

**KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION
AND THE FAMILY IN
TRADITIONAL JAVANESE PERFORMING ARTS**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE**

2016

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and it has been written by me in its entirety. I have duly acknowledged all the sources of information which have been used in the thesis.

This thesis has also not been submitted for any degree in any university previously.



Rachel Elizabeth Hand

26 September 2016

Acknowledgements

A PhD thesis can only ever be authored by a single person. However, much of the time, such a work would be impossible without inspiration, advice and support from many people. Although I cannot name everyone who has inspired me on this journey, I would like to express my gratitude to those who have helped.

This would not be a PhD without my supervisor at NUS, Jan Mrázek, who supported my proposal from the outset and encouraged me to apply to the programme here. His comments and suggestions have pushed me in different directions and expanded my thought processes. I am also grateful to my other professors at NUS, in particular my Qualifying Examination committee members, Irving Chan Johnson and Roxana Waterson, as well as my fellow PhD students and all the staff in the Southeast Asian Studies Department. I was lucky to receive a Research Scholarship from NUS, which has enabled me to undertake this project.

Prior to coming to NUS, I studied at two other higher education institutions. I did my Bachelor's degree and Master's in the music department at SOAS. I am grateful to all my former professors and lecturers at SOAS, who taught me much that I continue to utilise in my present work. While at SOAS I began learning Javanese gamelan under the tutelage of Andy Channing, without whose wonderful classes I may never have ended up where I am today. He also advised me to study *gendèr* with Helen Evans, who has become a close friend and who gave me valuable advice for my first visit to

Indonesia in 2006. It was this visit that sparked my interest to learn more gamelan, and I must thank my teachers in Solo, in particular Bambang Siswanto who has taught me so much. I also studied in the *karawitan* department at ISI Surakarta for two years, and so I am grateful to the teachers there who broadened my knowledge considerably.

During four years of living in Solo, from 2008 to 2012, I met countless musicians, dhalang and dancers, and learnt a great deal from them. I would especially like to thank Raden Tumenggung Sri Hartono and Umiyati Sri Warsini at the Mangkunegaran Palace, who have welcomed me to their gamelan and dance rehearsals over the past ten years. Their dedication is truly inspiring. I would also like to thank Kathryn (Kitsie) Emerson, an American who has lived in Indonesia and studied gamelan there since 1991. She and her husband Wakidi Dwidjomartono were kind and welcoming when I first arrived in Solo, often taking me to watch wayang performances. Kitsie's knowledge of wayang and gamelan is immense and I am grateful that she has been willing to share it with me on many occasions.

The one person whose existence has been most important to this work, however, is Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, my husband since 2010. His practical support has extended to living in Singapore during my first three semesters, driving me to interview people in remote villages, and putting up with endless questions about who is married to whom, and what people's different names are. I am grateful to all of my interviewees for giving their time and valuable responses to my questions, but especially to Sujarwo, his parents (my in-laws) and his extended family for all of their love and support throughout the duration of this project.

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Summary

This thesis examines knowledge transmission and acquisition in traditional Central Javanese performing arts, namely gamelan music, wayang puppetry and dance. Extensive fieldwork was conducted among musicians, singers, dhalang and dancers in Solo Raya, an area consisting of the city of Surakarta and its six surrounding districts, Klaten, Boyolali, Sragen, Karanganyar, Wonogiri and Sukoharjo. The resulting thesis aims to show how performing arts teaching and learning takes place through the generations of a large artist family. The role of the family as an educator and nurturer of performing artists is described, alongside the different ways in which knowledge is passed on. Covering a period of almost one hundred years, this research shows how various changes, both sudden and more gradual, have affected performing artists and their processes of knowledge transmission, and argues that the arts that are performed show continuity despite existing in a changing world.

Beginning with a family of performing artists who have passed down these traditions over hundreds of years, Chapter One introduces the reader to three generations of this family and shows how their performing arts are intertwined with daily life. Education is an important theme, as developments in arts education alongside changes to the school system in general have affected how people learn performing arts. Chapter Two discusses the history of performing arts education in Java and shows that this has affected where, how and what people learn, and Chapter Three explains how heredity now

works in tandem with formal education.

Students learn Javanese performing arts through methods and processes of various kinds. Some are culturally specific, steeped in history and mythology or based on a traditional belief system, while others utilise interpersonal relationships, modern media and various cognitive processes. Chapters Four, Five and Six examine how such methods work at creating new generations of performing artists.

Chapter Seven investigates change and continuity in performing arts learning. Developments in formal education mean that there is a massive difference between the arts learning experiences of the oldest and youngest generations of performing artists active in the present time. Apart from changes in education, political events have also had an impact on the arts community. Key factors such as time and money have deeply affected performing arts learning, as the daily lives of performing artists today are often structured quite differently from those of previous generations.

By looking at performing arts learning processes and the changes that have affected them, we can understand how knowledge transmission and acquisition continue in traditional Javanese performing arts. These elements are vital in order for such arts to survive, and many of the themes examined here are equally relevant to performing arts elsewhere in Southeast Asia and beyond. By considering the consequences for the future of traditional Javanese performing arts and knowledge transmission, based upon past and ongoing change, the conclusion shows how traditional performing arts continue to thrive in Java today.

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Note on Language and Spelling

This work features technical terms and people's names in Javanese and Indonesian. When Javanese is written in Roman script a diverse range of spellings is often available. For example, the name Sujarwo could be spelt Sujarwa, reflecting the standard spelling of the final vowel sound in Javanese words, Soedjarwo, which uses the old-style spelling of *dj* for *j*, and *oe* for *u*, or Soedjarwa, a combination of the above spellings. Because of these possible variations, I have spelt people's names as they tend to spell them themselves. In some cases a person has no preference over how their name is spelt (in a society where reading and writing are not daily activities there is less need for absolute rules of spelling), or several variants of a name appear in publications (such as the famous dhalang Anom Soeroto, whose DVDs can also be found with his name as Suroto). In these situations I have used what I perceive to be the most common spelling for that person's name.

Another important point relating to people's names is that Javanese have no family names. All their names are given names and they may have anything from one to four of these names. They may be called by any of their names or an abbreviated version of one of them. People also change their names and women often use their husband's name. I have referred to people by their full or most commonly used names, which may not be their surname. For women who are also known by their husband's name, I have tended to use their own name instead, in order to differentiate between husband and wife and therefore avoid confusion.

All non-English terms used in the text have been italicised, with the three exceptions of gamelan, wayang and dhalang, which occur frequently and are likely to be known to the majority of readers. Technical terms relating to Javanese performing arts are defined in the Glossary. For these terms, Javanese spelling has been used following standard orthographic conventions. However, Indonesian spellings have been used for place names (Klaten, rather than Klathèn, for example). All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

Introduction

It is swelteringly hot, the sun streaming in around the open sides of the shelter, the gamelan¹ chiming out its accompaniment to the wayang² performance interspersed with the hoots and squeaks coming from the toy stalls lining one side of the performance space. In the middle a wizened old woman sits playing *gendèr*,³ her presence striking but at the same time calming, her son, the dhalang,⁴ letting the puppets tell the story. There is no one playing *kethuk*⁵ and I reach my arm over and add its regular pulsing beats to the overall sound. We eat snacks and drink sweet tea. A few small children bounce around in the gamelan space, watching bits of the action while playing together and then moving away, their parents watching from the sides. The local dignitaries have long left the performance by this time, and even their expensive-looking seats have been removed. Other spectators, mostly local

¹ This thesis is concerned specifically with Javanese gamelan, a music ensemble that consists of gongs, metallophones, drums, stringed instruments, a wooden xylophone and a bamboo flute, as well as male and female vocals. It is found in Central and Eastern Java. See Lindsay (1979) for a good basic description of the Javanese gamelan, its music and its functions.

² Wayang refers to puppetry, and is also the word for a puppet. Many types of wayang exist in Java, but by far the most popular at this time is *wayang kulit*, which uses flat puppets made of buffalo skin leather on sticks (“*kulit*” means leather or skin).

³ This tube-resonated metallophone, played with padded beaters in both hands, provides an important, almost constant, musical accompaniment for the dhalang.

⁴ In wayang, a single puppeteer, called the dhalang, controls the puppets, speaks all the voices as well as narration, signals to the gamelan to provide the correct accompaniment and sings vocal parts.

⁵ This upright bossed gong, considered one of the less important instruments in the gamelan ensemble, is used to mark the offbeat.

villagers, come and go, wander around, or are dragged by their children to buy cheap plastic toys and candy floss. As the hours go by and the story reaches its climax, the character Abimanyu is brutally murdered, pierced by an array of arrows until he resembles a hedgehog in a harrowing scene which causes one of the *pesindhèn*⁶ to shed a tear. Another *pesindhèn*, one of the dhalang's sisters, has by this time moved into the gamelan to play *saron wayangan*,⁷ her never-ending stream of notes cascading through the overall sound of the gamelan. At the end of the performance in the late afternoon, the dhalang and musicians return to the neighbouring house they are using as a rest space to take some time out before performing again that evening.



Figure I.1 The daytime wayang show performed annually in Turus village, Klaten to mark the first day of the Javanese month of Sura. (27 November 2011)

⁶ A female singer in gamelan music.

⁷ The *saron*, a metallophone, when played in *wayangan* style, follows the basic contours of the main melody but at an increased melodic density.

Skip forward a few days and I am in a large, sparsely decorated room with a full gamelan, twenty-something young men and women and three teachers. The *pesindhèn* who cried at the wayang performance is here, only she is not a *pesindhèn* now but a student. This is a class at ISI (*Institut Seni Indonesia*, Indonesian Arts Institute) Surakarta where I am studying *karawitan*, the art of gamelan music.⁸ One of the teachers mumbles some instructions. We play the piece we are learning, and then everyone gets up and moves to a neighbouring instrument, sits down and we play the same piece again. We do this switching round over and over again until the time allotted to this class has finished. After the first few renditions, one of the teachers has fallen asleep in the corner. Another assists students with playing some of the more difficult instruments. Next time we meet we will continue with the permutations until everyone has played every instrument once, and then we will start all over again. I go to my next class, which is for learning *gendèr*. There are only six students and we each sit at a *gendèr*. The teacher writes notation on the whiteboard and we eagerly copy it down into our notebooks. Then we play it in unison. The *gendèr* are all slightly out of tune with each other and the clash of notes creates a Balinese-style wave-like effect. We play it over and over again. The teacher appears to have temporarily lost concentration and some students begin to play alternative versions, creating a cacophony of sound. They listen appreciatively to each other's variations,

⁸ ISI Surakarta is one of two arts institutes in Surakarta, the other being SMKN 8 (*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri 8*, State Vocational Upper Secondary School 8). These two institutions will appear frequently in this work, as two important sites for learning traditional Javanese performing arts. Their history is described in detail in Chapter Two.

learning from each other.

On Wednesdays I go to the Mangkunegaran Palace to watch the dancers rehearse. The gamelan music accompanying the dances is played by men who are servants of the palace. Birds live in the lamp fittings here in the large *pendhapa*⁹ and their song adds to the soundscape. The dancers wear t-shirts with a variety of motifs and logos, a long sarong that trails out behind them and a sash tied around their waists which they use as part of their dance movements. They bow to the interior of the palace, directing their movements towards the Prince.¹⁰ Tourists stand around taking photographs, sometimes approaching the gamelan, standing over the musicians. The dancers follow the aural cues of the *keprak* played by their teacher, and those who are unsure look over their shoulders to check what their friends are doing, automatically correcting their movements as they go.



Figure I.2 Dancers rehearse at the Mangkunegaran Palace *pendhapa*. (30 April 2014)

⁹ This large pavilion-like structure is a typical example of Javanese architecture.

¹⁰ The Mangkunegaran is ruled by a Prince (*Pangeran*).

Three places, three settings and three different contexts for Javanese performing arts. A family wayang performance, with its busy atmosphere of constant movement and extraneous noise that somehow takes nothing from the emotional power of the performance. A place where children are welcome and can engage as they wish, by watching the puppets or by eating candy floss. An educational institution where there is none of that external noisiness, where teachers promote a focus on learning but also, intentionally or otherwise, let go a bit, allowing such learning to take its own path. And a palace, where servants perform for the Prince but also for tourists, and the superior acoustics combine with birdsong to create a unique soundscape, the clicking sound of the teacher's *keprak* punctuating the music and driving the dancers on. These are three sites of knowledge acquisition in traditional Javanese performing arts, familiar to many foreign students of gamelan, wayang and dance who, like me, have spent extended periods in Surakarta (Solo),¹¹ soaking up these atmospheres which are kept alive by Javanese gamelan musicians, dancers and dhalang and their families.

Although performing artist families exist around the world, little research has been conducted into how they operate, how artistic skills and knowledge are passed down, and how they continue to create generations of talented performers. Javanese traditional performing artist families, whose

¹¹ Surakarta is often referred to by its less formal name, Solo, which refers to the Solo River that runs through the city and was the original name for this area. The name Surakarta dates from 1745 when the nearby kingdom of Kartasura was moved to a new location in what is now Surakarta. The city's two names will be used interchangeably in this work.

specialities include gamelan music, dance and wayang, provide an excellent example of such a tradition, still very much intact in the present and central to the life of these performing arts, but undoubtedly affected by various changes and developments.

The Central Javanese city of Surakarta is considered a hub for traditional performing arts. Many active performing artists were born into musical families based in and around Surakarta¹² and can trace their lineage back through generations of musicians, dancers and dhalang. Members of these families can be found in many professional gamelan troupes and most dhalang are from a hereditary background in performing arts. Examples include the most famous dhalang of the present era, Anom Soeroto and Manteb Soedharsono, both of whom in turn have sons who are dhalang. The dhalang Wulan Sri Panjang Mas can trace her lineage back through nineteen generations of dhalang. In many cases, performers are proficient in more than one art form. For example, a professional gamelan player may also be an able dhalang. These protagonists are central to the continuation of traditional performing arts in Surakarta and its surrounding districts. Performers like these can play gamelan music, dance or perform wayang with ease, and with little apparent tuition or guidance; they appear to possess a natural, possibly hereditary, talent.

In order to build up a better picture of this performing arts scene, it is necessary to first understand some of the performance contexts for these arts. Gamelan music is performed on its own and as the accompaniment to wayang

¹² See the map of Surakarta and the surrounding area in Appendix I.

and dance. Gamelan music, wayang and dance are performed for many occasions, including weddings, cleansing rituals, circumcisions, business launch events, Javanese birthdays (*weton*)¹³ and as regular performances sponsored by local government, palaces or private patrons. Performances are almost always funded by the hosts, open to the public and free for the audience to attend. The gamelan musicians can be members of a single troupe who often perform together, or drafted in for a performance from a variety of affiliations.

This thesis is concerned with the ways in which family members learn these performing arts through the generations, and how performing artist families fit into a wider arts scene that incorporates formal education and non-hereditary performers. These areas are investigated from the perspective of a rapidly changing Indonesia. The opening up of new opportunities in terms of education, employment and travel for young people in artist families inevitably has an effect on career choices, yet many young people continue to follow in their parents' footsteps, becoming professional musicians, singers, dhalang or dancers.

This study will address two main questions. Firstly, how do processes of knowledge transmission and acquisition take place through the generations of a large artistic family? This question focuses on processes of learning and teaching within families, looking at the flows of knowledge between family members and to and from external sources, in order to understand how the

¹³ These occur every thirty-five days, falling on the day when the Javanese five-day week and the Western seven-day week coincide.

family reproduces itself as a performing artist family across generations. To begin to investigate this, it will be necessary to build up a picture of a large family and see how performing arts are intrinsic in the patterns of its members' daily lives. It will also be important to look at external sources of knowledge, in particular formal arts educational institutions, in order to understand the role of the family and the knowledge flows between different sources.

Secondly, families are becoming smaller and young people have access to new opportunities. Given such changes, this work will consider what kind of role family continues to play in the development of new performers, and what other factors contribute to their arts learning process. This question relates to change and modernisation, and the effects of these processes on the roles filled and choices made about performing arts in families. Through looking at many different types of learning processes, I will show how the combination of such processes continues to produce skilled artists, and demonstrate that the way younger generations of artists learn often differs to that of their older relatives.

I am interested in finding out how practitioners of performing arts describe their own experiences, allowing the voices of these artists from across the generations to be heard, and understanding how they conceptualise their own processes of learning and teaching and the changes that have taken place during their lifetimes. This particular time is ideal for my research, because the oldest generation alive today can remember a time when performers such as themselves did not go through a formal arts education system, while the younger generations of professional or aspiring artists now all follow a path of

formal arts schooling. In the future, if current trends continue, it is highly likely that all living performers will have taken the formal education route to a career, and therefore the comparison of older styles of teaching and learning with newer, formalised styles will be more difficult.

In her detailed anthropological study of the batik industry in Laweyan, a neighbourhood in Surakarta, Brenner (1998) describes how the children of batik merchants did not follow in their parents' footsteps, leading to "the failure of an entire community to reproduce itself" (210). Looking at a different industry also based around Surakarta, this thesis will show why a similar failure has not happened to the traditional performing arts community, through its ability to adapt and follow strands of continuity in the face of change.

Literature Review

Works on Javanese Society and its Performing Arts

Extensive academic research about the island of Java, its people and its arts has been conducted over a period of many years. Detailed anthropological studies into many aspects of life in Java have been undertaken, including Clifford Geertz's *The Religion of Java* (1960), Benedict Anderson's *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (1986) and works by Indonesian anthropologist Koentjaraningrat (1989, 2009) on a variety of topics including Javanese culture and kinship systems.

Several anthropologists have focused on family in Java, including

Hildred Geertz (1961) and Saya Shiraishi (1997). In her ethnographic study, Geertz (1961) describes the structure and functioning of the Javanese kinship system. She outlines a structure involving social relationships that prioritise balance, where divorce and remarriage are common and the women hold a central role in the household. Clearly Geertz's study was conducted some time ago, and Shiraishi's examination of family focuses more on political concepts, such as the idea of the president as a father figure. She discusses education in the context of children in the classroom. This thesis updates Geertz's account and adds to Shiraishi's, by providing an insight into the ways in which particular types of knowledge and skills are passed on in a family. Looking at children and young people learning performing arts in a variety of contexts shows that learning outside the classroom can be just as significant as that which takes place in school.

Family and heredity are important in many cultures. In Java the graves of those who have passed away are regularly visited for prayer with incense and flowers. Javanese language structure is based around respecting elders, with a vocabulary set specifically for this purpose.¹⁴ Blood lines and family ties are an integral part of daily life; if two Javanese people meet for the first time they will look for ways to relate to each other through family links. Inheritance is important, and in the arts scene, possessions such as *keris* (a Javanese dagger) and wayang puppets are prized, passed down through generations of dhalang and musicians as power-filled heirlooms. The

¹⁴ See Keeler (1984) for a comprehensive approach to the Javanese language.

development of hereditary performers, especially dhalang, is watched with interest from childhood by the performing arts community and wayang fans in general. Hughes-Freeland (2008a) conducted research into court dance traditions and notes that “dance dynasties...are not uncommon in Javanese traditional arts, and demonstrate the ongoing importance of kinship ties in the transmission of court dance” (78). Her research focused on the dancers at the palace in Yogyakarta, a larger city about sixty kilometres from Surakarta. Since most performing artist families have members who are musicians or dhalang as well as dancers, and many elements of one art form can be found in the others, my research will incorporate these different performing arts and their practitioners, further highlighting the interconnectedness between gamelan music, wayang and Javanese dance at many levels.

Supanggah has written about *trah* (lineage) as a significant factor for dhalang. He explains that there have been debates about whether a person is born an artist or if such talent can be produced (Supanggah 2011a: 241). He goes on to describe skills that cannot be taught such as “the ability of any artist to express him or herself in an aesthetical and heartfelt manner and with a deep power of expression, without feigning or acting”, which suggests that “an artist must be born, not taught or produced”. This he contrasts with non-Javanese who, despite studying for a long time, cannot “play gamelan or perform wayang like a native Javanese, let alone like the child of a traditional *karawitan* musician...even if the musician’s children...have never studied *karawitan* seriously” (Supanggah 2011a: 243). Supanggah suggests that these factors point to a conclusion that “an artist cannot be created through education” and he questions whether this is the case (Supanggah 2011a: 243).

This thesis attempts to address this problem. By looking at the kinds of knowledge transmission that occur within families and to and from outside sources, we can see, for example, what knowledge or skill is gained from education and what is gained through the family environment, and how this is changing over time.

Supanggah implies that any native Javanese will be better at Javanese performing arts than any non-Javanese. Rather than being the view of a single scholar, I would argue that Supanggah's opinion is part of a widespread cultural assumption, linked to the discourse about the elusive but desirable *rasa* quality in gamelan music (Benamou 2010) and to issues of Javanese identity. I question this viewpoint, as the majority of Javanese do not play gamelan, dance or do wayang, and plenty of Javanese people are not interested in these traditional arts. In fact one of the most common complaints I heard among Javanese who see foreigners engaging with their traditional arts is that there is a lack of interest nowadays among young Javanese.¹⁵ Perhaps a foreign gamelan player is unlikely to play gamelan like a native Javanese gamelan player, but they would surely beat a native Javanese from outside the field of performing arts. The boundaries implied by Supanggah's statement are rigid—one is either Javanese or not. However, also living in Java are Indonesians from other regions who use the Javanese language on a daily basis despite being able to trace roots from other areas. Mixed race Indonesians with

¹⁵ Clearly this is not a new complaint. Perlman (1999) describes hearing the same comments during the 1990s. Lindsay (1985) describes how during the 1980s, “the future of Indonesian traditional arts [remained] a subject of anxiety in Indonesia” (7).

one parent who is Javanese and another from elsewhere (Indonesian or overseas) would have difficulty positioning themselves within such fixed boundaries. Supanggah implies that regardless of experience, one's genes (if one is Javanese) enable one to play gamelan well. This study will show that, in fact, most artists have put a great deal of work into being able to do what they do, and that simply being born Javanese or even being born to artist parents does not automatically guarantee that a person will be able to master performing arts without making any effort.

