two drums (a gědu and a gědombak)

ADDENDUM

- 994 A bamboo whistle

Section 5.II. SAKEI SERIES

- 971 A drum made of the trunk of the mengkong (pandanus) and headed with mouse-deer skin.
- 972 A musical instrument, called ding-tengk-heng, consisting of bamboo joints of various dimensions, which when stuck on the floor produce various tunes,
- 973 A small flute of bamboo .
- 974 A musical instrument, suchok aribong, consisting of a bamboo joint, forming the sounding-board, along which three strands are strung.
- 975 A long cane whistle ,
- 976 A Jew's harp of bamboo, with cord to which the rib-bone of a monkey is attached ,
- 977 A bamboo, with a loose stick inside, and cord sling (? musical instrument),

Instruments from the Collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford,
listed in Report on a Collection of Musical Instruments from the
Siamese Malay States and Perak by Henry Balfour, 1904

I. Instruments of the Civilized Tribes

Percussion Instruments

1. Child's Rattle. Samsam. Ban Pra Muang, Trang.
2. Clapper rattle or sistrum. Malay name, rau-rau, Malay, Jujul, Patani (Plate XX, Fig. 1),
used for frightening fish into the nets.
3. Spring Castanet. Malay. Kampong Jalor, Jalor (Fig 1),
used by Malay children to imitate the sound made by the
rice-swamp frogs (Rana limno charis)
4. Bamboo Gong Malay name, kalah. Malay and Siamese, Kampong
Jalor (Fig 2),
generally used for purposes of signalling.
5. Cow or sheep Bell, Malay name: keretok ; Siamese name: ki-tong
Ban Sal Kan , Nawngchik.
6. Cattle or Elephant Bell. Ban Sai Kau, Nawngchik (Pl. XX, Fig. 2.).
7. Buffalo Bell. Malay name, keretok-krebau . Kampong Jalor, Jalor.
(Pl. XX, Fig 3)
8. Drum. Malay. Kampong Jalor, Jalor. (Pl. XX, Fig. 5)
A Malay child's toy. Similar drums are occasionally used in
theatrical performances.
9. Drum. Malay. Kampong Jalor (Pl. XX, Fig 4)
Malay child's toy.
10. Drum. Malay name, gedombok . Ban Kassôt, Rhaman-Jalor border
(Pl. XX , Fig 6)
used in theatrical performances- probably of Siamese origin ,

11. Another similar drum ,
12. Pair of drums. Malay. Ban Pra Muang Trang (Pl. XX, Fig. 7)
used in theatrical performances in Kedah, in place of
Nos. 10 and 11.
13. Jew's harp. Malay name, genggong; Siamese name: geng-gong
Ban Sai Kau, Nawngchik (Pl. XXI, Fig 8),
14. Jew's harp. Kampong Jalor, Jalor, (Pl. XXI, Fig 9) .
- 15 & 16. Two Jew's harps similar to No. 14. Kampong Jalor & Ban Sai Kan .
17. Jew's harp. Samsam name, genggong . Ban Pra Muang, Trang
(Pl. XXI, Fig. 10) ,
18. Jew's harp. Siamese. State of Trang.

B. Wind Instruments

19. Trumpet. Siamese name, tat. Ban Kassôt, Rhaman,
used for purposes of signalling ,
20. Musical windmill. Malay name, berbaling or baling (turnabout),
Malay, Kampong Jarum, Rhaman ,
used by Malay children in different parts of the Patani States
and Perak. . . . A baling is frequently fixed on the top of a
high tree near the entrance to a village, in the belief that
its notes call the wind, and so the rain. A similar practice
obtains on the top of mountains.
21. Whistle, Malay name, sernei, Siamese name, Whi. Ban Sai Kau,
Nawngchik.
22. Whistles of clay. Malay. Malay name: pulik, Patani & Ban Sai Kau .
23. Flageolet. Samsam name. suling . Ban Pra Muang, Trang,
(Pl. XX. Fig. 11)
24. Flageolet. Malay name suling . Ban Kassot, Rhaman. (Pl. XX, Fig 12)
25. Flageolet. Kampong Jalor, Jalor, (Pl. XX. Fig 13)
26. Flageolet. Senggora town.