Gender roles in performing artist families are important, both as part of Javanese society and in terms of the transmission of arts knowledge. Javanese society is typically patriarchal, where a stereotypical view holds that men earn the bulk of the money for the household and women are housewives. Hughes-Freeland (2008b) describes how state representation of women as domesticated mothers and home-makers began during the 1930s and continued during the New Order period and into the present (141). In this view, men are considered more spiritually powerful than women, more restrained and more controlled, while women are thought to lack self-control. According to adherents to this version of gender roles, this is exemplified by the way that “men concern themselves with potency and their dignity; women concern themselves with the more obvious and less prestigious matters of money and children” (Keeler 1987: 88). Anderson (1972) has examined concepts of power in Java, particularly focusing on male spiritual power or potency, from myths through to modern political figures. His view of power was challenged by Brenner (1995), who questions such “stereotyped, male-centered visions of male potency—inevitably suggesting female impotency—

that pervade Javanese cultural representations” (21). Using a range of examples, Brenner (1995) shows that “Javanese discourses and practices of gender embody contradictory representations that sometimes confound the ideological association of males with a higher degree of self-control, potency, and morality than females” (40).

In many Javanese households the wife manages the finances; women therefore play a prominent economic role and occupy the central position in the household (Geertz 1961, Stoler 1977, Koentjaraningrat 1985, Brenner 1995). It is the woman’s job to make decisions on household expenditure, and in some households the husband passes all of his income over to his wife for her to manage. Brenner (1995) highlights the fact that the wife often also works and states that “women’s earnings through agricultural or other wage labor, craft manufacture, trade or employment in the informal sector...not infrequently exceed their husbands’ economic contributions to the household” (24). This system of household finance is equally relevant for families who work in the performing arts, where women often work as singers or dancers, and less often as musicians or dhalang. Women can work with their dhalang or musician husbands, but in practice they frequently take jobs performing away from their husbands as well.

Traditional roles for women within the professional performing arts scene are clearly defined: women can become dancers, singers, dhalang or *gendèr* players. Traditionally, the wives of dhalang would play *gendèr* to accompany their husband’s performances, but this practice is becoming very rare. Weiss (2006) interviewed a number of these female *gendèr* players, who are now quite elderly, and states that “most of the performers...learned directly

from parents or other relatives” (14). However, she does not elaborate further on the learning process or the musicians’ opinions about it.¹⁶ Nowadays the vast majority of women from artist families who decide to follow the family tradition become professional *pesindhèn* rather than *gendèr* players. These women can competently play a range of gamelan instruments in addition to being able to sing, but singing is often the only viable career option for anything other than family performances. It is also the most lucrative position, apart from dhalang; a *pesindhèn* earns significantly more per performance than a male singer or a musician of either gender.

Previous writing focusing on Javanese musicians has tended to select individual musicians for study, outside of a family context. For example, in his thesis *Lagu, Laras, Layang: Rethinking Melody in Javanese Music* (1980), Hatch provided biographical information about his main informant, the *pesindhèn* Bei Mardusari, including her time learning to sing and dance. Growing up in a village, she had shown “an interest in and aptitude for Javanese dance and song, and by the age of nine, she had gained a reputation in the area around her village as a lithe and lively dancer with a pleasing voice” (Hatch 1980: 217). Hatch does not describe how she learnt to sing and dance while in her village. Later, after she was taken in by Mangkunagara VII and became a palace performer, he states, “she began to receive lessons from a court teacher in the Mangkunegaran.... Most of these lessons were informal in the sense that they either involved a group of students learning dance from a

¹⁶ Elsewhere, Weiss (2008) looks at issues of gender and *gendèr*-player women and stresses the importance of nonrigid gender roles in Central Java.

single teacher, or they involved [Bei Mardusari] watching or listening while other craftsmen and -women performed the activity which was being taught” (Hatch 1980: 218). But the effect of her family background on creating her as a performer goes unexplained.¹⁷ My project considers learning through family background as a highly significant part of a performing artist’s learning process, because it is usually the first kind of learning that takes place in an artist’s life, sowing the seeds for all future arts learning.

Waridi wrote his Master’s dissertation about the highly respected musician Martopangrawit (1914–1986). He includes descriptions of Martopangrawit’s family background, education and how he learnt gamelan music, as well as details of his career. He describes how Martopangrawit was brought up by his grandparents, after his parents passed away, and how he often went to the Kraton¹⁸ where his grandfather taught gamelan. He states, “in this way, from a young age Soeyitno (Martopangrawit) acquired touches of the musical elements of Javanese gamelan pieces. At his grandfather’s house, where he lived, there was also a set of gamelan instruments which was used by his students for gamelan rehearsals” (Waridi 1997: 26). From this we get one small glance at the effect of a musical early upbringing on a future musician. Waridi later describes the learning process in more detail:

¹⁷ Another dissertation that barely touches on learning processes is Sulistyana’s work about the dhalang Ganda Darsana. He offers only the tiniest explanation as to why Ganda Darsana was able to perform wayang: “the influence of a dhalang family environment may have caused Ganda Darsana to be familiar with wayang, from the age of seven” (Sulistyana 1996: 127).

¹⁸ See Miksic (2012) for information on the Surakarta Kraton and its traditions.

Usually among families of gamelan musicians, children were never given special lessons in how to play gamelan. By following and observing various *karawitan* activities conducted by their parents or by another person they considered as a teacher, they were able to do what their parents or teacher did. Traditional people usually still believe that a child born into a family of gamelan musicians, in the end, will definitely be able to play gamelan. (Waridi 1997: 28)

This is an example of a process of knowledge acquisition where the onus is on the student to seek out knowledge and it is taken for granted that the child of musician parents will be able to play gamelan music. Perlman (2004) has also described this process and how “this focus on autodidacticism rewards the learner who can ‘take a hint’ (*tanggap ing sasmita*), who does not need explicit instruction but can profit from cryptic, indirect or abstract clues” (118). While Perlman describes this as a traditional style of teaching, part of an oral tradition prior to the development of formal institutions, I suggest that this type of learning continues to exist, particularly in the homes of performing artist families.

Older generations of musicians like Martopangrawit were able to follow this traditional learning process during childhood. Martopangrawit was allowed to drop out of school after primary school class two in order to pursue his ambition to become a musician (Waridi 1997: 27). Suyadi Tejopangrawit (born 1947), whose parents were not performers, is another musician who dropped out of school, this time lower secondary school, because his gamelan-playing activities disrupted his schooling (Harisna 2010: 34). Suratno et al.

(1997) note that “in general, child dhalang of age three and upwards always go with their father when he performs wayang. Because of not getting enough sleep and usually being too exhausted in the morning to follow the school lessons, they often fail” (13). Children nowadays are expected to attend school whether or not they show a strong desire to pursue performing arts. Shiraishi (1997) describes how “school...separates children from the adult society.... Schooling sequesters a certain period of human life in the name of the future” (123). It is therefore possible that everyday schooling and a traditional-style arts education with all-night performances are incompatible. Through examining processes of learning and knowledge acquisition from today’s perspective my project shows to what extent such traditional processes continue. Rather than focusing on how one individual person learnt performing arts during his or her era, looking across the generations highlights the changes that have taken place affecting arts learning processes.

Wiyono (2003) and Maryaningsih (2003) both wrote their dissertations about dhalang and masked dancer Tukas Gondo Sukasno (1922?–2003), whose family forms the main set of informants in this thesis. Wiyono focused on Tukas Gondo Sukasno’s role as dhalang for a ritual performance, while Maryaningsih wrote a biographical study of his life as a masked dancer. Tukas Gondo Sukasno’s masked dance troupe was the focus of two dissertations by students of ISI Surakarta. Naomi Diah Budi S. (1994) interviewed eight members of this masked dance community, some of whom are from the same family. She describes the roles played by each member of the community in a masked dance performance, including dancers, musicians and dhalang, and also looks at the wider picture of education and employment in the village

where the community is based. She traces the history of this particular masked dance tradition in Klaten, including the period when the community was prevented from performing by the political situation of the 1960s, and explains how her informants could still claim a direct lineage from the founder of this local tradition (Budi S. 1994: 39-40). As well as telling the history of the same masked dance community and the performance genre, Susilo Pancawati describes the scenes of a typical performance (Pancawati 2003). Pancawati's dissertation about this community made use of interviews with nine informants, some of whom are the same as those interviewed by Maryaningsih, Budi S., and also by Weiss (1998) who focused on gamelan music.

Unlike all of these studies, however, this thesis does not look at a single art form in isolation. These are people who, as a family, can perform gamelan music, dance and wayang, and their knowledge of one art form is at least partly responsible for their successful performance of other art forms. As we shall see in Chapter Five, learning by association is an important method for artists to diversify, by playing more than one instrument of the gamelan, or branching out across different art forms. Therefore in considering the biographies of individual artists, it is important to see them as whole artists rather than focusing on only one of their abilities.

In his book about the concept of *rasa*, Benamou (2010) mentions biography as one of the three elements that has an impact on the *rasa* of a performance and states that it includes “anything that shapes the performer's personality” (189). Benamou highlights suffering, non-traditional musical training, the age of the performers and their relationships with each other as

possible elements. I would argue that family background, which is highly biographical, is also important in shaping a performer's personality, contributing to their knowledge and affecting their relationships with other performers.

In addition to researching gamelan music, academics have conducted in-depth research into the art of wayang (Clara van Groenendael 1985, Keeler 1987, Mrázek 2005 to name a few). Mrázek's lengthy work describes many aspects of wayang, from the puppets themselves and their movements, to the role of the dhalang, the language and musical accompaniment used, the performance context, and more recent innovations in wayang. His focus is on what happens in a wayang performance and how the various elements come together into a structure, "how they function in that structure, how they are made sense of and how they affect people..." (Mrázek 2005: 9). He does not look explicitly at processes of knowledge acquisition, though in a way, the whole book reflects his own learning process as he studied wayang. In investigating how performing artists have learnt their arts, works on wayang are useful as they tend to consider the role of the dhalang both on- and off-stage, and such aspects can be related to how a dhalang learns and teaches others.

Having reviewed some of the literature on Javanese society and traditional Javanese performing arts, we can see that although a great deal has been written, no one has yet focused on the issue of heredity in performing arts or on knowledge transmission and arts education. Studies tend to deal with one art form in isolation, when in reality many practitioners are adept at more than one, and from the characters portrayed to the musical

accompaniment, many related elements are apparent across different art forms. Sanger (1989) states, “despite the fact that, in most parts of the world, music and dance are linked...it is surprising to note that many accounts by ethnomusicologists and dance anthropologists are limited to describing *either* music or dance” (57). Therefore, this is clearly a tendency outside Java as well, despite there being countless examples of cultures whose music and dance are interconnected.¹⁹ In the Javanese context, not only are music and dance strongly linked, but the same people are often active in more than one art form and their knowledge of one significantly informs their ability to engage in the others. Supanggah (2011a) writes, “in the world of traditional arts in Java, there are no strict boundaries between the art of *pedhalangan*, *karawitan*, and/or dance” (268). This thesis attempts to encompass all three art forms, and therefore does not imagine boundaries between them.

Relevant Works on Performing Arts outside Central Java

Performing artist families occur in many arts traditions throughout the world and so also related to this study is work on hereditary arts traditions outside Central Java. Examples include works on Romani hereditary musicians (Beissinger 2001), on Mande *jeli* griots of Mali (Durán 1995), on *sazandeh* musicians in Herat, Afghanistan (Baily 1988) and on hereditary systems in Indian music by Neuman (1990), Qureshi (2007), McNeil (2007) and Morcom (2013) among others. As a caste-based system that was

¹⁹ Mason (2012) provides numerous examples of such cultures.

traditionally strictly hereditary, Indian classical music differs significantly from Javanese performing arts, as there is no evidence to suggest Javanese performing arts have ever been strictly hereditary.

Several authors have researched issues relating to knowledge acquisition in Thai classical music. Wong (2001) and Giordano (2011) have written about the *wai khru* ceremony, where students of Thai music pay respects to their teachers. Thai classical music students trace a lineage through their teachers, which Giordano (2011) describes as “a lineage of authority, and lineage of knowledge” (129). These traditional networks or “schools” each attached to a particular well-known teacher have their own distinct playing styles; they often compete with each other and engage in the theft of musical material (Myers-Moro 1993: 116-117). Mrázek (2008b) describes how both the teacher and the musical instrument are imbued with spiritual significance in Thai music, bound to each other, as part of the relationship between the teacher and student (80-81).²⁰ The situation in Javanese performing arts is different; Javanese gamelan students do not trace a lineage of skill via their teacher and their teacher’s teacher, and many students would be unable to single out one teacher as their primary source of knowledge.

In his book about Sundanese *wayang golèk* (rod puppetry), Weintraub (2004) discusses the issue of kinship relations among Sundanese dhalang

²⁰ Kitley (1995) suggests that in Bali, a similarly powerful, though perhaps less complex, teacher-student relationship can emerge when she describes how traditionally “the teacher and pupil have an idealised relationship where dedication, love and loyalty mean more than money” (49). Dunbar-Hall (2008) has compiled information about arts learning in Bali in the 1930s based on available written sources.

during the New Order Period. He states that “as a result of an increase in economic rewards for a few performers, combined with a decrease in performance opportunities for the majority of performers, popular dhalang of the eighties and nineties responded by limiting access to training in the dhalang’s craft to family members” (Weintraub 2004: 86-87). This is a fascinating phenomenon, that in an age of increased access to education in general, the art of *wayang golèk* became more restricted than it had previously been. There is no evidence to suggest that a similar restriction occurred in Central Javanese *wayang kulit* or other Central Javanese performing arts, though the emergence of a small number of extremely wealthy superstar dhalang certainly took place in Central Java as well.

A project, *Growing Into Music*, conducted by five academics from the UK and Azerbaijan is of interest. It ran from 2009 to 2012 and focused on the music of Mande *jeli* musicians of Mali and Guinea; Langa and Manganiyar folk musicians of Rajasthan; hereditary musicians in the Hindustani art music of North India; *ashiq* bards and *mugham* musicians of Azerbaijan; rumba musicians of Western Cuba; and the *musica llanera* “plains music” tradition of Venezuela. The scope of the project was to focus on children from hereditary traditions growing up with music, and to document their learning processes through videos and publications. The project website states: “Learning music is accomplished largely by osmosis and imitation, often without a great deal of conscious intent. Children may develop an unselfconscious musical confidence born of inherited or deeply-nurtured authority” (*Growing Into Music*). This type of learning by osmosis also takes place in Javanese performing arts. Unlike the project described above, however, this thesis does

not focus solely on children, but examines the broader picture of performing arts practitioners across the generations. Conducting fieldwork with more than one generation of adult performers has allowed me to investigate how their position has changed with the advent of formal education in the arts, development of modern technology and families with fewer children. This long perspective would be impossible to achieve by focusing only on children.

Back in the 1950s, the well-known ethnomusicologist of folk music Alan Lomax stated that “the study of musical style should embrace the total human situation which produces the music” (Lomax in Cohen 2003: 142). He divided this into eight categories, of which the seventh was “how songs are learned and transmitted”, and described how “the child begins to learn the musical style of his culture as he acquires the language and the emotional patterns of his people. This style is thus an important link between an individual and his culture” (Lomax in Cohen 2003: 142-143). More recently, a 2011 book, *Learning, Teaching, and Musical Identity*, features chapters on musics from Lapland to Australia, with many examples from Asia, all focusing on the issue of musical identity linked to learning and teaching (Green 2011). Examples like these emphasise the importance of knowledge transmission to the music in each society. D’Andrade describes how one learns one’s culture, which he calls “a body of learning” through a slow process of “guided discovery”. He explains how “the teaching by others can be formal or informal, intended or unintended, and the learning can occur through observation or by being taught rules” (D’Andrade 1981: 179). We shall see how these different types of teaching and learning apply to Javanese performing arts, and how, as this arts culture is passed down through the

generations, the types of teaching and learning have changed. Examining these interactive processes also contributes to the understanding of Javanese performing arts as a social culture. By studying how Javanese performing artists learn their arts, a process which nearly always begins in childhood, we can understand how these artists are connected through their shared culture, which they then express through performing arts. Nettl (2005) states that “to all kinds of music scholars, one of the most important things about a musical culture is how it, as it were, transmits itself. Considering this, ethnomusicologists have contributed modestly on the general nature of...different forms of transmission” (292). By investigating how performing artist families sustain and carry forward their arts through generations, this thesis contributes to the literature on the way the culture of Javanese performing arts “transmits itself”.

In his 2008 chapter on “New Directions in Ethnomusicology”, Stock suggests seven themes toward disciplinary renewal. He proposes a need for more biographical writing and explains that “writing biography, we can approach the historical depth that always surrounds music.... Coherence and continuity are likely to be relatively unproblematic in this genre of writing. Indeed, it is also possible to write multi-biographies” (Stock in Stobart 2008: 196). Through describing the knowledge acquisition processes of individuals from the same families, a strong element of multi-biography is present in this work. Stock also suggests that history is important and that ethnomusicologists should “account more thoroughly for historical situations” that arise in ethnographic research (Stock in Stobart 2008: 198). The history of knowledge acquisition within my informants’ experiences is a key feature of this project,

which maps the changes that have taken place affecting arts learning.

Although many scholars have studied Javanese performing arts, the phenomenon of the large families that dominate the arts scene has yet to receive much scholarly attention. By offering new and original research that addresses topics that have been somewhat neglected, updating and adding to the work that has been carried out in Java, this thesis contributes to the field of ethnomusicology. It has also been influenced by my experiences as a student and tutor in a Southeast Asian studies department, and many of the works surveyed in this literature review are not strictly ethnomusicological, but fall under disciplines such as anthropology and history. The mass of previous research on Java and its arts has greatly benefited my study, allowing me to dispense with basic descriptions and get deeper under the skin of these well-documented arts, by looking at the main proponents, those who represent generations of performing arts skill and knowledge in Java.

Positioning Oneself

The idea that one spends a year or two planning, before departing for “The Field”, a place where one will spend a year doing research and then leave, never to return, to write a dissertation is increasingly outdated. Rarely does one go off to a remote and isolated area, totally disconnected from the outside world. Indonesia in general, and particularly Java, is very much online. Mobile phones are ubiquitous and phone signal is available almost everywhere. As a researcher of Central Java, one can be connected to the field

whether or not one is currently in the field, and when one is in the field, one remains connected to the outside world.

This work benefits greatly from my experience with Javanese gamelan in the UK and in Java prior to beginning my PhD. With a background in music, I began studying Javanese gamelan at SOAS in 2001. I visited Java for the first time in 2006 and later spent four consecutive years living there, first as a student at one of the arts institutes discussed in this thesis, ISI Surakarta, and then as the wife of a performing arts practitioner, as well as a musician in my own right. My husband, Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, is a member of one of the largest performing artist families in Central Java, and grew up in a village environment surrounded by the *dhalang*, musicians and dancers of his extended family. He later moved to the city and followed a path of formal education in *karawitan*. Being with him, observing him play music, dance and perform wayang, without ever seeing him practise as a Western-trained musician or dancer (or a foreigner learning gamelan) would, was what first led to my research questions. He seems to possess a talent that may be specific to hereditary performers, an innate ability to do traditional Javanese performing arts. Watching the children in his family (my cousins-in-law) growing up and listening to members of the older generations describing the performing lifestyle and the hardships of the past sparked my interest in the way arts knowledge is passed on and how this is changing.

In her thesis, Weiss (1998) writes, “it is virtually impossible for a non-Central Javanese who has been studying Central Javanese performance culture to attend an event and not be asked to perform or participate in some active way” (23). In my fortunate position as my husband’s wife and as a member of

his large extended family, I frequently attend performing arts events without being given any special “foreigner” treatment. Being so familiar with my research area, from the places to the people, has greatly aided my fieldwork process, enabling me to conduct more in-depth interviews than would be possible if I was more of an outsider. I am also not the first person to marry into this particular family and write about it. Biliyard Dwi Maryaningsih, whose dissertation, mentioned previously, describes the dhalang and masked dancer Tukas Gondo Sukasno, holds a position very similar to my own; she also married into the family and is my husband’s cousin-in-law. Tukas Gondo Sukasno would have been our shared grandfather-in-law.

Mendonça (2002), in explaining her own position as a researcher of the British gamelan music scene while also being a British gamelan player herself, describes the book, *Shadows in the Field*: “The researchers in the book all shared something of a ‘safety net’, knowing that whatever transpired in fieldwork, if they offended or fell out with people or bungled social situations, they could at some point physically ‘escape’ (through returning ‘home’) and resume normal service elsewhere.” (xii). For me, as for Mendonça, there is no escape. We are stuck in the field, in a sense, through social and, in my case, familial relationships. In this work I have written about my teachers and my in-laws, and I am aware that my own relationships with these people may have affected the way I have written about them. The amount of literature about Java written by people who, arguably, are more outsider than me has helped me to gain a quasi-outsider perspective at times when I have felt my writing was becoming too insider. However, I am aware that my work has been subjected to my own censorship. I have intentionally omitted some things that

my relatives said during interview which I felt were inappropriate for publication in some way (even though I made it clear at the beginning of each interview that people should only say what they were happy with being published).

Overall, however, such detailed ethnographic work would be difficult, if not impossible, to produce about a place with which one was not yet familiar. My personal and familial relationships with many of my informants have enabled me to communicate better and more easily with them during interviews, thereby eliciting more detailed and interesting responses. My knowledge and expertise about Javanese performing arts in and around the city of Solo, my home for years, enabled me to focus my fieldwork on my topic, without chasing dead-ends.

All PhD candidates must live while doing their work. In my case, living during fieldwork involved having a baby, creating another important tie to the family I describe in this thesis. The birth of Emma, which came after I had finished my fieldwork, put another spin on this project, as she may also inherit some of the performing arts talent that runs in her father's family and engage in the arts learning processes described in this work.

Research Methodology

Research was conducted in the Solo Raya area that encompasses the city of Surakarta and the surrounding districts of Klaten, Wonogiri, Boyolali, Sragen, Karanganyar and Sukoharjo (see map in Appendix I). Although

fieldwork specifically for this project was conducted in 2014, I have included knowledge gained prior to this period, as well as information acquired during writing.

My main research took the form of in-depth interviews with members of the large performing artist family described in this work, as well as with other performing artists, in particular those who are from a hereditary arts background or who are involved in arts education in some way. A complete list of interviewees with short biographies is in Appendix II and the interview questions are in Appendix VIII. A number of these people work at one of Surakarta's palaces or formal educational institutions. Aged from nine to ninety at the time of interview, some were students or graduates of ISI Surakarta while others had received little schooling. Several unfortunately passed away during the writing phase of this project. I purposefully selected informants covering a range of artistic fields, namely, gamelan, wayang and dance. Interviews were conducted in Indonesian or Javanese according to the wishes of the interviewee. All interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed. Based on the interviews with family members, I was able to compile a complex family tree (see Appendix III), and to identify patterns of knowledge transfer within the family, as well as to and from external sources.

In addition to interviews, I conducted a survey to show the prevalence of hereditary performers in the traditional performing arts community of Surakarta. The current student bodies of the relevant departments (*karawitan*, *pedhalangan* and dance) at two educational institutions, ISI and SMKN 8, were surveyed to find out what percentage of these aspiring performing artists came from artist families, and also to look at students' perspectives on their

own heredity. The results of the survey are analysed in Chapter Three.

Spending time at family homes where children of artist families were growing up enabled me to observe arts activities, including learning, taking place. Activities such as attending gamelan rehearsals and performances, socialising with artists, and participating in family events also aided my research.

Concepts, Terms and Definitions

Before entering the main content of this thesis, it is necessary to consider some of the terms and concepts that will be used. I have used the term traditional Javanese performing arts to refer to gamelan music, *wayang kulit* puppetry and dance performed in Central Java, in particular referring to styles and repertoire that can be considered traditional as compared to contemporary. The word “traditional” in this context relates to the repertoire, structures and forms of gamelan music and the instruments it is played on, the specific dance movements that are used, and the puppets, performance structure and dhalang’s role in wayang. Contemporary composition tends to make use of different instruments and musical structures, does not rely on a single vocabulary of dance movements and can involve more drastic innovation than is generally accepted in a traditional performance context.²¹ Contemporary music, dance and wayang are very much alive in Java, and

²¹ See, for example, Escobar (2014) on contemporary wayang performance.

while some practitioners limit themselves to performing either traditional or contemporary works, others move in both circles. The two fields are nonetheless considered separate. They are taught in different contexts, often by different teachers, and are performed for different events at different venues. Contemporary performances are more often held for their own sake, attended by an audience which is there purely to watch the show, while traditional performances may be held for lifecycle rituals and other purposes as described near the beginning of this chapter. This study focuses on traditional performing arts because these are the arts that have been passed down through the generations, their traditionality remaining intact despite the development of contemporary arts alongside them. This does not mean that there is no room for innovation within traditional performing arts. Negus and Pickering (2004) note that “it is a common misconception to regard innovation and tradition as diametrically opposed to each other” (91). Indeed, new compositions for gamelan in traditional musical structures continue to be written,²² and dhalang continue to develop new material within the bounds of what is accepted within the tradition.²³

The word “tradition” is frequently used by ethnomusicologists to refer to traditional musics. Tradition implies a sense of history, a past which groups together the components of said tradition, and the idea of handing over or transmission. Shils (1971) describes tradition as “beliefs with a sequential social structure..., which are believed by a succession of persons who might

²² The musician Suyadi Tejopangrawit is a good example of a living composer for traditional gamelan.

²³ See, for example, Emerson (2016).

have been in interaction with each other in succession or at least in a unilateral (even if not intergenerationally continuous) chain of communication” (126). Therefore, tradition is linked to the concept of time. In the context of Javanese performing arts, we can see that these arts belong to a tradition due to the beliefs of artists and audience over a period of generations. Hawkins (1996) warns that “the persistent use of the labels tradition and modern prevent any grasp of continuity and change, in so far as the constitution of separate categories in itself implies total discontinuity, and a qualitative difference between tradition and modernity” (232). However, I would argue that a tradition is usually a changing phenomenon and should not be seen as something which is tied to a particular era. If we consider a tradition as something that is passed down or transmitted, it becomes obvious that change will be involved. Shils (1971) describes various different types of change that can happen to traditions, caused by those within and outside the tradition, and explains that these modifications can be intentional or unintentional (151). In this thesis we can see that many changes have affected traditional Javanese performing arts, including those that have been explicit or intentional, and others that have been caused unintentionally by factors from outside the tradition. When changes occur to the way people learn a tradition, it has an impact on the tradition itself, beyond its pedagogy. This means that understanding how people learn a tradition can shed light on the very essence of the tradition in question.

In discussing how people learn traditional Javanese performing arts, I have, at times, used the term “knowledge acquisition” rather than “knowledge transmission” or “learning”. This is because the word “learning” implies an

active effort on the part of the learner and “transmission” implies that there is a named or obvious transmitter.²⁴ Processes by which people acquire knowledge in performing arts do often occur through learning or being transmitted, but can also take place in other ways, such as passively through exposure and absorption, and in a traditional Javanese worldview, through spiritual or mystical endeavours. In these cases, the transmitter may be less obvious and the focus is on the acquirer of knowledge. This study looks at how knowledge is transmitted and acquired, and includes non-learning-centred forms of knowledge acquisition.

This thesis considers the concept of heredity without investigating genetic factors in a scientific way. I have chosen to refer to heredity as a simple way to discuss the idea of knowledge being passed through families, which may or may not be influenced by genetic factors. Many professions show trends where a single family has multiple members entering the same profession. These tend to be unproven by genetics. Levitin (2006) notes that in searching for the causes of a musician’s talent, “there may be genetic factors at work, but it is difficult to separate out ancillary factors...such as motivation, personality, and family dynamics [which] can influence musical development and can mask the contributions of genetics to musical ability” (191). In Indonesian and Javanese the term *keturunan*, from the root *turun* meaning “to

²⁴ I use the word “knowledge”, but in some cases the word “skill” may be equally appropriate. A person can have theoretical knowledge of an art without necessarily possessing the skill to perform it. Similarly, a person may develop a skill, but lack knowledge to explain what he or she is doing. In this research it is necessary to consider both elements, which may be indivisible from each other in many cases.

go down, descend”, is a convenient term that describes heredity and is used by dhalang, musicians and dancers when describing themselves as hereditary artists. The artists I consulted used this term both when discussing their beliefs about their genetic make-up, and when describing themselves and others as hereditary or non-hereditary without referring specifically to genetic factors. I have chosen to translate this term as “hereditary” rather than retaining it in the original language. In addition to referring to heredity in humans, the same root word is used when a new wayang puppet is copied from an older one. Many of the exact features and details of the puppet are intricately replicated in the new version, and the use of the same word suggests that, for the Javanese, heredity can refer to the idea of the same details being carried down the line in humans as well.

Aims and Processes of Arts Learning

In discussing performing arts learning it is important to understand what is being learnt. Clearly, an arts student must learn technique and repertoire in order to succeed. However, these basic elements are not all that is required. In order to become successful in Javanese performing arts, an artist must master style and *rasa*. Style is at once individual and related to milieu. Every good artist has his or her own individual style, a hallmark that distinguishes one from another. At the same time, each performing situation or milieu may also have a style associated with it, such as the dance style of the Mangkunegaran Palace, the wayang style of Klaten district, or the *karawitan*

style usually played by a particular group. Artists must learn to perform in an appropriate style according to the milieu, while also developing their own distinctive style.

Rasa, a quality that can be translated as feeling, sense or essence, is a complex concept that evades a simple definition. Some Javanese claim that it cannot be taught. Benamou, whose thesis and book focus on *rasa* in gamelan music, explains that “*rasa*...is a mood or affect. But it may be something more abstract than that (a melodic essence, for instance); or it may be more effable.... Expressing a *rasa* involves both understanding and feeling, as does *rasa* itself” (Benamou 1998: 270-271). Benamou devotes an entire chapter of his book to the various meanings of the term *rasa*, which goes to show that there is no simple definition. Hughes-Freeland (1997), whose research focuses on Javanese dance, describes it as “sense-making, not just sensing” and states that “it signals intimate psychic processes which go beyond the individual self, for which there is a common sense but no shared definition” (58).

Rasa is a quality rated highly by Javanese performing artists and their audience, but that doesn't mean it is specific to Javanese performing arts. Levitin (2006) discusses the idea of groove in Western music, stating that “when a song has a good groove, it invites us into a sonic world that we don't want to leave.... Groove has to do with a particular performer or particular performance” (166). This seems to be a very similar concept to *rasa*, where it is often impossible to pinpoint exactly how this elusive quality is being produced. Levitin also discusses the idea of playing music with feeling and notes that nobody knows why some musicians seem to play with more feeling than others, or seem to be able to access that reaction in their listeners. He

describes accounts of musicians who said they were feeling what they wanted the music to express while they were playing it, and explains that “if music serves to convey feelings through the interaction of physical gestures and sound, the musician needs his brain state to match the emotional state he is trying to express” (Levitin 2006: 206). It is interesting to consider the usefulness of these concepts for Javanese performing arts. Certainly many Javanese musicians and dancers have described being “in the zone”, losing their external awareness as they felt they became part of the music or dance, in a process that Weiss (2003) refers to as embodiment. Perhaps for the audience, these moments are where the *rasa* can be most deeply felt.

In order to become a successful artist, therefore, in addition to technique and repertoire, one must learn or somehow acquire style and *rasa*. Every successful artist possesses these two elusive qualities, which express each artist’s individuality. Indeed perhaps it is these qualities that best show what makes a good artist. Brinner (1995) examined competence among Javanese gamelan musicians and concluded that a definition of individual competences varies “with the dialectic of individual achievements and consensual ideals” (46). There is thus, according to Brinner, no clear definition of a competent artist in Javanese gamelan music. Brinner (1995) believes that since competence is acquired over a number of years, “interviews with experienced musicians...cannot elicit all of the details of acquisition. The facts are so complex that memories of learning processes and experiences must be highly selective”. He suggests “juxtaposing evidence gained in interviews with older musicians with observation of the ways that novice musicians learn in the present” in order to understand the learning process (111). However, by

carrying out this type of research in a family context, with informants from several generations of the same family, I believe that more information can be gained about knowledge acquisition and ideas of competence than by ignoring musicians' family backgrounds.

Learning how artists rate each other is another way to examine competence as a concept within the artistic community. As noted above, many works focus on a single art form, either wayang or gamelan music or dance. I found that artists from performing artist families valued competence in multiple art forms. Dhalang who could play gamelan and perhaps dance as well were rated more highly than artists who were able to do only one art form. Therefore in considering what makes a good artist, and what therefore is the goal of aspiring young artists, an ability across multiple art forms is a significant factor. This thesis examines wayang and dance as well as gamelan music, as the three main forms of traditional Javanese performing arts which are often performed by the same people. Writing a thesis in Southeast Asian studies as opposed to music or ethnomusicology (the source of many works on gamelan music) enabled me to consider multiple art forms instead of having to devote more space to music or to musicological issues in gamelan.

The processes of knowledge acquisition examined in this thesis may be considered as either passive or active. A transmitter of arts knowledge can do so in an active way, such as through teaching, or in a passive way, such as through performing. A recipient of arts knowledge can be active in learning, for example, through taking lessons, or passive, acquiring knowledge through osmosis and making no special effort to learn. It is therefore possible to conceive of cases where knowledge transmission takes place with transmitter

and recipient both actively involved, and cases where neither transmitter nor recipient are actively trying to teach or learn. A third possibility is where the transmitter is passive—he or she does not attempt to pass on knowledge—but the recipient is active in consciously making an effort to learn from him or her.²⁵ Giordano (2011) discusses the significance of the teacher in Thai concepts of knowledge transmission: “A great teacher of a particular type of wisdom or art will seek the ideal student to pass on their knowledge. If the teacher cannot find the appropriate student, he or she will allow their knowledge to die with them and disappear into obscurity” (126). It seems that the teacher is more important in this type of teacher-student relationship. In Javanese performing arts, however, the student can be considered the more significant participant, as it is more often the case that a single student must make an effort to learn from numerous sources including multiple teachers.

By looking at the ideas of active and passive transmission and acquisition of knowledge in the context of a family of artists, a number of valuable insights can be gained. Firstly, it is possible to see who is considered the greatest source of knowledge in a family, and also who is the most active teacher. More interestingly though, looking at an entire family across generations, it is possible to identify changes in sources of knowledge over the past ninety years. For example, it is clear that formal education plays a more prominent role in the knowledge of younger family members than for the older generations. Looking at such forms of knowledge transmission over time can

²⁵ An active transmitter with a passive recipient of knowledge is less likely, except in the case where the knowledge being transmitted was meant for someone else, and a passive recipient happened to be nearby.

show whether there has been a change in the type of knowledge transfer taking place, such as a greater emphasis on active knowledge transfer for younger people in formal education. The interplay between older flows of knowledge and newer, more formal learning situations is an important element here, as older ways of learning are being superseded by newer forms of education.

Every performing art must have its own system of knowledge acquisition in order to survive. With the developments in formal education that took place in many parts of the world during the twentieth century, it is highly likely that many of the changes that have affected knowledge transmission and acquisition in Javanese arts have also taken place elsewhere. Similarly, developments in transportation, technology and family lifestyle have arguably affected many countries and regions in similar ways to the situation in Central Java. The concepts presented in this thesis, therefore, while specifically about Javanese arts and at times, about one family, should be seen as an example of the processes of knowledge acquisition and change that can take place under particular circumstances.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One introduces the reader to one of Central Java's foremost performing artist families. Having contributed many talented performers to the arts scene for centuries, this Klaten-based family has weathered many of the changes that have affected performing artists and their knowledge acquisition and continues to produce professional artists in every generation. By stepping

into the village for a chapter, we can see how their lives have been infused with performing arts for generations.

Chapter Two looks at the history of performing arts education, by studying the establishment and development of arts institutions that has run alongside the family described in the previous chapter. As education in general has become more important to Indonesians, performing arts have entered the formal school system, offering a way for young artists to continue with arts while in school, and becoming the most common route to a professional arts career. Beginning with palace schools, followed by state-sponsored schools, tracing the history of these institutions provides an understanding of how the current situation in arts education has emerged. Meanwhile, *sanggar* provide non-formal arts education which fits alongside these institutions, representing another avenue of arts learning for young people.

In Chapter Three the complex relationship between performing artist families and formal education is examined. The spread of arts knowledge through the family forms the basis for understanding knowledge flows, both within the family and to and from external sources. Following this, the results of a survey of current students at arts educational institutions are presented. The analysis of the survey results shows the prevalence of hereditary artists among students at arts institutions and therefore highlights the interdependence of performing artist families and educational institutions.

Chapters Four, Five and Six directly examine knowledge acquisition in performing arts. In Chapter Four traditional Javanese concepts of knowledge acquisition are discussed by looking at texts, treatises and stories that have been written, read and performed by Javanese. Knowledge is an important

concept in many of these materials, and we find frequent mention of performing arts, particularly wayang. Traditional Javanese beliefs play a role in performing arts learning for many practitioners. The chapter considers spiritual and ascetic practices as ways in which practitioners acquire arts knowledge. Traditional arts sit alongside traditional manners or etiquette, and as we shall see, learning one often requires or precipitates learning the other.

Chapters Five and Six investigate arts learning processes by looking at the learning methods described by performing artists during interview and observed during fieldwork. Chapter Five focuses on processes where learning takes place as a direct encounter between the learner and a performing art. This includes *kupingan* (learning by ear), rehearsing and performing, simultaneous imitation and following, exposure and absorption, and learning by association. Chapter Six examines processes where some kind of mediator is present to aid the learning process. This includes learning from books and notation, learning from recordings and broadcasts, private tuition and apprenticeships, casual advice and instruction, and using memorisation and individual practice. In these chapters many of the same people whose lives were described in Chapter One discuss their own learning processes in great detail. From this we can see how a multitude of learning processes in fact contributes to the creation of a single performing artist.

Chapter Seven brings together material from the previous chapters and considers it in the light of change and continuity. We will look at how changes in the education system have affected the ways in which performing arts can be learnt, and consider political events which have also had an impact. Key factors such as time and money have deeply affected performing arts learning,

as the lives of performing artists today are often structured quite differently from those of previous generations. Despite the massive lifestyle changes that have affected performing arts learning at many levels, we find out how performing artist families continue to exist, producing young professional artists.

In the Conclusions we see that, having examined performing arts learning and the changes that have affected it over the past ninety years, we can understand how processes of knowledge transmission and acquisition continue in traditional Javanese performing arts. These aspects are vital in order for such arts to survive, and many of the themes may be equally relevant to performing arts elsewhere in Southeast Asia and beyond. By considering the consequences for the future of traditional Javanese performing arts and knowledge acquisition, based upon past and ongoing change, the conclusion shows how traditional Javanese performing arts are not merely surviving, but are in fact thriving.

Chapter One

Meeting The Family

My husband is a member of one of the largest performing artist families in Central Java. Based in Klaten, with ancestors traceable back to the nineteenth century, family members of more recent generations have spread out across Solo Raya, to East Java, and further afield to Sumatra and Kalimantan. In the following chapters we shall look in depth at how people have learnt traditional Javanese performing arts, using material gleaned from interviews and participant-observation with members of this extended family. In order to understand their arts education, we need to meet them first, to find out who is who, how everybody fits into the family, and understand something of how they live. The family trees in Appendix III will assist the reader in following the story.

I have interviewed a selection of family members, based on availability in many cases, and have attempted to cover all living generations fairly so as to provide a view of how people have lived throughout the lifespans of my oldest informants. Aged from nine to ninety at the time of interview, my informants span four generations, three of which are covered in depth here, and include people who remain living in the village homes where they were born, who have rarely left Central Java, and people who have moved from the village to the city and travelled outside Indonesia. They include people who are illiterate, having never attended school, and those who have followed a

path of formal education to degree level.

Families are so complex that this is by no means a definitive guide to my extended family of in-laws. Nonetheless, in telling some of the story of this fascinating family, I hope to set the scene for the following chapters by introducing the reader to individuals in the family, their lifestyles and their thoughts and opinions, gently touching upon their performing arts involvement, a topic to be covered in more depth later. Beginning in a Central Javanese village with the oldest living generation, looking at a family offers a picture of what life is and was like for Javanese dhalang, musicians, singers and dancers, lives which are indelibly intertwined with performing arts.

The Grandparents' Generation

Relaxing on a bed in a corner of her house while watching soap operas on TV and simultaneously listening to a radio broadcast of a wayang performance is the elderly woman I know as Mbah Putri Manjungan. *Mbah putri* is the Javanese term for grandmother (*mbah kakung* being the equivalent for grandfather), where the title *mbah* refers to anyone of one's grandparents' generation or older. Manjungan is the village in Klaten District where Mbah Putri has lived for many years, since marrying the dhalang Tukas Gondo Sukasno. Although I know her as Mbah Putri, her real name is Subini, and she is currently around eighty-six years old.²⁶

²⁶ Subini passed away on 5th February 2015, after this chapter had been drafted. I have chosen to preserve my account of her life as it is.

Subini does not know her exact age because in traditional Javanese culture, annual birthdays are not remembered; they are not considered significant and it is the Javanese birthday that occurs every thirty-five days which is marked. This is called a *weton*, and Subini's *weton* is *Jemuah Legi*, where the day Friday (*Jemuah*) coincides with the Javanese day *Legi*, every thirty-five days.²⁷ Outside the family, Subini is usually known by her late husband's name, Gondo Tukas or Gondo Sukasno. Within the family, titles such as *mbah putri*, *mbah kakung*, *budhé* (aunt who is your parent's older sister), *bulik* (aunt, your parent's younger sister), *pakdhé* and *paklik* (equivalents for uncle), and so on are used far more than people's names. I knew which of my seven aunts-in-law were my *budhé* and which were *bulik* long before I had memorised all of their names.²⁸

²⁷ When identity cards were issued to people of Subini's generation, approximate dates of birth were created for the official record; hers is 31st December 1926. A quick online search shows that 31st December 1926 was *Jemuah Pahing*, not *Legi*, which tells us that either Subini's *weton* or her date of birth are incorrect. Since a person's *weton* is considered significant, something everyone knows about themselves, it is likely that the date is inaccurate. Names were also changed or added during the identity card registration process, with the result that Subini's registered name has been Subini, Subenu Gondo Sukasno, and on the most recent identity card, issued to the oldest generation and valid for life, Subini Sastro Suwarno. Meanwhile her late husband, Tukas Gondo Sukasno (1922?–2003), was variously registered as Gondo Sukasno, Gondo Sukarno Tukas and Tukas Sastro Suwarno. This illustrates that names can be changed easily, and that a single person can be known by different names to different people.

²⁸ Since family members are referred to differently depending on who is speaking, I shall use people's original names throughout this text. As I am writing in English, I shall omit titles such as *mbah*, *budhé*, and so on, for example, referring to Mbah Putri Manjungan by her actual name, Subini. Although Indonesian and Javanese languages use titles whether or not one is speaking to a family member, in Indonesian academic texts it is standard to omit them.



Figure 1.1 Subini (left) with her sister, Sumiyati, at a wayang performance in Manjungan, Klaten. (9 August 2013)

Subini was born in a Klaten village called Kujon, to performing artist parents, dhalang Cermo Harsono, also known as Cermo Punjul, and his *gendèr* player wife Sutiya. Subini was fourth of seven children. She grew up in a time when the Dutch were still active in Indonesia, and can vaguely remember having to evacuate temporarily to a different village as a child due to Dutch colonial activities in her area of Klaten. Girls were not sent to school back then, as it was considered pointless. However, Subini and all her brothers and sisters were expected to follow in their parents' footsteps and become performing artists. This was before the time of formal education in performing arts, but without having to attend school each day, there was plenty of time to join performances, and Subini learnt to play gamelan by listening to others, particularly her mother. She remembers playing *gendèr* for a wayang performance for the first time when she was around fifteen years old. The

dhalang was her father, Ceremo Harsono, who would then increasingly take her to play for him each time he performed, while her mother stayed at home. In a family where having enough food depended on wayang performances, it made sense to include family members in these performances, thereby acting as a single economic unit. Subini described how payment for a performance was not necessarily monetary but could take the form of rice or other food.