27. Flageolet. Ban Pra Muang. Trang. (Pl. XX. Fig 14)
28. Pigeon call. Malay name bulu decot. Ban Sai Kau.
Nawngchik, (Pl. XX, Fig. 15)
29. Oboe. Samsam name, sernei. Pulan Tellbun, Trang. (Pl. XX, Fig. 16)
30. Oboe. Malay name, sernei. Kampong Jalor, Jalor.
31. Whizzing-stick or Bull-roarer. Malay name, berbaling or baling,
Kampong Jalor, Jalor (Fig 5, upper figure)

now almost obsolete, but occasionally made as a Malay child's toy. Formerly it was used for scaring elephants from plantations.

32. Whizzing -stick or Bull-roarer. Patani town, (Fig. 5, lower figure)

C. Stringed Instruments

33. Fiddle. Malay name, rebat. Patani town, (Pl. XXI, Fig 17)

In Patani States generally used either in theatrical performances or in magical incantations.

34. Fiddle. Samsam name, rebat. Pulau Telibun, Trang. (Pl. XXI. Fig 18)
35. Fiddle. Malay. Jambu. Jhering.
36. Fiddle. Malay. Patani River. Hulu Rhaman,
37. Fiddle. Patani town.
38. Fiddle. Kampong Jalor, Jalor.
39. Fiddle. Samsam name, rebab. Pulan Telibun, Trang, (Pl. XXI. Fig. 19)

Instruments of the Wild Tribes

A. Percussion Instruments

40. Toy squirrel (tupai) .Kampong Jarun, Hulu Rhaman.(Fig 6)

used as a toy by Malay and Siamese children, but also by the Semangs of Rhaman in their musical entertainments for beating time to the music and setting the rhythm in conjunction with Nos. 41 and 46.

41. Musical Clapper. Malay name, genggong Sakai. K. Jaruk, Rhaman, (Fig. 7)
42. Musical Clapper, (as 41)

B. Wind Instruments

43. Transverse Flute. Semang (Seman) Grit. Upper Perak, (Pl. XX, Fig 20)
44. Two Nose-flutes. Sakai (Mai Darát) Batang Padang districts, South Perak.

C. Stringed Instruments

45. Monochord. Malay name, gendang batak .Kampong Jalor, Jalor, (Fig. 8)
46. Primitive Zither . Malay name, gendang batak, Kampong Jarun, Rhaman
47. Primitive Zither. Kampong Jarun, (Pl. XXI), Fig 21
48. Primitive Zither. Malay Kampong Jalor, Jalor, (Pl. XXI, Fig. 22)
49. Zither. Sakai. (Mai Darát) Bidor, South Perak, (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2)
50. Sakai Zither. (similar to 49)
51. Zither. Semang (Seman) Grit, Upper Perak, (Pl. XXI, Fig 24)
52. Zither. Sakai (Orang Bukit) , Labuansara, near Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, (Pl. XXI, Fig 25)

Nelson Annandale who collected most of the instruments adds the following comment:

' Only Nos. 43, 44, 49, 50, 51 and 52 were actually made by Sakais or Semangs, the remainder having been constructed by Malays, who said that they were Semang in design. Nos. 45 and 47, however, were not even ascribed to the wild tribes in this limited sense, but are included

under the same heading for the sake of convenience, as one of them is identical with another specimen said to be of Semang design, while the other has the same Malay name, though it is quite a different instrument. '

Other instruments from the Malay peninsula in the
Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

(with catalogue references) d. - donor: c. - collector.

SAKAI

Bamboo zither with fibre strings	d. T. N. Annandale	III. 131
Jew's harp	c. L. Wray	B. I. 20 129 P. 16
Jew's harp	c. L. Wray	B. I. 20 129. P. 17
Bamboo nose flute	c. L. Wray	B. I. 20 130 E. 9
Stringed musical instrument with bow	c. L. Wray	B. I. 20 131. H. 14
Bamboo zither with two fibre strings	c. L. Wray	B. I. 20
Bamboo zither with two ratan strings	c. L. Wray	B. I. 20 131 H. 15

SAKAI or SEMANG

Two bamboo zithers.	c. A. S. Haynes	L. II. 305
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MALAY