Subini married the young dhalang Tukas Gondo Sukasno and moved to the village of Manjungan, on the edge of Ngawen Subdistrict, Klaten. Tukas Gondo Sukasno was the son of dhalang Harjo Martono from Kuwiran village, Klaten, whose father Cokro Dimeja and grandfather Mlaya Kusuma were also dhalang. Mlaya Kusuma was a pioneer of Klaten-style masked dance (*topèng dhalang*), where dhalang would dance, play gamelan and act out a story.²⁹ Although no one knows his dates of birth and death, we do know that Mlaya Kusuma was an *abdi dalem*³⁰ at the Surakarta Kraton under Paku Buwana IX, who reigned from 1861 to 1893.³¹ The Klaten masked dance tradition was

²⁹ Stories were usually taken from the Javanese Panji stories which describe the adventures of Panji Asmara Bangun and are located after the Ramayana and Mahabharata in Javanese mythological history.

³⁰ An *abdi dalem* is a servant of the palace who devotes their life's work to the palace and is paid a small monthly sum.

³¹ Sometime in the 1990s, Tukas Gondo Sukasno kept having a dream where he was visited by an old man complaining that his house was broken. He believed it was Mlaya Kusuma, who he had heard stories about from his father and grandfather. He searched for the grave based on what he knew of the history of Mlaya Kusuma and came upon a pile of stones, an old and run-down grave, at the first graveyard in Klaten, not far from the grave of Kyai Mlati, who is credited as the founder of Klaten. Tukas Gondo Sukasno rebuilt the grave (Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, p.c., 23 February 2016). Carved in the typical Islamic shape used throughout Central Java, it has Javanese script etched into it on all four sides. When I visited in early 2014, a corrugated iron roof covering the gravestone was wobbling on flimsy wooden pillars and there was rubbish strewn around the grave from the nearby houses. As a result of

passed down through the generations from Mlaya Kusuma, the earliest ancestor traceable by my husband's family. My husband and his cousins are the fifth generation to perform it, having learnt the repertoire from their grandfather Tukas Gondo Sukasno and their uncle Joko Santosa.



Figure 1.2 The grave of Mlaya Kusuma immediately after its recent restoration with flower petals and incense burning. (8 June 2014)

As a young man, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, who would later marry Subini, had travelled from Kuwiran to Manjungan to apprentice with a dhalang there; he became the informally adopted child (*anak angkat*) of this

our visit, my husband was inspired to get the grave renovated, with the help of some family members, and in August 2014 a wayang performance was held to mark the completed renovation of Mlaya Kusuma's final resting place. The renovated grave has ceramic tiles around the base of the gravestone and the pillars have been strengthened to support the roof more adequately. The area around the grave has been cleared of rubbish and concreted so that visitors have somewhere to sit while praying. Another wayang performance was held there in February 2016.

dhalang who had no sons of his own. In this way, Tukas Gondo Sukasno inherited the Manjungan house, where Subini moved when she married him and where she still lives with several of her children and grandchildren to this day. This is the house where Subini relaxes on her bed in the corner, cooks on a fire and listens to the sounds of her sons making gamelan instruments outside on the veranda. Four of her eight surviving children still live in Manjungan.



**Figure 1.3 Subini playing *gendèr* to accompany her husband, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, in a masked dance performance at their home in Manjungan, Klaten. (17 August 2002)
(Photo credit: Biliyard Dwi Maryaningsih)**

The village has become more built up over the years as houses are constructed by the children who decide to stay. Life has become more modern as residents are online with their smartphones and some houses now even have

their own toilet. Transportation is an area that continues to change for a family who used to walk miles to get to their wayang performances. Motorcycles are now the normal mode of transport for anywhere too far to cycle and in the yard, side by side, are a dusty old horsedrawn carriage and a large blue car. During the unrest of the 1960s (which will be investigated further in Chapter Seven), Tukas Gondo Sukasno was one of a number of dhalang banned from performing wayang, suspected of being a communist sympathiser. Although he wasn't banned from all arts activities, Subini explains how her husband "didn't even want to listen to gamelan. He made a promise that if he couldn't resume performing, even if he took people to a performance, he would be better off going home than hearing gamelan" (Subini, interview, 20 January 2014).³² In the meantime, in order to make ends meet, he sold some gamelan instruments, bought a horse and carriage and worked as a kind of taxi service in the village. Years later, after the yellow *angkutan* minibuses arrived in the area and motorcycles became more popular, people no longer wanted to travel by horsedrawn carriage. The horse was sold and the carriage remains in a corner of the yard, a symbol of past hardships.

Subini's parents, Cermo Harsono and his wife Sutiya, are buried next to the house they lived in last, in Trucuk village, Klaten. Graves are considered sacred spaces by many Javanese, who visit them to pray with incense and flowers. Adherents to the traditional Javanese belief system known as *kejawèn* conduct rituals at the graves of their ancestors, a process

³² See Appendix II for a short biography of Subini, as well as biographies of all informants who were interviewed for this thesis.

they believe will bring benefits to their own lives (a topic which will be examined further in Chapter Four). Subini describes how, as a young child, she was often taken to sleep at the grave of Gondo Dikoro, a relative of Cermo Harsono, located beside the graves where Cermo Harsono and Sutiayah rest today:

I was only Nining's age (nine years old) when I was taken to sleep at the grave next to Suparno's house. My grandmother took me, my dad's mother, Guno. She was very fond of me, and it happened that I was up for going. She made me a mattress of coconut skin where I lay down and fell asleep. Around 9pm I felt around and realised that my grandmother wasn't there. It turned out that she'd left me there while she made a ritual perambulation of the village Jembul (Trucuk). She walked around the village three times until dawn came at the grave where I slept. I was angry. 'Gran, if this is how it is I don't want to come to the grave again. You left me alone. A snake passed above me, above where I slept, and in the morning I could see the marks it had left. It's lucky I wasn't bitten!' I said to her. She said, 'If the snake knows that you are conducting ascetic activities it won't bite, but if you tease it then it will become brave.' I replied, 'Okay, in that case, Gran, next time if you want to perambulate the village it would be better if I came with you, rather than be bitten'. I was always invited to join her after that, even though I was so young. (Subini, interview, 20 January 2014)

Such spiritual and mystical activities are an integral part of the lives of many traditional performing arts practitioners in Central Java. Subini's youngest brother, Suparno,³³ continues to live in the house in Trucuk next to the grave where Subini had her snake encounter. Often the case in Java, as the youngest child he has inherited the family home. After their father, Cermo Harsono, died when Suparno was still a child in class four of primary school, he dropped out of school. He explained that he had lost hope: "Imagine it, I was in class four, about to go up to class five, when my father died. Then I had nothing. I had no hope, no hope of going on to high school" (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014). At that time there was still a gamelan at his home, and he enjoyed messing around on the *kendhang*. If he was taken to a wayang performance he would make straight for the cardboard puppet sellers.³⁴ Back at home, Suparno and his friends would play dhalang and drummer. He remembers his friend Maryono drumming while Suparno played with the cardboard wayang puppets and their other friends watched.

Suparno remembers playing gamelan at a wayang performance for the first time in 1952 or 1953, when his father was still alive.

The first time I performed I played *kendhang* at the grave of Ronggo Warsito in Palar. It was the middle of the day. If my dad was

³³ Suparno goes by numerous names including his names as a child, Wanadi or Panadi then Suwarno, and his adult names, Suwarno Hadi Harsono and Suparno.

³⁴ These cheap imitation wayang puppets are sold as toys for children, and provide an easy route to becoming familiar with the characters before moving on to real leather puppets.

performing in the evening he would leave in the afternoon. I had left earlier and he came looking for me at the performance venue. He asked the people who were there.... 'Where's Warna (Suparno)?... Go find him.' I entered. I sat on my father's lap and was asked to drum *sampak*. [Through the night] until the morning it was like that, from the beginning. It was like my rehearsal was there. So I started to be able to play *kendhang* at the grave of Ronggo Warsito. (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014)

Having an initial performing experience that is spontaneous or unplanned is not unusual for Javanese traditional performing artists. Many artists describe having similar first performances, which form a critical part of a steep initial learning curve.

For a while Suparno had no real goals in life, but then one of his older brothers, Puspocarito, encouraged him to get into wayang and gamelan. This turned out to be the stimulus he needed and he credits Puspocarito as the most influential person in his family in terms of helping him to learn performing arts.

How about it, when my father passed away I was only just a teenager. Because of that I joined [my brother] Puspocarito. At that time wayang was performed day and night, that was the model then. So I was basically forced by Puspocarito because I had been heading down the wrong track.... I was going down the wrong track, I had dropped out of school and was learning motorcycle repair at Tomo Nusukan's place.

Because here (indicates his head) was a dead-end, my mind was a dead-end, until Puspocarito realised. Puspocarito thought, ‘Is this boy going in the wrong direction? Is he happy as a mechanic?’ I’m sure he thought that. So Puspocarito spoke to me directly, ‘Whether you like it or not you must get into wayang.’ That was Puspocarito, who was straight up with me. So it was Puspocarito who became my main teacher. (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014)

Although he does not own a gamelan, Suparno remains active in performing arts in Trucuk; he has taught numerous amateur groups over the years, and continues to teach a group of schoolteachers who come to play gamelan every Thursday morning at his nephew’s house across the road. When I joined several of his groups for rehearsals, wedding gigs and radio broadcasts back in 2008–2009 I found him a kind and welcoming leader and an able teacher. Having spent several years at primary school, he is literate (unlike his older sister Subini who cannot read or write) and regularly writes out gamelan notation for his students. Suparno is best at playing *kendhang*, and is valued by the extended family as a *kendhang* player for wayang. Apart from playing gamelan, he is considered a good dhalang in the old Klaten style, with particularly captivating puppet manipulation.



Figure 1.3 Suparno performing wayang in Manjungan, Klaten. (26 October 2010)

The sisters of Suparno and Subini are Sumini (1930s–2000), also called Jiwa after her husband, Prono (1930s–2012), nicknamed Sipon and also called Parto after her husband, and Sumiyati (1942–) shortened to Sum in the family, also known as Drigul after a quail because of her body shape when she was sick as a child, and Kris Sukardi or Pringgo, taking her husband’s names. All of these sisters became *gendèr* players, representing an old tradition of female *gendèr* players that is rapidly disappearing.

Sumiyati, born in 1942 (according to family recollections that she was born at the time of a fire caused by the Japanese at a wealthy home in Trucuk), is easily the most well-known female *gendèr* player in and around Solo these days. She described how she ended up playing *gendèr*: “My father’s ambition for his daughters was not school but that we become *gendèr* players. So, one Mini, two Bini, three, Sipon, four, me” (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014). Like many performing artists I spoke to, Sumiyati puts her destiny as a

musician down to the fact that she is from an artist family. When asked why she became a musician, she replied, “Well, I’m a descendant of dhalang” (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014). Subini, sixteen years her senior, had already married and moved to her husband’s home in Manjungan by the time Sumiyati began to play gamelan. When she was around eight to ten years old, Sumiyati remembers helping her father, Cermo Harsono, to prepare the puppets for his performances and after that she began to learn *gendèr*, mainly from her mother but also from her father. She found that if she heard some *gendèr*-playing, she could automatically play it, so she didn’t have to study hard, although she was taught a few pieces. She was gradually allowed to play *gendèr* at performances.

Playing gamelan, as far as I remember, came after helping my father, definitely over a long period I could play *gendèr*. I could play *gendèr* and so the dhalang’s assistant changed...then I played *gendèr*. For the daytime performances the *gendhing* (gamelan piece) wasn’t [Gendhing] *Krawitan*,³⁵ it was *Sri Katon*, so it was like the dhalang was leading the *gendèr*. So if I played *gendèr* for the daytime performance which didn’t use *Krawitan*, then later the second scene would have some kind of *ladrang*, and the *pathet sanga* scene would use *Bondhet*, or for the night performance, *Gambirsawit*. Basically, whatever I could do. As time went by I was asked to play *gendèr* for the nighttime performances by my father. Only in *Krawitan*, I was like,

³⁵ Names of gamelan pieces are referred to here.

‘After this, what comes next?’ I couldn’t remember. ‘What comes after the *kenong*?’ ‘Tut tut, you spend every day listening to it but still can’t play it.’ My sister was like that when she was teaching me, like that. ‘And then after this comes that...after this, this...later comes the *ladrang*.’ Oh yes. (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014)

Sumiyati’s older brother Gondo Tomo (1922/1925? –2004) was unsuccessful in encouraging her to learn *kendhang*: “[Gondo Tomo’s] ambition was that I should just play *kendhang*; he wanted to create a female *kendhang* player. He wanted to teach me. ‘I don’t want to, it will be too much for me. I can’t even play *gendèr* yet and it’s already giving me a headache,’ I said” (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014). Meanwhile, her father advised her to become a *pesindhèn*: “My father, Cermo, said this: ‘When you want to learn, don’t become a dhalang. Becoming a dhalang isn’t good and a dhalang must have responsibility for many people. Just become a *pesindhèn*. If you want to learn, you have a radio, so listen to the radio.’” (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014). And so Sumiyati began to learn to sing from the radio and also from her older brother Puspocarito. She was the first person in her neighbourhood to own a radio, but then had to sell it in order to buy food. As a *pesindhèn* Sumiyati was happy to sing at wayang performances without demanding a fixed price, something she puts down to her heritage as the child of a dhalang: “If I do it for fun, of course, because I am a dhalang’s child” (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014).

After being taken to become one of the Susuhunan³⁶ Paku Buwana XII's wives as a young woman, Sumiyati married Pringgo Hadi Wiyono (also known as Kris Sukardi), who is also her half first cousin once removed.³⁷ She went to live with him in Kandang Sapi, in the northern area of Solo city, exchanging village life in Klaten for city life, a change which would lead to her having a busy career as a *gendèr* player for many dhalang in comparison to her sister Subini's quieter lifestyle. She often returned to the village, however, to play *gendèr* for her brother-in-law Tukas Gondo Sukasno and other relatives, and to this day tends to prioritise performances where a family member is the dhalang over other commitments.



Figure 1.4 Pringgo Hadi Wiyono and Sumiyati (28 January 2014)

³⁶ The Susuhunan is the ruler of the Kraton, Surakarta's major palace.

³⁷ Sumiyati's grandfather, Guno, was older half-brother to Pringgo's mother; they shared a father but had different mothers. Pringgo Hadi Wiyono passed away on 7th April 2015 after this chapter had been drafted. I have chosen to retain the information based on his interview as it is.

At the age of ninety, Sumiyati's husband Pringgo Hadi Wiyono was one of my oldest informants. Growing up as the only child of a dhalang father, Gondo Wiyarjo, and *gendèr* player mother, Pringgo was encouraged not to follow in his father's footsteps and become a dhalang, although he was permitted to help his father to paint wayang puppets. He describes how, as a child, he was not allowed to watch his father's wayang performances because his parents, particularly his mother, wanted him to become a public sector employee. Having performing arts hobbies was acceptable, but in his parents' eyes, a public sector employee received a regular salary, whereas a dhalang's income was unpredictable. In the end he became a public sector employee who could also perform wayang, combining performances for overseas government-run arts missions with his day job. He is an educated and interesting man who speaks perfect Indonesian as well as Javanese, and has many stories about his trips around the world as part of government arts missions during the 1960s and 1970s.³⁸ While also working in the office of a sugar factory, he performed as a dhalang at the New York World's Fair in 1964, and travelled to Japan, Russia and Australia. A photograph shows Pringgo and his fellow performers alongside Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam.

³⁸ Just as the Dutch colonial government had advertised Indonesia at world fairs and exhibitions, the government of the recently independent Indonesia often sent groups of musicians, dancers and dhalang overseas on cultural missions to promote Indonesian culture through its performing arts. See Lindsay (2010) and Supanggah (2013).



**Figure 1.5 The Indonesia contingent of performers in Vietnam with Ho Chi Minh.
(Reproduced with permission of Pringgo Hadi Wiyono.)**

As well as joining overseas missions, Pringgo was active in the local performing arts scene. He was one of the first students at the newly established performing arts institutes in the 1950s and 1960s. Unlike his wife, Sumiyati, whose family expected her to play gamelan as an alternative to going to school, Pringgo learnt gamelan at a school, having already begun his career in another field.

Pringgo and Sumiyati had seven children (in addition to Pringgo's four children by his first wife), and at the time of writing have seventeen grandchildren and four great-grandchildren. Pringgo does not share his parents' desire for their children to avoid performing arts careers. When asked what career he would ideally like for his children, he said: "Yes of course, in arts. In order that arts development does not die. So that arts continue to live forever" (Pringgo, interview, 28 January 2014). This is despite the fact that there are no performing arts activities at their home, where two of their

children still live with their own families. Sumiyati explained that she only occasionally taught her children to play gamelan, but that they learnt in school.

The three surviving siblings of the oldest living generation of my husband's family, Subini, Sumiyati and Suparno, represent one of the most highly respected families in traditional Javanese performing arts. Along with their late brothers and sisters, they have spawned generations of children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, the vast majority of whom are able gamelan musicians, singers, dancers or dhalang, with a fair number who have chosen performing arts as a career. As a family they have seen many changes, from Indonesia gaining independence from the Dutch after the Japanese occupation, to the anti-communist uprisings of the 1960s, to today's world of internet and smartphones, alongside everyday transformations in lifestyle, education, transportation and even diet. All the while, they have continued to do performing arts, the primary symbol of the family for centuries.

The Parents' Generation

My parents-in-law and their brothers and sisters are the last generation not to go through formal education to secondary school level. As children they remember walking for miles to join wayang performances before motorised transport was common, being paid in kind rather than in cash, and not always having enough to eat. They are also the first generation to put their own children through university, seeing formal education as the best route to a

good career.

My mother-in-law Sutarmi was born on 20th January 1962 in Manjungan, at the home of her parents, Subini and Tukas Gondo Sukasno, the sixth out of nine children. Even in her early childhood, Sutarmi would join her father's wayang shows as a *pesindhèn* and she describes how she learnt to sing from this direct experience:

I joined in with singing when I was little, before I was ten years old I was already joining in. We walked everywhere, and just learnt there while joining in with singing. If my father performed wayang I just joined in with *lasem*³⁹ the whole time and then *lasem* battle scenes. If there was a *gendhing* I listened to it, just listened and I could sing it straight away. *Gendhing Gambirsawit, Sri Widodo* or whatever, just by listening I could do it straight away. (Sutarmi, interview, 23 February 2014)

She remembers the first time she sang at a wayang performance, when her father was the dhalang at a wedding reception in Karang Salam village, Karangnongko, Klaten, and she sang *srepeg lasem*, supported by her older sister Sukaeni and her aunt, Sumiyati, while her uncle played *kendhang*. Throughout her early performing years, Sutarmi's aunt, Sumiyati, described in the previous section, was instrumental in encouraging her to learn more

³⁹ The repetitive *srepeg lasem* melody is played for large amounts of time during the first and longest section of a wayang performance.

difficult repertoire, by whispering in her ear to guide her as she tried it out during performances. Nearly all the gamelan musicians were family members, and Sutarmi remembers feeling happy and therefore not tired despite the exhausting nature of performing as many as fifteen times a month, all day and all night, with a trek to each venue.



Figure 1.6 Sutarmi singing at a fairly casual wayang performance at PDMN. Her nephew, Warih, is playing *kendhang*. (24 June 2014)

Like many of her generation, Sutarmi left school early, after class five of primary school. She explains her father's attitude towards school: "There's no point in girls going to school. Boys should go to school; girls are only going to be in the kitchen when they're older.' My dad spoke like that, and so I only washed, cooked and sorted out all my brothers and sisters" (Sutarmi, interview, 23 February 2014). However, only one of her brothers, Joko Purnomo, completed secondary school, at a Vocational School of Mechanics (*Sekolah Teknik Mesin*). Beja, her youngest brother, finished lower secondary

school but did not move on to upper secondary school, and all of Sutarmi's other siblings only got as far as primary school.

After leaving school, as well as performing, Sutarmi would work in the fields harvesting rice or planting tobacco. As a performing artist family, they did not own agricultural land, but worked on other people's land in the hopes of getting some leftover produce. With nine children to feed, everyone had to chip in, and after her older sisters had left home to live with their husbands, Sutarmi was the oldest daughter at home, with a responsibility to help with cooking for everyone else.

After Sutarmi's older sister Sukaeni had married and begun having children, a teenage Sutarmi moved to Solo to help look after her nieces and nephews. She continued to sing for wayang performances, alongside Sukaeni, who acted like a mother figure for Sutarmi during this period. Sukaeni, around ten years older than Sutarmi, was born on 5th August in 1952 or 1953⁴⁰ in Manjungan. She left school before completing primary school and her next brush with structured education was at RSPD Klaten (*Radio Siaran Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Klaten*, Klaten District Regional Government Radio Broadcasting) where she studied *sindhènan* for three months. The teaching was notation-based and students were expected to write *sindhènan* notation as well as read it. She describes the experience: "There was so much [notation]. Just writing *Wilujeng* gave me a headache. So I said to the teacher,

⁴⁰ Her father noted 1953 but their neighbour said it was 1952, yet neither of these dates match her stated *weton* of Sunday (*Minggu Kliwon*).

‘Sir, for [whichever piece], I won’t use notation,’ and he was angry with me” (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014).

Sukaeni’s father Tukas Gondo Sukasno didn’t want her to become a *pesindhèn* because he felt that there were already many *pesindhèn*, and it would be better for Sukaeni to work hard, and so she did at first, harvesting rice with her older sister Sarju Sri Prihatin: “And then [my aunt] Sumiyati came to our father’s house, came home. She found out that I was harvesting paddy and took me to Solo, took me singing” (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014). So, despite protests from her father, in 1969 or 1970 Sukaeni moved to Solo where she helped look after Sumiyati’s children and was encouraged to join Sumiyati as a *pesindhèn* at performances, although Sukaeni says at that time she couldn’t sing yet or even play gamelan. She describes her early experiences: “So I had come home from the fields and was taken out to sing! Could I actually sing *sindhènan*? No! And the audience said, ‘That *pesindhèn* should leave, go to the fields and collect cassava!’ I just kept quiet” (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014). Slowly but surely, Sukaeni did learn to sing, but she says that to this day she cannot read notation and rarely knows the name of the piece she is singing. She can only play the simpler gamelan instruments, though she is a strong *saron wayangan* player and often takes the opportunity to exercise her skill at family events. Sukaeni has sung for many dhalang in and around Solo and also joined the Sriwedari *wayang orang* troupe over a number of years.

Through her involvement in the Solo performing arts community, Sukaeni met Sukarman, a gamelan musician and dhalang’s son, who she married in 1971. Sukaeni went on to have eight pregnancies in ten years from

1972 to 1982, one of which was a miscarriage and one who died as a baby. Her son, Sugeng Nugroho, passed away in 2004, leaving five surviving children. She says that all of her children can play gamelan but only one, Wawan, has entered a career in traditional performing arts, working at SMKN 8. Sukaeni did not want to push her children towards arts as a career, preferring instead to let them make up their own minds about their work.

Previously they had an iron gamelan at home, where some of her grandchildren learnt to play, but when Sukaeni and her son were both unwell at the same time that her daughter was giving birth, they sold the gamelan to pay hospital fees. Assets such as gamelan instruments and wayang puppets are often seen as a family's savings and are sold when money is needed. Perhaps this is because such items have kept their value when Indonesia's currency has not, making them a safer bet than a bank account. It also shows that having a gamelan or wayang puppets is not seen as essential for a performing artist family, and that they can be sold without issues of sentimentality or emotional attachment.

With so many young children at home, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Sukaeni's younger sister Sutarmi stayed with her in Solo and helped out around the house, in a tradition that Sukaeni herself had followed by looking after her aunt Sumiyati's children. While she was in Solo, Sutarmi learnt to dance at the Indonesian Arts Organisation (*Yayasan Kesenian Indonesia*), where she took a three-month course attending classes three times a week.

Sutarmi describes how at the age of seventeen she met a man she liked,

and who liked her back, but Sukaeni would not let her marry him. This could have been because of her fear of losing a useful helper around the house, but clearly Sukaeni may equally have been trying to protect her younger sister who had recently moved from the village to the city. Not long after that, Sutarmi grew close to Hali Jarwo Sularso, who she knew from wayang performances; at that time he was a well-known dhalang who performed frequently and Sutarmi often sang for him. Hali also liked Sutarmi, but was already married. In Java it is acceptable for a man to take more than one wife, and Sutarmi could therefore have become Hali's second wife. But Sutarmi's father Tukas Gondo Sukasno would not let his daughter marry Hali. By this time, at age twenty, Sutarmi was two months pregnant with Hali's child.

Most Javanese parents, on hearing their daughter is pregnant, would quickly arrange for her to marry the baby's father. Many marriages occur to this day because of an unplanned pregnancy. Sutarmi was, however, forbidden to marry Hali; she feels that her father blamed her for having a relationship with a married man and was concerned about how Hali's first wife would react if he married Sutarmi as well. On 16th June 1983 she gave birth to a boy at her parents' home in Manjungan; he was given the name Sujarwo Joko Prehatin.

In Java, bearing a child outside wedlock can be highly stigmatising, and in a small village where everyone knows each other's business, Sutarmi has had a massive burden to bear. Despite this, she was determined for her son to be successful, eventually putting him through school and university, avenues that were simply not open to her. As her baby son grew into a toddler, Sugiyono came into Sutarmi's life. He is from a neighbouring family in

Manjungan, a farming family only about fifty metres from Sutarmi's parents' home. Although they had grown up in the same village and already knew each other, their lives had until this point led them in different directions, with Sugiyono working as a driver travelling across Indonesia, while Sutarmi was in Solo at Sukaeni's house. When her son was three years old, Sugiyono proposed to Sutarmi and she accepted. They had a small marriage ceremony and she moved up the road:

I moved into my in-laws' home for eight months. They had lots of children, all boys, and so I did the washing and cooking. Then, during Ramadan, I felt too weak to sort out all their children and everything. I wasn't strong enough. I said, 'How about that neighbouring house is cleaned up for us to sleep there?' It used to be a chicken shed. Then we got lucky. My husband worked and was given some cement, and it was all cleaned up, the old chicken shed. (Sutarmi, interview, 23 February 2014)

Sutarmi and her husband Sugiyono still live in that little house where Sujarwo grew up, a wing on the house of Sutarmi's mother-in-law. Sugiyono, who never had children of his own, became a responsible stepfather to Sujarwo, treating him as a son and creating a stable relationship that continues to this day. Sutarmi rarely sings nowadays except when a family member is the dhalang, but her knowledge of the repertoire would easily win against many young *pesindhèn*. As well as singing, Sutarmi can play gamelan, although her ability on more complex instruments is limited.



Figure 1.7 Inside Sutarmi's house in Manjungan, Klaten, where food is being prepared for an event in the village. (22 August 2014)

Sujarwo's birth-father, Hali Jarwo Sularso, himself the son of dhalang Jarwo Yoso, continues to work as a dhalang, though performing less often nowadays. He works at the Mangkunegaran Palace, where he plays gamelan and teaches *pedhalangan* at the palace school.⁴¹ Born in Praon, Nusukan, an area in the northwest of Surakarta, in 1951, Hali's original name was Absahli, though he later became well-known as Hali Jarwo Sularso, having been passed

⁴¹ This school, *Pasinaon Dhalang ing Mangkunagaran* (Mangkunegaran Dhalang Course, PDMN) will be examined in detail in Chapter Two.

on the name Jarwo from his father after he married. His father, Jarwo Yoso, was primarily responsible for teaching Hali to play gamelan from a young age; they were fortunate to have a *sléndro* gamelan and set of wayang puppets at home. Hali explains that it was considered important for a dhalang to teach his children to play gamelan, “because in the past finding musicians was very difficult. So every child of a dhalang was taught how to play gamelan” (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014). He left school after completing primary school and joined his father for performances.

Hali performed wayang for the first time when he was fourteen years old, giving the whole daytime performance which was followed by his father doing the night performance for a wedding in Praon. He went on to become a highly respected dhalang, performing up to twenty times a month, a career he believed was the best: “I had the idea that there was no job or salary that was better than being a dhalang. Right? So I became a dhalang. A good dhalang really has a name for himself, doesn’t he?” (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014).



Figure 1.8 Hali Jarwo Sularso (left) with his older brother, Bagong, burning incense at their parents’ grave. (1 July 2013)

Hali did not continue the tradition and teach his children to play gamelan, preferring instead that they learn at school because he says: “In school the time is fixed, of course, right? There’s homework. If it was me [teaching them], I’d just teach when I was free and not when I wasn’t. It wouldn’t be good” (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014). It is interesting that Hali appears to prefer the structured nature of school-based learning to the way he learnt outside school. He still believes that becoming a dhalang is a good career choice, but for somewhat different reasons than he gave above: “If a dhalang doesn’t perform for a long time, he still wants to. He misses it.... For fun. Like a hobby. A hobby doesn’t have to involve money. I perform and never get paid, because it’s my hobby, for fun” (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014).

Hali has lived in the same house in Praon all his life, splitting it into two to share with his older brother Bagong and his family.⁴² In 2013 he split his half of the house into two again, and gave half each to two of his children, Wawan (Ratno Setyawan) and Menik (Harni Setyawati), from his second marriage to Sudyarsi which ended when she died in 1995. The house has become cut into long, thinner strips each time it has been divided.

Hali’s marriage to Sudyarsi, a member of the Mangkunegaran Palace royal family, was his longest; he married her in 1977. She was his wife when Sutarmi became pregnant and was forbidden to become his second wife. Now Hali shares Wawan’s half of the house because he only has two children,

⁴² Bagong, also known as Absah, passed away on 25th October 2014. His wife continues to live in the Praon house.

compared to Menik's four. Hali also has a son, Gunadi, from his first marriage to a woman called Sugiyem from Sragen which ended in divorce, and his youngest child is Sujarwo, Sutarmi's son. Hali expressed regret that none of his children had chosen *pedhalangan* as their field of study in school: "Yes I was disappointed. Even [Sujarwo] studied in the *karawitan* department at SMKN 8. I told all my children to become dhalang but they didn't want to. Wawan didn't want to, [Sujarwo] didn't want to either, yes I was disappointed" (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014). But he was very happy the first time he saw Sujarwo perform wayang in Jurug, Solo, as part of the celebration of the end of Ramadan in 2007. Since Sujarwo was brought up by his mother and stepfather, Hali was unaware that his youngest son was able to perform wayang, a skill that has strengthened their father-son relationship. He hopes that one or more of his grandchildren will want to learn performing arts: "I have the idea that in future when they are bigger I will tell them to learn to play gamelan. Even if it's not to get money but for their artistic spirit, I will be happy" (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014).



Figure 1.10 Sujarwo performing wayang. (27 July 2011)

Back in Manjungan, several of Sutarmi's brothers continue to live on their father's land. Joko Sabeyan and Joko Purnomo have both built houses on the land, where they live with their own families, while Beja Nugraha lives in the same house where he was born and has lived all his life, now joined by his wife and son. Ratini, the youngest sibling, lives in a rented house about ten kilometres from Manjungan.

Joko Sabeyan, Joko Purnomo and Beja work together; they buy up old gamelan sets and renovate them completely, carving and painting new wooden frames, and retuning the old metal keys and gongs before selling them on. Beja also works as a wayang repairer and painter. Joko Sabeyan leads the business, negotiating to buy and sell the gamelan instruments, but he can also play gamelan and perform wayang and masked dance. Born on or around 1st January 1957, he describes growing up being taught to play gamelan and wayang by his father, while his mother taught him to play *gendèr*. "I learnt

during Father's wayang performances. I joined in, tried out playing, like that, starting with *sampak*, easy pieces. After that my playing developed bit by bit" (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014). He remembers joining performances when he was as young as class four of primary school.

After Joko Sabeyan could play gamelan a bit, he was asked to teach in a nearby village. The people there assumed that a dhalang's son would be able to teach gamelan, and so he had to learn in order to teach.

Actually I couldn't really play, but I was forced. I was ready for it and so my courage for learning grew, learning different instruments, such as *gendèr*. My mother taught me, little by little.... My mother was an autodidact and so her teaching style was just to show me, 'Like this, like this'. She didn't use any formulae like in school. When she was teaching she would remember things, but if later she couldn't remember, that was it, I would have to wait until she remembered again. (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014)

Although he rarely teaches now, Joko Sabeyan enjoys teaching and says he never expects to be paid for it. He sees it as a way to pass on his heritage, since both his parents and his ancestors were performing artists.



Figure 1.11 Joko Sabeyan playing gamelan with his youngest daughter, Nining, surrounded by gamelan instruments he will later sell. (8 March 2014)

As well as playing gamelan, Joko Sabeyan learnt to dance, first for *wayang orang*, with a teacher from a nearby village who came and taught him and his brother Joko Santosa with some other family members. Then, later, his father Tukas Gondo Sukasno taught him masked dance. As a young adult he tried performing *wayang kulit* for the daytime section of a day-and-night performance, but was never good enough to perform for a whole night. His gamelan experience was not limited to Klaten, however, as he often travelled to Solo to join *klenengan* performances as a young man. The contacts he made there have been useful for his gamelan-making business.

Joko Sabeyan's first marriage, to a woman from Salatiga when he was twenty-three years old, ended in divorce after they had one child. He was then single for twelve years before marrying his current wife, Sunarmi, in 1993. Every year in the Javanese month of Sura his father Tukas Gondo Sukasno

performed a wayang in a nearby village called Sagi. Joko Sabeyan met Sunarmi there, and she moved to Manjungan when they got married. They have three daughters, Ninuk Subandiyah, Nimas Bondan Kinanthi and Nining Dewi Larasati. Joko Sabeyan doesn't want to force his daughters to follow performing arts careers, but he expects them to be able to play gamelan:

About my children, I leave it to them to decide. Because in the past I did try to force my children to learn traditional Javanese arts, especially gamelan, it's true. Back then they weren't interested, so I left it. But I still want them to learn, even if they don't want to, they should be able to [play gamelan]. And they can. Ninuk and Nimas can [do performing arts] a little. The important thing is that they can. For making a living from that, who knows. (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014)

He believes that if his children can play gamelan it will help to ease family relations with their cousins, who can also play. However, he does not want any of them to follow in his footsteps and become a gamelan maker or tuner: "Oh, don't do that! Don't do that! Only I should work in that field. I already said to my children that if there is a better opportunity, they should take it. My work is just for me" (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014).

Joko Sabeyan learnt to tune gamelan instruments from his brother-in-law, Gondo Warsito, the husband of his older sister Sarju Sri Prihatin. Gondo Warsito, who passed away in 1987, was multi-skilled in performing arts, performing wayang as well as making puppets and tuning gamelan

instruments.⁴³ Joko Sabeyan helped Gondo Warsito, who was living in Manjungan at the time, to tune instruments and gradually learnt how to do it himself. For five years he worked for a gamelan seller in a different part of Klaten, getting paid a meagre wage, before starting his own business. He describes how he built a name for himself:

I made an iron *gendèr*... I made it myself. I tuned it, I took it around the neighbourhoods that had *karawitan* clubs, and I offered it to them. 'Oh there's already one, there's already one here.' Yes, I went around other places, it was like that... Finally I became known, known [here], known [there], 'Oh, if you want to buy a *gendèr*, for example, go to Sabeyan's place,' like that. (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014)

Joko Sabeyan chose to work making and tuning gamelan instruments for sale, rather than performing, because he makes more money. He is very conscious of the difficulties of making a living from performing alone and his business has been generally successful. He was able to build a two-storey house in a corner of his parents' land in Manjungan, right in front of the house where his mother, Subini, still lives. He is putting his daughters through education to degree level, and in recent years he invested in a car to move

⁴³ Gondo Warsito was from a famous lineage of dhalang called Panjang Mas, which includes many well-known performing artists. He and Sarju Sri Prihatin had two children, Sumini Raharjo and Suroño. Sarju Sri Prihatin passed away in 2005.

gamelan instruments, but also for his family to enjoy day trips together.

The youngest son of Tukas Gondo Sukasno and Subini, Beja Nugraha, was born on 4th December 1965, and has lived in his parents' house all his life, now with his wife, Warsini and their son, Ayom Tyas Sasongko. Beja is known as a dhalang and as a painter and repairer of wayang puppets. He learnt to perform wayang from his father and from his older brother Joko Langgeng. He describes his father as a strict teacher, who expected him to watch performances closely and not get distracted by playing gamelan at the same time. But apart from being given guidance learning *lakon* (wayang plays), the rest was left up to Beja. His father believed that a dhalang's son would be able to manipulate puppets without requiring any tuition.

Upon leaving school after lower secondary level, Beja went to stay with his brother, Joko Langgeng, in Salatiga. This was at a time when Joko Langgeng was in the midst of a successful career as a dhalang, while their father, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, was rarely performing. As with many other dhalang pairs, Beja would perform the daytime show leading up to Joko Langgeng's evening performance. He also learnt about painting and repairing wayang puppets from his brother, a respected puppet maker.

Beja describes his learning process as an obsession with wayang and traditional performing arts from a young age, explaining that he never enjoyed listening to popular music, and preferred wayang puppets to other toys as a child. He didn't take to learning gamelan with the same amount of enthusiasm, however, and he was able to perform wayang before he could play any gamelan at all. Now he can play some instruments and he is one of many

family members who credited his aunt Sumiyati with encouraging him to play gamelan. He can also do masked dance, which again he learnt from watching and performing rather than being taught.

Beja performed wayang for the first time at the wedding of his older brother, Joko Santosa in 1983. Echoing Hali's opinion, Beja says that he chose to become a dhalang because of the status:

What is clear is that being a dhalang is not just a profession. Even if one is good at playing gamelan, excellent at playing gamelan, when compared with a dhalang, the dhalang wins. Even if the dhalang has nothing, [even if he] cannot play gamelan, he will be valued. Perhaps you play gamelan well, but if you cannot perform wayang, you will lose [compared to a dhalang]. (Beja Nugraha, interview, 23 February 2014)

Two of Beja and Sutarmi's older brothers did move away from Manjungan. Joko Langgeng (also known as Joko Hadi Carito), settled in Kediri, East Java, after initially moving to Salatiga in Semarang district. He married Endang Sutarmi, a *pesindhèn* who is also his first cousin, and they had five children, all of whom now have families of their own. Joko Langgeng is highly respected as a wayang puppet maker, the only one in the family at this time, though in his old age he has stopped making puppets himself as his sight is no longer sharp enough. He is also considered a talented dhalang, one of the better dhalang in the family, though he rarely performs nowadays.

Joko Santosa, another of the siblings, moved to Solo, where he married

a *kroncong* singer, Suwarsi, and has two sons and one grandchild. He works at ISI Surakarta as an accompanist in the *pedhalangan* department, where he plays gamelan music to accompany the students as they practise wayang. His brother Joko Purnomo, describes how, as a young man, Joko Santosa was invited to work at ISI, despite only attending primary school:

He got into ISI because the director or whoever of ISI saw his father doing masked dance, dancing the Klana character [and said], ‘There’s a young child who can play *kendhang*’. Then [he asked], ‘Who is that playing *kendhang*? He is still young but he can already play *kendhang* for the Klana masked dance.’ ‘That’s Gondo’s son.’ ‘Right, call him over, tell him to apply to ISI.’ It was like that. (Joko Purnomo, interview, 8 March 2014)

Throughout my interviews with family members, Joko Santosa was frequently cited as one of the best living performing artists in the family; as well as being able to dance and drum for Klaten-style masked dance, he is a respected dhalang and an able gamelan player. Being a talented all-rounder was considered of higher value by my informants than being an expert specialist in one art form or one instrument. Their father, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, was similarly considered one of the best due to his all-round abilities in wayang, dance and gamelan.



Figure 1.12 A family masked dance (*topèng dhalang*) performance at Banjarsari Monument, Solo. (17 June 2011)

This generation, that of my husband's parents, Sutarmi and Hali Jarwo Sularso, and Sutarmi's siblings, Sarju Sri Prihatin, Sukaeni, Joko Langgeng, Joko Sabeyan, Joko Santosa, Joko Purnomo, Beja Nugraha and Ratini, can be seen as a transformational generation in terms of the family unit and education. Prior to this generation, it was normal for parents to have many children, creating the large families of the grandparents' generation who worked together to provide for themselves. The parents' generation were the first to have smaller families, of one to six children in the case of the people described above. This has various reasons including access to birth control and government campaigns promoting two-child families. The parents' generation were not highly educated, with very few going beyond primary school. All of them, however, believe that education is important for their children and, as we shall see in the following section, their encouragement and support has led to their children being the first generation to complete school and university.

My Husband's Generation

In the Manjungan family, my husband's generation is the first to have gone through the education system up to degree level. Many of my husband's cousins have achieved Bachelor's degrees, and have chosen to follow a specific path of formal education in performing arts, studying at SMKN 8 and then ISI Surakarta. Others have married or begun working upon finishing secondary school, and a few dropped out of school before completing their secondary education.

My husband, Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, studied at SMKN 8 and then graduated from ISI Surakarta with a Bachelor's degree in *karawitan* in 2007. He was, however, already able to play some gamelan even before he started primary school. He often rehearsed with a women's gamelan group that met at his grandfather Tukas Gondo Sukasno's house. When they had a gig for a neighbour's event, he played with them for his first performance.

That time I only played once. I played *kendhang* for a song called *Kopisusu*, in *lancaran* or *dangdut* form.⁴⁴ Because I was only three and a half years old, my arms weren't long enough to [reach both heads of the double-headed] *ciblon* drum, so on the left I used a *ketipung* drum instead. (Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, interview, 31 January 2014)

His uncle Joko Sabeyan, who ran the gamelan-making business was

⁴⁴ *Dangdut* is a style of Indonesian popular music, songs and elements of which are sometimes used in gamelan music.

instrumental in teaching Sujarwo to play instruments such as *saron*, and would show him how to play basic tunes.



Figure 1.13 Sujarwo Joko Prehatin playing *kendhang* for a family masked dance performance at Pasar Triwindu, Solo. (10 October 2009)

School was prioritised by Sujarwo's mother, Sutarmi, who would only let him go to wayang performances on a Saturday night. However, Sujarwo, who has loved Javanese performing arts for as long as he can remember, attended evening gamelan rehearsals at his grandfather's house.

When I was in primary school, my teacher, Mr Ngadiman, was known as the strictest, most disciplined teacher, but he also played *karawitan*, so in the end he said to me, 'You don't need to join the gamelan rehearsals, you should focus on school because the rehearsal won't finish until 11pm, sometimes midnight.' I still had to go to school. I was often unfocused, until finally my teacher told my mum and dad that my grades had dropped and that I never focused in class. In the end I had to stop going to the gamelan rehearsal. But even though I no

longer played, I still enjoyed listening to it. (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, interview, 31 January 2014)

Although Tukas Gondo Sukasno did not arrange a routine rehearsal with the explicit aim of teaching his grandchildren, spontaneous rehearsals would sometimes occur.

Sometimes my grandfather would just play [the gamelan] as usual, and then his children and grandchildren would gather. It was Saturday night so everyone was free. We played normal gamelan pieces like *Srepeg* or *Jangkrik Genggong*. My grandfather would put on a sash (*sampur*) and would dance, teaching his grandchildren who were there. (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, interview, 31 January 2014)

These kinds of rehearsals can only take place in a situation where there are enough people present to play gamelan together, and gamelan instruments available. Extended families like this, where many relatives still live together or very nearby are ideal for such spontaneous music-making, which, with older generations playing together with the youngest, is obviously an excellent forum for learning to take place.



Figure 1.14 Tukas Gondo Sukasno teaching his grandchildren (L-R Ninuk, Nimas, Niken) to dance in around 2002. (Photo credit: Biliyard Dwi Maryaningsih)

Being an artist family meant that they also had easy access to teachers from outside the family. When his grandfather was too old to actively teach, they hired a teacher from outside the family, Pujo Ndiman, who came and taught the then teenage Sujarwo and his cousins every Sunday. He was an important figure in Klaten-style masked dance, who had performed with Tukas Gondo Sukasno as part of his troupe and was a specialist in refined dances. Tukas Gondo Sukasno believed that learning this refined style would enable his grandchildren to perform a wide range of characters in performances. Again, this system of learning relies on having enough people, in this case of the same generation, to learn together.