Drum (<u>rebana?</u>)	c. Ramsden	P. R. V 46 129. N. 8
Drum (<u>rebana?</u>)	?	Ashmole 72 Ramsden 53. Coll. Misc. XI. 223. 129. N. 9
Jew's harp	d. H. G. Beasley	VIII. 152
Large suspended gong.	d. Mrs. H. R. Moullin	XI. 7 1941. 9. 5
Set of twelve small brass gongs	d. Mrs. H. R. Moullin	XI. 7 1941. 9. 6-17

MALAY (cont)

Single membrane drum	d. Mrs. H. R. Moullin	XI. 11 1941. 9. 82
Oboe (?)	c. A. S. Haynes	L. III 29 1941 II 01
Horn for calling cattle.	c. A. S. Haynes	L. III. 29 1941 II 06
Horn for calling herds, also for people to summon each other.	c. A. S. Haynes	XII. 235 1947. 11. 18
Pair of bamboo clappers.	d. T. N. Annandale	II. 139 129 G. 13

Musical Instruments in the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, 1971

<u>A. Membranophones</u>		<u>Place from which Instrument was obtained.</u>
<u>Name</u>	<u>Cultural Group</u>	
1. Rebana Besar	Malay	Kelantan
2. Rebana Ubi	Malay	Kelantan
3. Rebana Anak	Malay	Kelantan
4. Gendang	Malay	Kelantan
5. Gendang	Aborigine	Kelantan
6. Rebana Kechubong	Malay	Kelantan
7. Geduk Ibu	Malay	Kelantan
8. Geduk Anak	Malay	Kelantan
9. Geduk	Malay	Kelantan
10. Gedombak	Malay	Kelantan
11. Rebana Berarak	Malay	Malacca
12. Rebana Riba	Malay	Pahang
13. Maruas	Malay (Arabic origin)	
14. Mridanga	Indian	Madras, India
15. Baya	Indian	Madras, India
16. Tabla	Indian	Madras, India
17. Taval	Indian	Madras, India
18. Tambor (Ku)	Chinese	Swaton, China

B. Aerophones

1. Serunai	Malay	Kelantan
2. Serunai Bemetong	Malay	Kelantan
3. Tetuang	Malay	Kelantan
4. Ottu	Indian	Madras, India
5. Nagasvaram	Indian	Madras, India
6. Pullangkullal	Indian	Madras, India
7. Pensol	Aborigine:	West Malaysia
8. Seruling	Aborigine	West Malaysia
9. Seruling Tegap (ti)	Chinese	China
10. Seruling (hsiao)	Chinese	China

C. Cordophones

1. Rebab	Malay	Kelantan
2. Gambus	Malay (Arabic Origin)	Kelantan
3. Sarangi	Indian	Malaysia
4. Vina	Indian	Madras, India
5. Tambura	Indian	Madras, India
6. Erh Hu	Chinese	Shanghai, China
7. Yueh Ch'in	Chinese	Swaton, China
8. Kereb	Aborigine	West Malaysia

D. Idiophones

Concussion Idiophones

1. Kesi	Malay	Indonesia
2. Po	Chinese	Canton, China
3. Talam	Indian	Madras, India
4. Kertalong	Indian	Malaysia

Struck Idiophones

1. Gong	Malay	Kelantan
2. Tetawak	Malay	Kelantan
3. Mong	Malay	Penang
4. Chelempong	Malay	Kelantan
5. Lo	Chinese	Canton, China

Percussion Log

1. Kertok - Kertok	Malay	Kelantan
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Bar Idiophones

1. Gambang Gangsa	Malay	Negeri Sembilan
2. Kertok Kelapa	Malay	Kelantan

Slit-Drums

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------|----------|
| 1. Kerantong | Malay | Perak |
| 2. Kertok Buloh | Malay | Kelantan |

Bells

- | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------|
| 1. Kertok Berbau | Malay | Perak |
|------------------|-------|-------|

Plucked Idiophones

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------|----------|
| 1. Genggong | Aborigine | Kelantan |
|-------------|-----------|----------|

Stamped Idiophones

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------|----------|
| 1. Chat-Tong | Aborigine | Kelantan |
|--------------|-----------|----------|

Shaken Idiophones

- | | | |
|-----------|-------|----------|
| 1. Raurau | Malay | Kelantan |
|-----------|-------|----------|

BibliographyAbbreviations:

F M J	Federation Museums' Journal, Kuala Lumpur
J F M S M	Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums, Kuala Lumpur
J I A E A	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia.
J R A S	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore London
J R A S M B	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch, Singapore
J R A S S B	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, Singapore.