As a child Sujarwo played with wayang puppets, but as he got older, he grew shy of being watched, especially by his grandfather. However, he did want to learn and looked to his uncle Beja to offer guidance. Beja, having been coached by his strict father, was also strict with Sujarwo:

For example, I once asked Beja to teach me Gathutkaca's flying battle (*samberan*), his battle with the ogres. I asked him, 'Uncle, please teach me Gathutkaca's flying battle.' One sentence, a single word, that I didn't like was when Beja answered, 'Where are your eyes?'⁴⁵ That was also how my grandfather had spoken to Beja before. (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, interview, 31 January 2014)

In this case, knowledge was not to be passed on so easily, and Sujarwo was expected to learn from watching and from experience. Beja considered his father's method as effective though strict, and took it as an example of how to deal with requests for guidance. Sujarwo did not become a child dhalang; the first time he performed wayang at an actual event was much later, in 2006.

It was at Kali Jambe village near Sangiran. It was a daytime wayang performance for a wedding. The dhalang was actually supposed to be [my friend] Sarmadi. I was playing *gendèr*. But Sarmadi had just come from a performance in Trenggalek the night before, and he had come

⁴⁵ Referring to a person's eyes like this is considered very impolite in Javanese culture.

by motorbike to Kali Jambe. During the second section of the performance his physical condition weakened, he almost passed out, and when it was time for a sung poem (*suluk*) he asked the person sitting behind him if he could swap with someone. He finished his poem and began the song *Witing Klapa*, and afterwards I came forward. Well, that time Sarmadi was performing the *lakon Parta Krama*. Coincidentally I had memorised that *lakon* but in a different style. I knew the Klaten style, but Sarmadi had been using Gondo Darman's style. I didn't know it. Because of my confusion I went to the comedy scene (*gara-gara*) and then the battle. Afterwards, Sarmadi's condition was improving and...when I performed the battle he played *bonang*. Then I took off the microphone and gave it to him and he performed again. That was my first time performing, it wasn't planned. (Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, interview, 31 January 2014)

This kind of spontaneous performing is an interesting way in which Javanese artists learn how to perform. Many artists told me about being put in a situation where they felt they had to perform at very short notice, often because someone else was unable to. It is possible that this kind of pressure and immediacy means they just have to go for it, and cannot over-think their performing or become nervous about it. Having to suddenly draw upon a stock of knowledge without any opportunity for preparation may also strengthen that knowledge or the young *dhalang*'s ability to make use of it. In contrast, a *dhalang* booked for a gig is likely to do a fair amount of preparation work beforehand, planning the *lakon* and which texts and musical accompaniment

to use. Older dhalang described how, in the past, a dhalang would often only be told the *lakon* requested by the host when he arrived for a gig or immediately before he went on stage, and would therefore be expected to have a suitably large vocabulary of *lakon* to be able to perform without preparation. This is rarely the case nowadays.

Upon completing SMP, Sujarwo wanted to go to SMKN 8. Initially he thought of applying to the *pedhalangan* department, but his grandfather encouraged him to enter the *karawitan* department. He believed that Sujarwo would be able to perform wayang anyway, due to his family background, and that it was important for a dhalang to be able to play gamelan and fully understand the gamelan music accompaniment that is an important element of every wayang performance. Sujarwo's grandmother, Subini, taught him how to play *gendèr* as preparation for his enrolment at SMKN 8. But she only taught him one *céngkok* (melodic pattern), called *puthut gelut*, which she considered would be a good start. He went on to learn much more *gendèr* at school and from other family members, in particular his older cousins Adiyanto and Suroño, who both studied *karawitan* as part of their formal education as well.

In order to study at SMKN 8 Sujarwo moved from Manjungan to Solo and initially stayed at his uncle Joko Santosa's house. As well as sleeping there, Sujarwo was involved in various performing arts activities with his uncle and learnt some masked dance from him. Upon graduating from SMKN 8, Sujarwo entered the *karawitan* department of ISI and moved into a tiny rented room a few minutes walk from ISI campus in Kentingan. He became part of a community of young performers, often being booked for gigs with his

friends. Later he was one of the founders of AMARTA (*Angudi Mardawaning Carita*, Learning has a Long Story), a group of young dhalang, and was integral in organising wayang performances.

Since he was young, Sujarwo had wanted to become a teacher, and after attaining his Bachelor's degree in *karawitan* in 2007, he began working as a teacher of arts and culture at a school in Solo. He has held arts teaching jobs at various schools, including mainstream schools where performing arts is just one subject or sometimes an extra-curricular activity. In 2014 he began teaching *karawitan* at ASGA (Mangkunegaran Arts Academy, *Akademi Seni Mangkunagaran*) which specialises in Mangkunegaran-style repertoire, and in 2015 he began working at PDMN (*Pasinaon Dhalang ing Mangkunagaran*), the *pedhalangan* school of the Mangkunegaran Palace. Sujarwo never moved back to Manjungan village after moving to Solo for SMKN 8 and doesn't aspire to live there again in the future, though he makes regular visits to see his remaining family there.

Many of Sujarwo's cousins grew up in Manjungan, including his oldest cousins, Sumini Raharjo and Surono, who moved to the village with their mother, Sarju Sri Prihatin, after their father had died. Sumini and Surono were the first people in the Manjungan family to attend formal arts educational institutions and, born in 1972 and 1974 respectively, they are the oldest of Subini's grandchildren. I interviewed Surono and his wife, Biliyard Dwi Maryaningsih, at their home in Karanganyar, where they and their two children live with Biliyard's parents. As a young child growing up with a dhalang father and a *gendèr*-player mother, Surono could have had plenty of

opportunities to learn performing arts. However, speaking of his father, Gondo Warsito, Suroño explains:

He could perform wayang, make wayang puppets, and was good at all skills related to traditional arts. But he was a failed artist, I mean that he couldn't depend on arts for his life, so much so that he became a poor artist. And so he planted that in his children, that they shouldn't become artists. So when I lived with my father, in practice I was never involved in my father's arts activities, as he forbade it. 'You're not allowed, you should just study. Don't become an artist, become something else.' So when my father performed, I never went with him. (Suroño, interview, 2 March 2014)

Because of this strong influence, Suroño did not get much exposure to performing arts at home. He would instead go to Manjungan on days off and play gamelan there. He described how the gamelan was always arranged neatly and he could play it at any time. After he moved to Manjungan, his interest really took off. Suroño's sister Sumini also enjoyed performing arts while they were living in Manjungan, and upon completing lower secondary school she went on to study in the *karawitan* department at SMKN 8, becoming a *pesindhèn*, and being the first person in the Manjungan family to enter formal arts education. Suroño describes how his sister proved that it was possible to make a living in performing arts: "When she was at school at [SMKN 8] it was apparent, she could provide for her own needs, from singing. Eventually she went to ISI, it was also like that. She was independent, she

could pay her own way, pay for her studies” (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014). Surono studied at upper secondary school rather than at SMKN 8, because at that time, SMKN 8 was a four-year programme, compared to only three years of upper secondary. Upon completing upper secondary school, Surono also entered the *karawitan* department at ISI.

Surono believes that beginning with Sumini, who was the first person from the Manjungan family to attain a degree, his younger cousins have been inspired to enter formal arts education and aim for a Bachelor’s or even a Master’s degree. Like many of my younger informants, Surono supports the idea that children must aim higher than their parents, particularly in terms of their standard of living. Having taken time off work while her two children were little, Sumini is now the headteacher of a kindergarten in Jakarta. Surono works as a teacher in the *karawitan* department of SMKN 8, and is married to Biliyard, a dance teacher who he met at ISI, with two children.

Surono learnt masked dance from his grandfather, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, in 2000 to 2002 after he had graduated from ISI. He has pioneered the regeneration of Klaten-style masked dance, a local style which was being performed increasingly rarely until he decided to take action. Surono’s skill in dancing the Klana dance is often remarked upon by family members. His younger cousin, Ninuk, commented that, “Surono uses *rasa*, so when he dances it moves us too” (Ninuk Subandiyah, interview, 23 February 2014).

Surono began to learn gamelan from his uncle Joko Sabeyan in Manjungan. He started to learn *gendèr* from his cousin, Eko, Sukaeni’s son, who in turn had learnt it at SMKN 8. Surono then learnt more *gendèr* from his mother. He says he isn’t good at picking up the music by ear, but needs to

either use notation or watch the movement of a musician's hands in order to learn it, something which he suggests may be because he wasn't surrounded by performing arts from a young age. While his cousin Sujarwo could play complex *saron nyacah* when he was in kindergarten, Surono's learning process only began in earnest after he moved to Manjungan when he was thirteen years old.

As a young man, Surono learnt to perform wayang at his grandfather's home, by setting up a small wayang screen and playing with puppets. If his grandfather was in the right kind of mood he would sometimes correct Surono's mistakes. Although he went on to be able to perform wayang, it has never been Surono's focus, and he says he has only performed three times. He explains:

My father was a dhalang. My grandfather was a dhalang. I had to be able to perform wayang, not necessarily to become a dhalang as my profession, but I had to be able to do it. That was enough for me, because if I depend on it as a profession, well now I already have a permanent profession anyway. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

We can see from this that Surono considers his heritage as significant. Moreover, rather than his heritage meaning that he would automatically be able to perform wayang, he believes that because of his heritage he must make himself able to perform wayang. However, he can respect his heritage without turning it into his career.

Surono is a conscientious teacher who clearly thinks a lot about his

teaching practice and strives to improve. He rarely watches or joins performances, preferring instead to focus on his teaching. Despite this, Surono explains that he never set out to become a teacher. With his in-laws both teachers, his wife encouraged him to take a teaching qualification with her. As his teaching placement he was sent to work at SMKN 8 and then offered a job there as an honorary teacher and paid a very low wage. After four years in that position, there was a vacancy for a *karawitan* teacher, Surono applied and was successful. He is currently studying part-time for a Master's in education which will enable him to move further up the salary scale.

It is fascinating that although Surono, who was initially discouraged from a performing arts career by his father, is managing to make a living from arts, he does not want his children to follow an arts career path. He explains: "What I will emphasise to my children is, 'If you want I will introduce you to *karawitan*, to wayang, but only so you can do it. Don't follow a profession as an artist,' I will just say that" (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014). His wife, Biliyard, agrees with this, as she believes it is easier to make a living in areas other than performing arts. So perhaps the same pattern of parental discouragement followed by a child's determination will repeat itself in the next generation. Surono sees performing arts as important, and hopes his children will engage with the arts. However, rather than a possible career, he sees the significance of performing arts as linked to feeling and providing a counterpoint to the logic-based learning of formal education. He explains:

In my opinion, getting to know performing arts is more about the processing of *rasa*, because for me, now there is a tendency in

education towards matters related to logic but not *rasa*. The media of arts is only for processing *rasa*, that is all. I think the importance of arts lies there. So I will give the world of arts to my children, to encourage their sensitivity towards *rasa* to emerge, that is all, until it is implemented in their lives, and they not only think logically but also with *rasa*. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

Six of Sujarwo's cousins still live on their grandparents' land today. Ninuk, Nimas and Nining, the three daughters of Joko Sabeyan and Sunarmi, live in their family house in a corner of their grandparents' land. Ninuk Subandiyah, who was born in 1994, has recently completed a Bachelor's degree in hotel management in Semarang. She can play some gamelan instruments and perform dances including *Gambyong Pareanom* and some masked dance. She remembers being around performing arts activities at home from a young age, including gamelan rehearsals at her grandparents' home which stopped when she was older and there was no longer a gamelan permanently housed there. She learnt masked dance from her grandfather, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, and other dances from her cousin-in-law, Biliyard, Surono's wife, who was at the time writing her Bachelor's degree dissertation about Tukas Gondo Sukasno and his dancing.

Ninuk is the first person in the Manjungan family to take a degree that is not in performing arts. She had to convince her parents that following an alternative path was realistic and educate them about what working in a hotel might involve. "They had a certain image of a hotel and working in a hotel. But I tried to show them through my achievements. I once won a prize in the

Central Java region housekeeping competition, I was among the ten best participants” (Ninuk Subandiyah, interview, 23 February 2014). In this way, she could prove to her parents that her choices were valid, although different to her parents’ own knowledge or background. Despite this, Ninuk sees performing arts as an important hobby because, “even though I am studying the hotel industry, there is a cost, and my costs are covered by performing arts. My father is in the gamelan business, so even though I am following a different path, not performing arts, I must also be able to prove that I can play gamelan and dance as well” (Ninuk Subandiyah, interview, 23 February 2014). Apart from that, she sees her performing arts heritage as important:

For me, family is a very important factor in making me learn gamelan, so we as the new generation are not leaving our tradition behind. We also come from an artist family so we must not leave that culture behind. Even though we are already following a different path, we should be able to play [gamelan], or still revolve around that culture. (Ninuk Subandiyah, interview, 23 February 2014)



Figure 1.15 L-R Sisters Ninuk, Nining, Nimas, with their cousins Nanang and Sari, dressed to dance at a family event in Manjungan, Klaten. (6 June 2014)

Ninuk's younger sister, Nimas Bondan Kinanthi, born in 2000, shares her older sister's ambition to work outside performing arts along with her strong respect for their father's profession. She can also play gamelan to some extent and has learnt some dances. Nimas and her younger sister, Nining Dewi Larasati, born 2004, both learnt gamelan from their father, Joko Sabeyan. At the time of writing, Nining has been sharpening her skills at *saron wayangan*, learning to play *nyacah* for pieces such as *srepeg lasem*, which she practises every Saturday evening, accompanied by other family members at her grandmother's home. Although my youngest informant, only nine years old at the time of interview, Nining is an ambitious child. She hopes to study at SMKN 8 and then ISI, and eventually to become a professor of *karawitan*, like Rahayu Supanggah, her distant uncle who is well-known in this field.

My husband and his cousins represent the first generation to attend higher education. Some of the oldest members of this generation studied at SMKN 8 and then ISI, while the youngest consider non-arts education a real option. Living up to their parents' hopes that they will achieve higher goals in education, a huge amount has changed for the lives of this generation. Gone are the days when girls would only attend primary school; the women I interviewed from this generation had all completed secondary school at least.

Despite the open doors to a range of fields for both education and work, it is interesting that the majority of this generation have chosen anyway to study and work in performing arts, with arts teaching a particularly popular career. Even those who do not follow a career in performing arts highly value their heritage. Over the next ten years or so, as the youngest members of this

generation grow up in a world quite different to that of their parents, and as a new generation blossoms beneath theirs, it will be fascinating to see what kinds of life choices are made by the young people of tomorrow.

Meeting the family in this chapter has provided a picture of life inside one of Central Java's large performing artist families. We have seen how these people are related, both genetically and through their interactions with one another, and how their performing arts have been entwined in their lives across the generations. In terms of performing arts learning, intergenerational support of performing artist development has been an important theme with certain family members standing out as influential in getting their younger relatives into the arts or passing on their knowledge.

Going back to the grandparents' generation, with a brief look at some of their ancestors, enabled us to see how life has changed, from daily issues of food and transportation to people's aspirations and career goals. Across four generations and during the past ninety years, changes in education have affected everyone. In the oldest generation only men attended school, and that was usually just to primary school level. Today's young people expect to attend school and university, aspiring in many cases to attain a Master's degree. The majority of family members who attend higher education have chosen to study performing arts, graduating from SMKN 8 and ISI, two important institutions that will be covered in depth in the following chapter.

Since the beginning of this project in 2012 there have been some developments. Gamelan rehearsals had stopped at the Manjungan house because Joko Sabeyan's gamelan selling business meant there was never a

gamelan there permanently, which made holding regular sessions impossible. In 2014 he and his brothers made a gamelan with the intention of keeping it at their family home. Children in the family were enthusiastic about playing it and have started playing for a short time every Saturday evening, joined by their parents and grandmother. In August 2014 this gamelan was used for a wayang event held at the family home. If Joko Sabeyan can stick to his commitment not to sell this gamelan, it could be the start of a new era for performing arts activities in Manjungan.

Chapter Two

Formal and Non-formal Arts Education

The development of formal and non-formal education during the twentieth century has significantly changed the way performing arts are learnt in Central Java. The establishment of arts institutes in the cities provided an incentive for village-based musicians, dancers and dhalang to travel to the cities and often to stay there during their period of study. As we saw in the previous chapter, many members of the large performing artist family, in particular those of the younger generations, attended some form of city-based arts education. While some subsequently returned to their villages upon completion of their education, others decided to stay on in the city, building a different lifestyle away from their village. In this way, performing arts institutes and the development of formal education in general have had a huge impact on traditional Javanese performing arts. Being familiar with the history and development of such educational establishments allows us to situate them within the context of knowledge transmission, and to see how traditional forms of knowledge acquisition, including those taking place in the family, may have been affected by the new establishments. Looking at the teaching and learning processes that take place at such institutions will enable us to understand how such education works today, how it is viewed by teachers and students, and how it contributes to the reproduction of traditional performing arts.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has defined formal, non-formal and informal learning. “Formal learning is always organised and structured, and has learning objectives. From the learner’s standpoint, it is always intentional” (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). For our purposes, formal education refers to that which takes place at established educational institutions. It has a curriculum, with assessments such as examinations, and usually offers a qualification upon completion. Formal education is usually full time.

Non-formal learning also takes place at a set location. The curriculum, if there is one, is less well-defined and there are usually no examinations or qualifications to be gained. Non-formal education usually takes place on a part-time basis.

Informal learning, which is not covered in this chapter, takes place outside an institution, and may or may not involve a teacher. “[It] is never organised, has no set objective in terms of learning outcomes and is never intentional from the learner’s standpoint. Often it is referred to as learning by experience or just as experience” (ibid.). Although these three definitions may not always fit perfectly in any given circumstance, they are useful as a way to begin to classify types of learning, as a starting point from which to look at learning at different kinds of institutions and learning that takes place outside an institution.

In this chapter we shall look at the various educational institutions currently responsible for formal and non-formal arts education in Surakarta, examining their roots in history, who teaches what to whom, and the roles of these institutions in the larger performing arts community. Beginning with the

first arts schools to be established, we shall trace the history of formal and non-formal performing arts education in Surakarta, examining palace schools, government-funded schools and *sanggar* clubs or workshops. Some of the effects of these institutions on performing arts will also be considered.

The Palace Arts Schools

The first arts schools to open in Surakarta were located at the city's two palaces, the Kraton and the Mangkunegaran, and only taught *pedhalangan*.⁴⁶ The *Pasinaon Dhalang ing Surakarta* (Surakarta Dhalang Course) or *Padhasuka* for short opened at the Kraton in 1923, by order of the ruler, Susuhunan Paku Buwana X (Clara van Groenendael 1985: 30). This ruler, who had “the last truly opulent reign in Solo” (1893–1939) was a significant patron of the arts with hundreds of musicians and dancers in his staff (Benamou 1998: 6). The school was initially housed in a building to the east of the Radya Pustaka Museum, and, from 1935 to 1941, it also published its own magazine, *Pedalangan*, aimed at the students and other dhalang (Samroni et al 2010: 204). In 1931 Mangku Nagara VII, ruler of the neighbouring Mangkunegaran Palace, created the *Pasinaon Dhalang ing Mangkunagaran* (Mangkunegaran Dhalang Course), later to be relaunched in 1950 and again in 1967 and known as PDMN.⁴⁷ Both of these *pedhalangan*

⁴⁶ In the neighbouring city of Yogyakarta, a dance school *Kridha Beksa Wirama* was established by two princes of the Yogyakarta Kraton in 1918 (Lindsay 1985: 16).

⁴⁷ Mangku Nagara VII also established *Pawiyatan Beksan*

schools continue to exist today. Initially many students at the two schools were in fact professional dhalang rather than novices. Students were given practical training and theoretical lessons, with emphasis on the literary and linguistic aspects of performance (Clara van Groenendael 1985: 31-32).

Although gamelan music and its associated performing arts continued to exist in the villages, these new schools provided a focal point located at the palaces, in particular for *pedhalangan* which is often seen as the most intellectual of the traditional performing arts. As well as emphasising a palace context for traditional Javanese arts, the schools also strengthened a division between what were considered court and non-court Javanese arts, a distinction that would be further intensified by formal educational institutions in years to come.⁴⁸

Clara van Groenendael (1985) highlights the differences between knowledge that had been passed down orally through generations of dhalang, naturally undergoing changes, additions and omissions, and the more fixed versions promoted by dhalang schools: “When dhalangs [sic] thus came to realize that many of the things which they had learnt from their fathers and other dhalangs and had up till then regarded as incontrovertible truths were wrong, they had at first begun to have doubts about the authority traditionally assigned to these older dhalangs on the basis of their knowledge” (32). Here

Mangkunagaran (PBMN) to teach dance; it is no longer active, although at the time of writing there is discussion of re-launching it.

⁴⁸ Lindsay (1985) describes how colonialists were at least partly responsible for initiating these ideas as “the image of court art was part of the Dutch image of the Central Javanese courts in the early twentieth century” (14). Sumarsam (1995) describes how it can be seen as linked to Western European definitions of classical and folk music (125).

we can see the potential for conflicts between old and new forms of education, where newer, more standardised knowledge threatens to wipe out older hereditary knowledge. However, it seems that this did not happen. As we shall see in later chapters, dhalang were able to learn from multiple sources without information from one source erasing that attained elsewhere. This is proven by the fact that the dhalang who enrolled at palace schools during this period did not change their whole performance style based on what they learnt there.

While studying at a formal educational institution is normal for today's young dhalang, the first students at these palace schools were engaging in a new form of education, at a time when any schooling was far from the norm. As a young dhalang, Tukas Gondo Sukasno studied at one of these schools; he would walk the thirty-five kilometre journey from Manjungan village to Surakarta to attend classes (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, p.c.). Clara van Groenendael (1985) explains that "dhalangs wanted to avoid being regarded as backward and boorish, or as village dhalangs, which was used as an abusive term" (33). Studying, even for a short time, at a palace school gave these dhalang added status as well as new knowledge.⁴⁹ Although it is impossible to calculate whether his career was more successful as a result of this schooling, Tukas Gondo Sukasno's performances incorporated elements of the palace style he had learnt (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, p.c.).

PDMN was officially registered with the government and relaunched

⁴⁹ For dance students at palace schools, however, it seems to have been different. Lindsay (1985) points out that at the school of the Yogyakarta Kraton, *Kridha Beksa Wirama*, there was no possible future as a Kraton-style dancer outside the Kraton, and dancers in the Kraton had to become *abdi dalem* (17).

by Mangkunegara VIII on 14th March 1967. Its stated function was as an educator in philosophy and national identity, as an interpreter of the laws of life, and as an inspirer (*pengobar*) of national arts and culture (Yayasan Pasinaon Dalang ing Mangkunagaran 1967: 4). This emphasis on nationalism fitted in with the trend of the times for presenting Javanese performing arts as national Indonesian arts (Sumarsam 1995: 123). In reality, PDMN only ever taught a very limited curriculum of Mangkunegaran Palace-style wayang.

Keeler (1987) describes how these palace dhalang schools “have permitted something of a canon to be established...about the ‘correct’ versions of many aspects of a performance” (183). Indeed, each of the Surakarta palace schools teaches its own specific style and students enrol with the expectation that they will learn that style. Books of various forms of notation are produced. One example from *Padhasuka* outlines twenty different *lakon* detailing the puppets’ interactions and musical accompaniment for every scene (though it stops short of providing full scripts) (Najawirangka 1958).

A palace school teacher may be able to perform in various styles, and possess his own informal hereditary knowledge from outside the school system, but will teach in the palace style when he is teaching at that school. For example, Hali Jarwo Sularso, who was described in the previous chapter, is a highly respected Surakarta-based dhalang from a family of dhalang. He can perform either in Mangkunegaran Palace style or in his own style that takes elements from many influences including his family. When teaching at PDMN, however, he teaches the palace style. The style taught at PDMN is rarely performed apart from at palace functions; it is seen by audiences as more traditional or old-fashioned because it incorporates more lengthy

speeches and less action than modern styles.

Teachers at these first palace schools were and in many cases still are *abdi dalem*, people who work at the palaces and are paid a small amount. They are seen as devoting themselves to working for the palace, regardless of any payment, and they may be responsible for other types of palace work as well as teaching and performing, for example, cleaning and looking after gamelan instruments and wayang puppets, which are considered sacred heirlooms (*pusaka*). Brinner (1995) explains that, for these people, “the spiritual rewards derived from association with the most powerful centres of traditional Javanese culture are far more important than the monetary compensation” (297). The current head of PDMN, Sujarwo Joko Prehatin (who was also described in the previous chapter), appointed in 2015, is not an *abdi dalem*, however. He entered through first becoming a lecturer at *Akademi Seni Mangkunegaran* (ASGA, Mangkunegaran Arts Academy), and was then promoted to head of PDMN. He does not plan to become an *abdi dalem*, because he feels he is able to play a part in the performing arts of the palace, helping at performances, without making such a large commitment.

The palace schools at both the Surakarta Kraton and the Mangkunegaran Palace today cater mainly to young aspiring artists and older hobbyists. Classes at PDMN, for paying adult students, take place twice a week and run on a semestral basis. Although there is no qualification to be achieved, a student must pass the end-of-semester performance examination in order to proceed to the next semester. A typical class at PDMN involves only a few students. At the time of writing in 2016 there are twelve students enrolled. Hali Jarwo Sularso pointed out that *pedhalangan* students can only

learn in very small groups compared to dance and gamelan students (Hali Jarwo Sularso, p.c., 25 March 2015). This is reflected in performance; a single dhalang performs where a whole orchestra of gamelan musicians or a troupe of dancers would perform.

At PDMN, Hali Jarwo Sularso, or whoever is teaching that day, gives a demonstration of a particular scene, which is then copied by the students one at a time. He gives feedback on their renditions. Several musicians are also present to play the gamelan accompaniment, filling in for a full ensemble. Since Mangkunegaran-style wayang is taught, the exact movements and positions of the puppets, as well as all spoken and sung parts are very specific.⁵⁰ In their first year, students learn the *lakon Makutharama*; in the second year they learn *Kangsa Adu Jago* and in the third year the *lakon is Ciptoning*.⁵¹ They have a book which details the spoken parts for the *lakon*, and another with gamelan notation and lyrics for the sung poems (*sulukan*). The students take an end-of-year examination where they perform a particular scene from the *lakon* they have been studying. A recent change is that for their final examination they perform a whole *lakon*, lasting two to three hours, where they must use something of their own dramatic skill (*sanggit*)⁵² rather

⁵⁰ Prehartarti (2010) describes the characteristics of Mangkunegaran-style wayang in detail, and explains that the style first began to be developed under Mangkunegara IV (1853–1881) who was keen on preserving wayang by further developing the art form (37).

⁵¹ While today's PDMN curriculum is *lakon*-based, the original 1967 curriculum describes a three-year programme divided between different elements of a wayang performance, for example, narration, conversation, gamelan pieces, philosophy, Old Javanese and Sanskrit etc (Yayasan Pasinaon Dalang ing Mangkunagaran 1967: 21-22).

⁵² See Keeler (1987: 190) for a more detailed definition of *sanggit*.

than presenting an exact rendition of what is in their books. According to Sujarwo Joko Prehatin as head of PDMN, this is to raise the quality of *pedhalangan* among graduates of PDMN (Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, p.c.).



Figure 2.1 A class at PDMN. The teacher, Hali Jarwo Sularso, is playing *kendhang* while his students take turns to try out a particular scene. (26 June 2014)

It is interesting that this is a new development and that prior to this, there was no credit given for individuality in the examinations; the emphasis was on correctly performing in the Mangkunegaran style. Clearly this is different to performances outside the examination context, where individuality is a vital part of every dhalang's career. The idea of an examination that is not like a normal performance will arise again in the context of government-sponsored arts schools.⁵³ These palace schools seem to exist in their own sphere. They serve a purpose of preserving the palace style through teaching

⁵³ This can also be linked to the routine examinations held in Indonesian schools, which are mostly in a multiple-choice format. It shows that the examinations are considered quite separate to real life, which rarely works in multiple choice.

it, and since their inception they have not been responsible for taking complete beginners and creating professional dhalang. The emphasis has always been on adherence to the palace style, and it is left up to students what they do with this new knowledge, for example, whether or not they use it to enhance their own pre-existing wayang style.

Today the palace schools continue to teach their own specific styles of *pedhalangan*, and newer palace schools have been established which teach other arts such as dance and theatre. The Mangkunegaran Palace runs a second, newer school called *Akademi Seni Mangkunagaran (ASGA, Mangkunegaran Arts Academy)*, where a wider range of performing arts including wayang, dance, and theatre are taught, as well as events organisation. ASGA was established in 2006 by Mangku Nagara IX, who felt that PDMN and PBMN were only courses, “which were inadequate in fulfilling the demands of the time’s progress (*kurang dapat memenuhi tuntutan kemajuan zaman*)” (*Akademi Seni Mangkunagaran n.d.*). His proposal was supported by *Sekretariat Wayang Nasional Indonesia (SENAWANGI, Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat)* and so, based on the Indonesian National Education Ministerial Decree No. 62/D/O/2006, ASGA was established (*ibid.*). Like PDMN, ASGA focuses solely on teaching Mangkunegaran style and is only open to adult students. Unlike PDMN, however, the teachers at ASGA are brought in from outside; many are young graduates of ISI Surakarta and are not *abdi dalem* of the palace. With ASGA’s status as an academy, students can study towards a D3 diploma, a qualification offered after around three years of study, below a Bachelor’s degree in the Indonesian system. In its vision and mission, ASGA sees its role as a preserver

of tradition, which it argues is under-appreciated by today's community (ibid.). However it aims to “package the Mangkunegaran-style artistic-cultural tradition as educational material that is up-to-date with the atmosphere of the present time” (ibid.).

This idea of making something old sound new and modern is related to the belief that people will not be interested in something that is old or out-of-date. It will be seen as archaic and boring and must be presented as something new in order to be appealing—and at least ASGA is honest in its description of “packaging” the tradition. Therefore, whereas PDMN teaches the old Mangkunegaran wayang style with older teachers who are part of the old *abdi dalem* system, ASGA teaches the old Mangkunegaran style with younger teachers, who are not *abdi dalem* but are graduates of the newer educational system, of which ASGA itself is also a part. This could be seen as the same product in different packaging, except that the teaching at PDMN, where the teachers are more experienced and more knowledgeable, is likely to be of a higher quality than at ASGA. Those in charge at the Mangkunegaran clearly felt the need to join the new educational system in order to preserve their traditional arts, and perhaps believed their arts would not be seen as relevant by today's young people if they did not involve a recognised qualification.

Classes at ASGA, which take place from 5pm to 10pm, are similar to classes at a formal school, albeit with fewer students. In the dance class the teacher gives a demonstration which is simultaneously copied by the students. There are no musicians to provide a live accompaniment, so the classes use a recording, or else the students just follow the teacher counting out the patterns or vocalising the drumming that would be used to accompany them. In the

pedhalangan class, the teacher explains what the student should do, which scene is to be performed, and how to move the puppets on and off the screen, and then the students take turns to try it themselves.

Enrolment of new students is an issue for ASGA, which in 2014 advertised that it needed two hundred new students across all departments and as an incentive would offer scholarships for the first fifty to enrol. Perhaps this is due to a lack of publicity or because the public is unaware that anyone can apply to study at ASGA, without needing prior knowledge of performing arts and without needing to belong in any way to the Mangkunegaran Palace. Perhaps there is no need for a school like ASGA, that fits in between full-time formal arts education and less formal palace schools and *sanggar* clubs. Regardless of this, however, with the support of the Mangkunegaran Palace and a team of teachers who are willing to work for very little remuneration, ASGA is likely to continue to exist despite its tiny student population. The fact that teachers continue to work at these palace schools despite the low pay harks back to an earlier era where cash was less important and being an *abdi dalem* would have been enough to provide for one's family. Today, however, the teachers must take on other jobs to make ends meet.

Whether their methods are considered modern or old-fashioned, these palace schools all serve to protect and preserve a particular view of Javanese identity, one which sees the palace as a centre of power and a centre for artistic creation. This can be seen through the material taught as well as the structures of the schools with their low-paid teachers. Pemberton (1994) describes how the idea of a Javanese identity began under colonialism and was

supported by colonialists.⁵⁴ Today the palace schools continue to try to preserve these fixed traditions, and can therefore be seen to be maintaining this romanticised Javanese identity. Perhaps this is how such schools are able to survive, as remnants of the power of the palace in the eyes of the populace.

The palace schools tend to be inward-focused preservers of tradition, only teaching the palace styles of performing arts regardless of current trends outside the palace. Today's young musicians, dhalang and dancers who want to become professional artists attend the palace schools as an extra-curricular activity. Any young person who is serious about a career in performing arts is going to head straight to one of the state-sponsored arts education institutions, which teach a wider range of styles and offer higher-level professional qualifications than can be obtained at any palace school.

The Beginnings of Formal Arts Education

The first formal establishments for performing arts education in Central Java were created in the 1950s and 1960s. These differed to their predecessors, the palace schools, in that their mode of education was full-time, they were not tied to a particular palace style and they were part of the national school system. By first looking at the history of Indonesia's education

⁵⁴ Mora (2001) describes a similar process in Bali: "The Dutch colonial administration expended considerable effort in maintaining an 'authentic' and manageable Bali through a preservationist strategy. Western intellectuals and artists played an influential role in forming and propagating the idealistic images of Bali that have secured so firm a place in the popular imagination." (65).

system we can see how the arts schools fitted into these pre-existing institutional structures.

The national education system of Indonesia developed during the early twentieth century under the Dutch “Ethical Policy” which introduced educational reforms, for the first time opening schools for non-aristocrat Indonesians. Village schools were established to teach basic literacy and numeracy and, “by the 1930s there were about 9600 such schools across Indonesia and over 40 percent of Indonesian children aged 6-9 attended, at least in principle” (Ricklefs et al. 2010: 278-9). In Surakarta, schools were established by Paku Buwana X, the ruler responsible for the Kraton *pedhalangan* school discussed previously, who established an Islamic school, *Mamba’ul Ulum*, in 1905, a school for Western-style education, *Holandsch Inlandshe School (HIS) Kasatriyan* in 1910, a school for young female aristocrats, *HIS Pamardi Putri*, in 1927, and an agriculture school in Tegalgondo, Delanggu, Klaten, in 1929 (Samroni et al. 2010: 175-7). However, most of these schools catered for the upper classes; many children attended school only occasionally if at all, and literacy remained low. Ricklefs et al. (2010) note that “in 1930 the adult literacy rate was 13.2 percent for men and 2.3 percent for women. In 1980 the rate for males over the age of 10 had risen to 80.4 percent and for women to 63.6 percent. In 1990 those figures were 89.6 percent and 78.7 percent respectively” (385).

Despite the initially slow increase in literacy, Indonesia’s school system continued to develop during the twentieth century. Dick (2003) describes how Indonesian-organised “wild schools” sprang up to cater for the demand for education among Indonesians during the early twentieth century.

“They were organized by a wide range of religious, communal, and nationalist organisations, only a few with any expertise in education, like Taman Siswa” established by Ki Hadjar Dewantara, remembered as a pioneer of universal education (Dick 2003: 206). This new access to education became a key part of the struggle for independence, as Dick (2003) notes, “nationalist organisations...brought modern education to *kampung* children....As youths many of these children would become prominent in 1945 in the fight for independence” (207).

Nonetheless, a school education was far from the norm at this time.

Suryadarma and Jones note that:

Indonesia is generally considered to have achieved universal enrolment in primary school education around 1983. This was true in the sense that almost all children were spending some time in primary school. But...even a decade after that, only about 66 per cent of pupils entering primary school actually graduated from grade 6.... This figure reached 81 per cent in academic year 2007/08 – a great improvement, but still well short of universal completion of primary schooling. (Suryadarma and Jones 2013: 2)

As we saw in Chapter One, many people in the performing artist family who were born in the 1960s or earlier did not complete primary school, let alone secondary education. It was only in the generations born in the 1970s and afterwards that the majority of family members completed secondary school, and among the generations born in the 1980s and onwards that many

have gone on to higher education. Although arts education existed since the 1950s, during its early days, it was not considered a necessary step towards a performing arts career. Many of my interviewees who would have been of the right age to attend an arts school during the 1950s or 1960s did not continue their education past primary school. However, there were other performing artists who did begin their professional careers in the new arts schools during this period.

The first arts institute to be established in Surakarta was *Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia* (KOKAR, *Karawitan* Conservatory of Indonesia, also referred to as KONSER) in 1950. Its name was changed to *Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia* (SMKI, *Karawitan* High School of Indonesia) in 1977, and it is now officially called *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri 8* (SMKN 8, State Vocational High School 8),⁵⁵ a label which follows the national system for school names.⁵⁶ Jazuli notes that “many of the SMKI teachers were from the Kraton, like the old masters of *karawitan*, *pedhalangan* and dance. This was the case from the 1960s to the 1980s, and after that many teachers were employed by the government, as public sector employees (*Pegawai Negeri Sipil*, PNS) who are alumni of SMKI and STSI (now ISI) Surakarta”

⁵⁵ I have tended to use the school’s current name, SMKN 8, throughout this thesis, in order to avoid confusion.

⁵⁶ Similar institutions also exist in Yogyakarta, where there is *Konservatori Tari Indonesia* (KONRI, Indonesian Dance Conservatory) which later became SMKI Yogya in 1977 and SMK Yogya in 1999. In Surabaya there is *Sekolah Tinggi Kesenian Wilwatikta* (STKW, Wilwatikta Advanced Arts School) and SMKI Surabaya which became SMK Surabaya in 1999 (Sutton 2001: 76). There are also *Institut Seni Indonesia* (ISI, Indonesian Arts Institute) campuses in Yogyakarta, Denpasar, Bandung and Padangpanjang as well as Surakarta, and *Institut Kesenian Jakarta* (IKJ, Jakarta Arts Institute), a private institute in Jakarta.

(Jazuli in Rustopo 2012: 247-8). In fact, the first two directors of KOKAR, Soerjohamidjojo and his brother Djojokoesono, were princes. Sumarsam (1995) notes that they were Dutch educated and links the new arts institutes to a history of colonial influence (124).



Figure 2.2 A dance performance in the *pendhapa* of SMKN 8. The school holds a dance performance every 26th of the month, either performed by its own dancers or by those from outside the school. (26 January 2014)

In 1964 *Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia* (ASKI, Karawitan Arts Academy of Indonesia) was founded to offer higher education in arts.⁵⁷ Pringgo, the ninety-year-old husband of Sumiyati described in the previous chapter, graduated from the first class at KOKAR (now SMKN 8) in 1953. He describes how he went on to be one of the founding members of ASKI (now ISI), after a plan was hatched while his group was at the New York World's Fair:

⁵⁷ By 1965 its enrolment was already 74 students, and by 1982 the enrolment was 660 students (Lindsay 1985: 70).

Once the conservatory had been founded I went to school there. Then, during that time I had friends who founded ASKI. So I was still a student at [KOKAR] and along with several friends, I was taken to America on an arts mission. While there we discussed and planned to found the Academy. We talked it through and then immediately launched it once we were back in Indonesia. (Pringgo, interview, 28 January 2014)

He then taught at ASKI as the assistant of well-known Yogyane musician Tjokrowasito.

Susilo notes that the national radio, *Radio Republik Indonesia* (RRI), was also launched during this period:

With the establishment of these new schools, and the formation of the *Radio Republik Indonesia* (RRI) gamelan orchestras the Government created excellent job opportunities for top-notch traditional musicians. The four RRI studios in the cities of Jakarta, Semarang, Surakarta and Yogyakarta hired over 120 Central Javanese gamelan players and vocalists. Javanese and Western musicians, folk drama actors, and comedians would audition to join the rank of performing artists of the RRI. By providing employment for these artists, the Indonesian government became a patron of the performing arts, a role that had formerly been the domain of the various royal courts. (Susilo 2010: 46)

From 1972, ASKI was located at Sasanamulya, part of the Kraton, where it shared a campus and a headteacher or director with *Pusat Kesenian Jawa Tengah* (PKJT, Central Java Arts Centre). The head in question was SD Humardani, remembered for changing the face of performing arts education in Solo, with his kind but stern teaching style and strong opinions. According to Sumarsam (1995), Humardani made a clear distinction between court and village arts, and saw the academy as a site for the promotion and preservation of court arts in a Western-style educational setting. We can see how this pattern, which had begun to emerge with the founding of palace arts schools, became even more ingrained with the establishment of the new academies. Lindsay (1985) describes how Western elements of music training were introduced during this period: “Humardani enforced rigid standards, and the students had to face tough practical examinations (called *resital*)” (76). Supanggah describes how Pak Gendhon, as Humardani was known, would be ready at 5am when the day would start with “‘injection’: walking, running, jumping, screaming, push-ups, and other physical movements and ‘dance’”. Meanwhile, Humardani bought a glass of milk for each student, which they had to drink, whether they liked it or not (Supanggah 2011b: 102). This morning activity was followed by routine lessons in gamelan and dance. Many students who went on to become outstanding musicians studied at the Sasanamulya campus.

In the 1980s PKJT changed its name to *Taman Budaya Surakarta* (TBS, Surakarta Culture Park), and both ASKI and TBS moved to a new campus in Kentingan, eastern Surakarta, where they remain to this day. ASKI changed its name and status to *Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia* (STSI,

Advanced Arts School of Indonesia), and then to its current name, *Institut Seni Indonesia* (ISI, Indonesian Arts Institute) Surakarta.⁵⁸ The change in status fits with an increase in available programmes; ISI Surakarta offers Bachelor's degree, Master's degree and PhD level education.

The development of these educational establishments has greatly affected the way gamelan music, dance and wayang are taught, enabling a more direct and less autodidactic way of learning to exist. Throughout their existence, different ways of teaching have been trialled, such as a strong focus on composition and choreography rather than traditional pieces, and the use (or not) of gamelan music notation. Benamou (1998) describes how “besides new pedagogical techniques and the increased use of notation, the music schools introduced...consciously avant-garde music” (15). Contemporary composition of gamelan music continued to exist alongside traditional musical forms, sometimes crossing over, as in the case of *gendhing kreasi baru* for which the composer and dhalang Nartosabdho is perhaps most well-known, and the development of *garapan*-style contemporary-interpretive wayang performance.⁵⁹ Brakel-Papenhuyzen (1992) describes how, in the case of dance, “the traditionally personal relationship between *guru* (teacher) and *siswa* (pupil) has been replaced by classroom instruction involving increasingly large numbers of largely urban middle-class students, who are instructed by relatively young teachers....Instruction in State Academies is based on a standardized curriculum, classroom lectures and written textbooks”

⁵⁸ I have tended to use the institution's current name, ISI, throughout this thesis in order to avoid confusion.

⁵⁹ See Emerson 2016.

(17). She goes on to explain how this has affected the dances that are performed, with some older dances being forgotten altogether, and has led to longer dances being condensed to be more easily taught and performed.

Susilo (2010) describes how during its first few years of existence, teachers at KOKAR were fascinated by the ability of Western musicians to play Western music in unison, and how the notation of Western music allowed musicians to play exactly the same over and over again. This was reflected in the way gamelan music was taught.

At the Konservatori, students were taught melodic or rhythmic patterns called *céngkok*. Studying *céngkok* was an efficient way of learning parts for the elaborating instruments in a gamelan ensemble. But *céngkok* became problematic when they were simplified and fixed, and when students were expected to play them as written, or risk failing the course. In practice, no Javanese musician worth his salt would have been caught dead playing most of the *céngkok* as prescribed by some of the Konservatori teachers at that time, without being allowed to vary them. (Susilo 2010: 49)

The development of instruction in musical patterns that would never be performed is a fascinating phenomenon. The pressure of having many students to teach together meant that older, more traditional methods of learning may have seemed impossible, and the kind of melodic patterns usually used may have been difficult to notate accurately. This created a desire to find suitable teaching methods, which ultimately led to fundamental changes in the material

taught. It is also another way in which school-based education in Javanese performing arts has become separated from processes of teaching and learning outside school, a theme which began with the *pedhalangan* books and examinations at the palace schools described above, and one we shall return to later.

The use of gamelan music notation and other written works as a tool in teaching has been a key aspect of education at these arts institutes. Ransby (2013) has traced this back in history to the beginnings of gamelan notation under colonial influence. She explains that by the time the arts institutes were established, the purpose of notation had changed from being purely for preservation to being used primarily for teaching (20-26). Becker (1980) has described how “as many as seven or more different experiments with notation were attempted between the years 1886 and 1942. One, the *Kepatihan* system, came to dominate all others and, with slight variations, is the basis of all contemporary notation” (13). One of the effects of notation use is the ability to break a piece down into small units; a teacher can communicate to his students that he would like them to play this part or that part, and give feedback on specific parts of the music by pointing to them on the notation. Students can practise the same small section over and over.