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H. D. Noone and E. D. Robertson. F. E. 4460

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BBC Archive:

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last catalogue (1958) of the B. B. C. Archive folk music collection.
These are not generally available for study purposes.

Musée de l'Homme, Paris

A record (Z.1) of the songs of the Semang and Sakai, recorded
by Jeanne Cuisinier, (together with songs from New Caledonia, recorded
by Maurice Leenhardt).

5

Tapes prepared for the Ministry of External Affairs,
Federation of Malaya, by the Department of Broadcasting.

Tape A.

1. Nobat (recorded at the installation
(of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan
(Agong, Kuala Lumpur, Aug. 1957.
2. Tari Ashek
3. Selapit
4. Mak Yong
5. Kuda Kepang
6. Hadrah
7. Rentak Kuda
8. Wayang Kulit
9. Zikir Barat
10. Bergayong Ota Ota
11. Ronggeng
12. Menora
13. Zapin (recorded at the Pesta,
(Kuala Lumpur, 1956
14. Rodat
15. Gendang Kling
16. Olek Mayang
17. Bersilat
18. Tari Inai

Tape B.

1. Asli
2. Dondang Sayang
3. Masri
4. Keronchong
5. Ghazal
6. Seriosa
7. Rasa Sayang Eh
8. Children's Song: Tepok Amai
9. Bangsawan
10. Bendera Malaya
11. Miscellaneous Music.

Tape C.

1. Orang Laut performing a song and dance
2. Semelai girl playing a ginggong
3. Temiar singing
4. Semai-Senoi nose flute
5. Negrito singing
6. Indian hymn
7. Indian classical music
8. Indian drum music
9. Modern Hindi music
10. The Chinese Lion Dance
11. Cantonese Opera
12. Chinese Harp Solo

Tape C. (cont)

13. Malayan Chinese ceremonial music
14. Modern Mandarin Music
15. Portuguese-Eurasian Singing ' O Maria '
16. " " " ' O Malacca '
17. " " " ' Mansebo, Mansebo, Alegria '

Items recorded by the Cambridge Expedition to South East Asia, 1962.

PAHANG

- | | | |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Two songs by Wan Halimah
(Lake Chini) | (i) Lullaby in Malay
(ii) Semelai song sung by the Pawang
before hunting. | 3b |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Tari Zapin (Pianggu) | M |
| Song of Tari Zapin with a soloist and two drums | 5c |
| Olek Mayang (Eeserah) | 5d |
| Rodat (Sungei Ular) | 6a and b |
| Bersilat (Sungei Ular) | 6c 7 & 8 |
| Dzikhir Barat (Sungei Ular) | 8a |
| Wayang Kulit Siam (Cherating) | 8b |
| | 9 & 10 |

TRENGGANU

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Bergayong Ota Ota (Kampong Maras, Batu Rakit, Kuala Trengganu) | 11 a |
| Mak Enang (Kuala Trengganu) | 11 b |
| Jogek " " | 11 c |
| Tari Piring " " | 11 d |
| Bersilat (Belarah Kepong near Kuala Trengganu) | 12 a |
| Dzikhir Rebana Kechil " " " " " | 12 b |
| Dzikhir Pahang " " " " " | 13 |
| Lullaby " " " " " | 14 c |
| Bomoh's Lullaby " " " " " | 14 a |
| Trengganu Nobat (Kuala Trengganu) | 15 |
| History of Nobat in Trengganu " | 16 a & |
| Tari Piring (Kaparin Yeo) " | 17 a |
| Joget (Lagu Dua) " | 17 b |
| Bersilat (Bukit Tunggu) " | 18 a |
| Bergayong and Lekong " | 18 b |
| Wayang kulit " | 18 c |

KELANTAN

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------|-------|
| Rebana Besar (Kampong Balai, Ulu Kelantan) | 19 a |
| Dzikhir Barat " " " " | 19 b |
| Main Putri " " " " | 20 |
| Wayang Kulit Melayu " Chicha) | 21-24 |
| Lokan " " | 25 |
| Wayang Kulit (Siam) " " | 26-29 |
| Beating of Kertok (Bachok) | 30a |
| Bersilat i and ii " | 30b |
| Main Putri (Jelawi) | 30c & |

KELANTAN (cont)

Menora: The Story of Ewong (Balai Buddhist Monastery near Perupok)	M	32-35
Menora: The Story of Tuan Podi Mas " "	"	36-38
Makyong (Kampong Pengkalen Bharu, Tanjong Pahu nr. Bachok)	"	39-41
Wayang Kulit (excerpt from 'Teri Kala') (Kampong Klorn)	"	48
Kelantan Selampit (Kampong Balang Salak) small tape	"	1-8

The above tapes were all made in Malaya, (M) and are numbered according to the list produced by the Cambridge Expedition for their Report. The following tapes were made by the Expedition in Thailand (T), but are relevant to the field of Malay covered by this thesis.

THAILAND

Negrito(Kensiu) song (Batu Bantan Kadeng, Tambun Tam Talu, Amper, Bannangstar, Yala Province)	T	1
Menora (Kdkpo, Pattani)	"	3 and
Dondang Sayang (Malay group in Pattani)	"	5a
Rasa Sayang (Malay group in Pattani)	"	5b
Dikhir Ulu " " " "	"	5c
Negrito songs (Mekree, Kanchaison district)	"	15
Menora (Bangkok Village near Pa Peh river close to Nakorn Sri Thammarat)	"	18 a, b
Manora (Department of Fine Arts, Bangkok)	"	19 a b & 20.44 &

These tapes are all housed in The British Institute of Recorded Sound, 27, Exhibition Road, London, S.W.7.

Items recorded on tape during my visit to Malaya in 1962:

Seong Cheong Music Society, Malacca: high school students playing traditional Chinese instruments,	15th July
Portuguese songs, sung by Horace Santamaria and friends, Malacca,	16th July
Zikir, chanted by men from Kampong Ujang Pasir, Malacca,	16th July
Wayang kulit (1), Kota Bharu, Kelantan,	25th July
Wayang kulit (2), " " "	27th July
Selampit (1) performed by Mhd. Noor, Bachok, Kelantan,	27th July
Selampit (2) " " " " , Teachers' College Kota Bharu,	29th July
Introduction to Menora and Makyong by Nik Man, Chepa, Kota Bharu,	29th July
Bersilat, Bachok, Kelantan,	30th July
Rodat, Kampong Changgong, Perupok, Kelantan,	30th July
Olek Mayang, Beserah, Pahang,	5th August
Playing of the gambos by Pa Man, Kuala Trengganu,	7th August
Temiar Songs, Kuala Kenrap, River Nenggiri, Ulu Kelantan,	9th August
Wayang Kulit (3), Kota Bharu,	10th August
Putri, Jelawat, Kelantan,	11th August
Kertok playing, Kampong Badok, Bachok,	13th August
Bersilat, " " " "	13th August
Menora, Balai, Kelantan,	13th August
Putri, Kampong on the roadside, between Kampong Balai and Kota Bharu,	13th August
Makyong, Pengkalen Bharu, Bachok,	14th August
Rebana Besar, Kampong Rengas, Bachok,	14th August
Bedikir Barat, " " " "	14th August

Kuda Kepang, Kampong Parit, Botak, Rengit, Johore,	1st September
Ghazal, Rengit, Johore,	1st September
Ghazal, Batu Pahat, Johore,	2nd September
Muezzin's Call to Midday Prayer, Johore Bahru,	6th September

Tapes received since the visit:

Singing Games recorded by Mrs. R. Iau, The Malay Women's
Training College, Malacca,

Tamil Fishermen, Batu Feringgi, Penang, recorded by Mrs. S. T. Khoo

Chinese Funeral Procession, Penang, " " " " " "

The nobat bands of Kedah, Selangor, Trengganu, recorded by
Radio Malaysia,

Lagu Borea, Lagu Zikir Barat and Lagu Hadrah, recorded by
Radio Malaysia.

Films

The following performances were filmed by the Cambridge Expedition, 1962:

Tari Piring; Wayang Kulit; Menora; Bersilat;
Bergayong Ota Ota; Lokan.

Relevant films available from the Film Library, Information Department, Malaysian High Commission, 45 Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.

are:

Catalogue:

No. 83	Wayang Kulit (1957)	15 mins.	Colour
171	Malam Asa (1962) (musicians and dancers from Malaya, Thailand and the Philippines).	24 mins.	"
	Pesta (1956) (not included in the Library's catalogue as it is considered too old for public viewing).		