Although using notation, whether as printed books, written on a whiteboard or written on paper by students, has become the norm at formal arts education institutions, Becker (1980) writes that “the introduction of notation into an oral tradition brings with it the concept of a fixed formula that is to be repeated exactly,” but she also points out that “notation systems are not new to Asia and do not necessarily replace oral traditions” (21). Becker’s

second point highlights the simultaneous existence of multiple ways of teaching and learning. Despite the existence of notation, learning gamelan music can take place both with and without notation, and with different degrees of notation use.

Sutton (2001) notes that the institutes published books of gamelan notation, not only showing the *balungan* (skeletal melody): “the books containing notation of other melodic instrumental parts (especially *gendèr* and *rebab*) are also almost entirely the product of the publishing efforts of these formal educational institutions. The phrase *untuk kalangan sendiri* (‘for [our/its] own circle,’ i.e., for those directly affiliated with the publishing institution) is often printed on the cover and title page” (76). Supanggah (2011), however, describes how, for a short period in the mid-1970s, concerned at students’ reliance on notation for playing gamelan music, Humardani “[forbade] all teachers and students from using notation in lessons and especially in performances [at ASKI]” (258). Clearly, even the relationship between the institutions and their notation has not always been a smooth one.

Formal education in Javanese performing arts shares a history with that of gamelan notation, both having developed through cultural contact during the colonial period. Both educational institutions and gamelan notation took their inspiration from Western music and the way it is taught (Sumarsam 1995), and both have at times in their history been seen as forces for change (for better or worse depending on one’s perspective) in the way performing arts are taught and learnt. Formal arts education changed the way arts knowledge is passed on, and the effects of this change have been deep and

lasting. Today's younger generations of professional artists have all gone through formal arts education, regardless of the knowledge gained through other informal methods. The older generations alive today will be the last to have become professional artists based on informal learning alone. From a different perspective, however, the position of formal arts schools within the national education system means that, in a time and society where schooling is highly valued, there are opportunities for young people to choose a performing arts career path. Without such schools, young artists would not have time to study performing arts in depth while attending regular schools. Therefore, although changing forever the way performing arts knowledge is transferred between generations, arts schools provide an important arena for such a transfer of knowledge to take place.

Formal Arts Education Today

The current formal education system in Java includes high schools and colleges specialising in performing arts. As noted previously, regardless of whether an aspiring musician, dhalang or dancer comes from a performing artist family, it is highly likely he or she will attend one of these institutions. Obtaining a degree-level qualification is a sign of prestige and, importantly, enables graduates to apply for teaching jobs in schools and other institutions, so it provides both economic and cultural capital. In addition to the qualification, for students from villages around Surakarta, enrolling at a city-based institution means moving to the city, often living in a tiny rented room,

being more independent and experiencing a different lifestyle. Many performing arts students begin performing more frequently during their time as students; being based at an institution allows them to build a network of contacts and get booked for more jobs.

I studied in the *karawitan* department at ISI Surakarta for two years from 2008 to 2010. Classes of around twenty to thirty students are taught gamelan as an ensemble (*Tabuh Bersama*) and the first classes, known as “semester one”, start as if teaching complete beginners.⁶⁰ In addition to the whole ensemble classes, students attend classes for *rebab*, *kendhang* and *gendèr* (*Tabuh Sendiri*), considered the three most important instruments. Each instrument is taught in a separate class, with up to ten students per class, and again semester one starts from the basic playing techniques.⁶¹



Figure 2.3 *Tabuh Sendiri rebab* class at ISI. (28 December 2013) (Photo credit: Danis Sugiyanto)

⁶⁰ This is a key difference between ISI Surakarta and music colleges in the West, which require a high skill level upon entry.

⁶¹ Hoskin (2001) describes her experience studying in the dance department at ISI and notes that technical exercises to introduce a basic vocabulary of dance movements were taught in each class (57).

We would often be asked to play in unison in these classes, reading the notation written by our teacher on the whiteboard. Students also attend vocal classes (*tembang*), where *macapat*⁶² is taught and then *sindhènan*. Theory classes cover English language, history of *karawitan*, research methods, citizenship, Indonesian language, sociology and theory of *karawitan*. Later semesters include classes on other elaborating instruments (*gambang, gendèr panerus, suling, siter*), gamelan music for wayang and dance, and regional musics (Yogyanese, Balinese, Banyumasan, Minang, Sundanese). In every semester students are expected to master and memorise a small amount of repertoire, perhaps only three or four items, on all instruments. The *Tabuh Bersama* classes are taught by two or three teachers working together. Students play each piece many times, rotating around the instruments so that everyone gets a chance to play every instrument of the gamelan.

There are various reasons for the structure described above. Most importantly, it is a way for a large number of students to learn *karawitan* together, and it can fit into the general state education system awarding qualifications that are comparable to those offered by other higher education institutions in other subjects. Being part of this national system means that parents are proud and supportive of their children entering these schools. Ratini, who herself only had a primary school education, encouraged her two sons to attend SMKN 8 and ISI. Her older son, Warih is currently studying for his Master's at ISI, while her younger son, Nunung, is studying dance at

⁶² This is traditional Javanese sung poetry performed by a solo singer.

SMKN 8. She hopes they will be able to find work in performing arts, possibly as teachers. Ratini feels that her sons have gained many benefits from having other SMKN 8 students from outside Java as their peers, and she pointed out that SMKN 8 is neutral in terms of religion: “I like its approach to religion too, religions are mixed [at SMKN 8].... At, for example, general schools, Islam is separate, Christianity is separate, so they are divided. I think, about SMKN 8..., [that] it unites them” (Ratini, interview, 8 March 2014). Ratini feels that SMKN 8 unites students from different geographic and religious backgrounds in a way that is highly beneficial to her sons’ development into young adults.

Many of the teachers and lecturers at SMKN 8 and ISI are alumni of these schools, employed as public sector workers through the *pegawai negeri* system. SMKN 8 teachers must officially hold a Bachelor’s degree. This means that a graduate in *karawitan*, for example, can apply to the national public sector employment scheme and potentially be posted to any school across Indonesia with a *karawitan* teacher vacancy.⁶³ In order to become a lecturer (*dosen*) at ISI Surakarta (or indeed at any higher education institution in Indonesia), it is necessary to hold a Master’s degree. Many of the lecturers are hereditary musicians, dhalang and dancers, who have learnt their arts starting in early childhood, outside the formal educational system, and only later, when formal education became available or attractive, did they achieve their degree qualifications.⁶⁴ The ability to apply for these teaching roles is

⁶³ In addition to the specialist schools, some non-specialist schools offer *karawitan* classes, often as an extra-curricular activity.

⁶⁴ In his interview, the current head of the *karawitan* department, Suraji, listed the vast majority of *karawitan* lecturers as being directly hereditary.

one of the reasons for already talented performers to continue with their formal education up to Master's level. In addition to lecturers, ISI employs professional musicians to accompany students. These musicians are assigned to a department, usually *pedhalangan* or dance, and provide the musical accompaniment for students to practise. These musician positions, which are also part of the public sector employment system, are often held by musicians who are considered outstanding players and who hold other roles off campus, such as playing in the troupes of well-known dhalang.

I interviewed Surono, a *karawitan* teacher at SMKN 8 (and one of the hereditary artists described in Chapter One) and Suraji, the current head of the *karawitan* department at ISI Surakarta. Surono explained that in order to enrol at SMKN 8, prospective students take an audition. However, as the school needs pupils, they are usually all given a place anyway and the auditions are merely used to rank the students.

They are ranked first, and then later randomised. They are ranked, [for example,] he can play gamelan, oh he cannot play at all, so he will be at the lower end. Now to determine the classes they are randomised. There have been two systems. In the past we tried class A, B, C, for example with three classes, yes, A, B, C, in class A all the good students, in class B the medium ones and in class C the lowest ranked students, but it turned out to be ineffective. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

They found it more effective to mix the students, so the rank A

students would be placed with the other ranks. This helped the lower-ranking students to progress.⁶⁵

In an opinion echoed by Suraji, Suroño believes that it is impossible to learn performing arts through formal schooling alone.

It is important to be aware that learning arts requires a long process, it is not instant. We must also be aware that in a learning process that has a time frame, for example, SMKN 8 is three years, it is impossible to create a highly skilled (*mumpuni*) artist. Highly skilled artists are born outside [school]. So if we speak of formal or informal education, it is clear that the high skill level comes from the informal. That's one point. Then there is another obstacle in that formal education is also determined by the quality of the teacher. If the teacher is not highly skilled, the student will definitely have to go out and look for material from outside. (Suroño, interview, 2 March 2014)

Therefore, not only is schooling inadequate as a way to create highly skilled performers due to its limited time frame, but the quality of the teachers should also be questioned. Suroño encourages his students to learn outside school as well as on campus: "I have said many times to the students, 'If you

⁶⁵ ISI has also experimented with ranking first year students in various ways. When Sophie Ransby studied there in 2000–2003, students were streamed according to their ability based on auditions (Ransby 2013: 184), but when I studied there in 2008–2010, the department had decided that mixing the different abilities produced better results. A current student tells me that they are now using streaming again (Ellen Begw Jordan, p.c., 25 July 2016).

rely solely on education from here there is no way you will become an artist. You must look outside, there is more out there that you can discover. Don't rely only on [SMKN 8]” (Suroño, interview, 2 March 2014). Suroño states that, despite outside influences being key to the quality of musicianship, a graduation certificate is important for becoming a performing artist, enabling graduates to find work, so ideally a combination of learning in and outside school should take place.

Unlike Suroño, Suraji is not from a hereditary performing arts background, although he says he may have had ancestors who did performing arts. He began playing with gamelan groups near his home in Klaten from a young age and was encouraged by one of the older musicians to enrol at SMKN 8. He studied there from 1979 (when he was already eighteen years old) to 1983.⁶⁶ Suraji then accepted a scholarship to study Javanese literature at UNS, which had a higher status than ISI Surakarta (then called ASKI) at that time. But finally, after toying with the idea of studying at ISI Yogyakarta, he settled on studying at ISI Surakarta, where he was also offered a scholarship. He completed his Bachelor's degree from ISI in four years, and immediately applied to teach there. He knew there was a risk he would be posted elsewhere, anywhere in Indonesia, but he felt most likely he would be asked to teach at ISI because he had the support of senior lecturers. In 1988 he became an official public sector employee and in 2008 he became head of the *karawitan* department, a four-year posting of which he is now in his second

⁶⁶ At this time the programme at SMKN 8 was four years long; in 1997 it changed to three years to bring it in line with other schools.

term.



Figure 2.4 Suraji (left) and his colleague, Hadi Boediono, in a classroom at ISI. (5 November 2009) (Photo credit: Danis Sugiyanto)

In Suraji's opinion, the way *karawitan* is taught at SMKN 8 and at ISI has not changed significantly, and neither has the structure of examinations at ISI. However, he notes that during his studies at ISI, only *gendhing* were taught, not how to use the melodic patterns of one *gendhing* to interpret other material, and explains that "so at that time when I was able to musically interpret (*nggarap*) other *gendhing*, it was because we had learnt how to do it for ourselves" (Suraji, interview, 31 May 2014). Suraji believes that learning how to interpret and re-use melodic material is very important and when he became a lecturer he decided to make sure that this skill was passed on to students explicitly. Stratford (2012) explains that "students at [SMKN 8] and ISI develop their musicianship within the arts institutions through learning

materials that become more complex through each semester of study” (209). Ransby (2013) describes this as a formulaic system where students are taught how to deconstruct *gendhing* in order to recognise their patterns, and thereby apply these patterns to other *gendhing* in the future (237). Brinner (1995) describes this teaching process as “explicit and rule-oriented” (157). While learning gamelan in this way enables a player to easily interpret new material without additional instruction, it could lead to a reduction in the amount of melodic variety as the individual characteristics of how to interpret particular *gendhing*, which may not follow pre-defined rules, could be replaced by more formulaic melodic patterns.

The *karawitan* department teaching staff make decisions about the curriculum together, which Suraji relates to the way a gamelan set is played, with each player contributing and coming together with the others: “If we are going to implement a decision related to policy, everyone should be involved, give feedback, until we agree. No one is losing out, no one feels...left out, but everyone joins in with contributing” (Suraji, interview, 31 May 2014). The *gendhing* studied by students have undergone a few changes, with more *gendhing* currently being taught as part of larger suites where in the past they were taught individually, but the basic materials have remained the same over the years.⁶⁷

Aside from teaching the physical techniques involved in playing gamelan and the repertoire, Suraji believes that *rasa* is very important, and

⁶⁷ For an example, see Ransby (2013) where she details the syllabus used during her studies at ISI in 2000–2003 (187-191).

something that is very difficult to learn. I asked Suraji whether he tries to teach *rasa* in his work at ISI. He explained that he only introduces the concept in semester five, and asks students to try to feel the music, for whatever instrument they are playing, to create an atmosphere, and to differentiate between the *rasa* depending on the function of the music, such as for dance, wayang and *klenengan*.

Gamelan music, wayang and dance are taught alongside other arts and general subjects that follow a national curriculum such as Indonesian language, religion and citizenship education. Suraji likes the idea of a more flexible timetable for students which would enable them to spend more time experiencing gamelan music off campus, but the government rules that stipulate what non-music subjects must be taught do not allow for this.

For me that would be fortunate. So every day [we could say to] the students, ‘Come on, such-and-such o’clock you go to the library and listen to this. Later we will discuss it.’ And then we could take them to the Mangkunegaran for the radio broadcast..., the students could attend that, but before or after that there are other subjects so [what they learnt] doesn’t stick. (Suraji, interview, 31 May 2014)

This feeling is echoed by Benamou (1998), who describes ISI as isolated compared to other arts organisations in Solo, “partly because of its location—on the extreme eastern edge of town—but also because the students and teachers there are kept so busy with their various duties” (47 footnote 53). Even Suraji believes that only so much can be learnt in school: “Yes because

if we look at technique we win, yes, technique. But it can be said that, if we are talking about quality, *rasa*, the outside wins” (Suraji, interview, 31 May 2014). Since the ISI timetable cannot be changed to allow students to spend more time out in the gamelan community, Suraji suggests that they should make an effort to spend their spare time, evenings and weekends, joining the various gamelan rehearsals that take place around Solo. He criticises the fact that few students seem to do this, but at the same time he expects students to prioritise their responsibilities at ISI, and is well-known among students for scolding them if they skip class to perform. Suraji supports a careful balance between attending ISI classes, to learn a wide range of styles and techniques as well as fulfilling examination commitments, while also being active in the gamelan community outside campus, attending rehearsals and performances where they do not clash with ISI commitments, in order to gain more exposure and experience *rasa*.

Formal arts schools are easily the most significant organisations in Central Javanese performing arts today. Many of the most well-known performers are aligned with these schools in some way, whether as alumni, as teachers or as lecturers. Every young professional gamelan musician, *pesindhèn*, dhalang and dancer has attended at least one of these schools, and for most aspiring professionals, a path that includes SMKN 8 and ISI is followed. These schools have transformed performing arts education quite drastically. The next section will look at some possible effects of this formal arts education system.

Institutionalisation of Performing Arts

Karawitan students at ISI Surakarta are encouraged to play the music as it is written on the whiteboard, regardless of whether they know a different style from outside school.⁶⁸ This has led to the development of an “ISI style”, recognisable by musicians. Furthermore, outside the educational system, in performances, if someone plays in this ISI style without incorporating variations or embellishments, it may well be commented upon negatively by other musicians, with statements such as “he’s still learning”. This implies that the ISI style is considered inferior to other possible styles. As if to support this theory, the teachers, when performing outside campus, do not play the same melodic patterns that they teach in class. Indeed, students are encouraged to watch their teachers at performances off campus, as if to observe them in their natural habitat, playing more freely than they would on campus.

However, Suraji, the current head of the *karawitan* department at ISI, disagrees with the idea of an ISI musical style. He says that he wants students to hear a range of styles from recordings of revered gamelan players, so that they can then choose which styles to use. He is adamant that there is no such thing as a specific ISI style:

There was a *pesindhèn* who, when she used a different melodic pattern

⁶⁸ In Javanese gamelan music some of the instruments play variations of melodic patterns called *céngkok*. These variations may be taken from other musicians or semi-improvised. The variants that are played are one element (among others such as *rasa*) that contributes to an individual musical style.

(*céngkok*), was asked, ‘Isn’t your melodic pattern strange?’ ‘This is an ISI melodic pattern,’ like that.... Does ISI create special melodic patterns so that they have become ISI melodic patterns? If that is so, then it is a big mistake, because ISI’s principles are to preserve, develop and [function] as a source of information, not to manufacture, not as a manufacturer. That is what I have to emphasise to people. Indeed there are some people who, if pressed, if asked by students, answer, ‘Oh, this is a melodic pattern from, umm, ASKI (now ISI).’ When in fact, it is not, no. There are no ASKI melodic patterns. (Suraji, interview, 31 May 2014)

If there are no ISI melodic patterns, then what are the musical patterns taught to students at ISI? And why is there so much insistence on everyone playing exactly the same? I studied at ISI having already learnt some *gendèr*, and when I attended *gendèr* class I was expected to play the patterns as they were written on the whiteboard, and not to use my prior knowledge. In this way, I was expected to conform with the institution and, had I focused wholly on studying at the institution, this would surely have had a standardising effect on my own playing, bringing it into line with that of other students.

Lindsay (1985) has explained how one of the effects of needing to teach a large number of students together is that it “necessitates consensus among the...teachers about what they are to teach, and how they are to teach it” (71). At various times during the twentieth century this has led to a process of codification. Lindsay (1985) describes this first taking place at the *Kridha Beksa Wirama* dance school of the Yogyakarta Kraton, and then being part of

Dewantara's call for "a more systematic approach to teaching gamelan music" (21). However, according to Suraji, there has never been a discussion aimed at reaching a consensus about such detailed matters as which variants of each melodic pattern to teach to *karawitan* students.

As described above, the ISI timetable is very full; students and teachers alike are on campus from early morning to late afternoon Monday to Friday.⁶⁹ They listen to and play gamelan for hours every day, and are frequently engaged in campus-related activities in the evenings as well. I suggest that this is one of the reasons why a distinct musical style has developed. Secondly, in an examination-driven society, students must focus on mastering the campus material, prioritising it over and above anything from outside. Even if material from elsewhere is more musically interesting, they have to toe the line and stick to campus material for their exams. Therefore, although there may have never been a meeting at which staff of the *karawitan* department laid out their plans for creating the department's own musical style, it seems that such a style has developed naturally, as a result of the right environmental conditions being present, in other words, a result of institutionalisation.

We have already seen how insular SMKN 8 and ISI appear to be; most of the teachers are graduates of those two schools, and they are mainly teaching the same material that they were taught as students. There is little if any effort to recruit teachers from elsewhere, apart from those who teach non-Javanese performing arts. This is completely at odds with the recruitment

⁶⁹ When I studied at ISI in 2008–2010, classes began at 7.30am and were held on Saturdays as well. ISI has since changed to a five-day week.

procedure at other higher education institutions internationally, where having staff from a variety of academic backgrounds is believed to support a healthy academic environment. In the case of Thai music, however, Myers-Moro (1993) suggests that even if teachers were recruited from a variety of backgrounds, the institutional environment would have a universalising effect, effectively blurring the boundaries between previously distinct musical styles (125). If this is true, perhaps it is better that ISI remains separate, as a single musical style among many. Indeed, perhaps the teachers' efforts to differentiate between their own styles and ISI style, always teaching in ISI style when in class, are a subconscious refusal to standardise, a refusal to give up their own styles, even though they must keep them hidden at certain places and times.

All of these factors—the very full timetable, the teachers' experiences and backgrounds within the schools, and the reliance on examinations—have meant that ISI has effectively created its own world, separate from performing arts activities outside. Teachers stay within the system when teaching at ISI; they save their other artistic styles for performances, thus reinforcing the separation between what happens in the classroom and elsewhere. It is not surprising that this separation has led to the genesis of a separate musical style in the *karawitan* department. Sieweke (2014) offers strong support for this, with his theory, following Bourdieu, that “institutions are learned by actors through the unconscious imitation of other actors' actions” (66). It would appear that this is exactly what has taken place at ISI, in a continuing and constantly self-reinforcing process. With students listening to each other playing the same repertoire for hours every day, being taught by teachers who

also went through that experience, there is little opportunity to break out into another style.⁷⁰

However, ISI has made efforts to connect with the outside world on occasion. A recent endeavour by *karawitan* teachers at ISI has been the launch of a regular *klenengan*, with the aim of analysing pieces. It began on 24th June 2015, and was attended by most of Solo's senior gamelan musicians from a range of affiliations. After each piece was played (by whichever musicians wanted to play), it was analysed. The musicians who didn't play sat and studied notation while listening intently. They then discussed possible ways to interpret (*nggarap*) the piece. This seemed like a great way to inject some outside influences into ISI, but I was surprised that there were very few students in attendance. Most of the students present were in fact SMKN 8 students, and the majority of the audience was made up of musicians and some foreign gamelan students. These kinds of efforts could make a difference, by making study at ISI better connected into opinions and analyses from outside as well as by creating a forum for ISI staff to share their musical ideas. However, it remains to be seen how much of the discussion filters down to inform teaching practice and affect what is actually taught during class.

⁷⁰ McNeil (2007) has described, in the case of Indian music, how *gharanas* (musician lineages) "can be portrayed as an adaptive response by musicians and their urbanised audiences to the modernity pervading the institutions and patronage structures that were quickly developing in Mumbai, Calcutta and Delhi" (56). It is interesting that families of performing artists have not gained this significance as a response to institutionalisation in Javanese performing arts, where the families support the schools, providing both students and teachers.



Figure 2.5 The audience at the 24th June 2015 *klenengan* at ISI. (24 June 2015)

The concept of institutions being established to teach performing arts that were previously taught outside a school-based structure is not limited to Central Java, but has taken place in many societies. In his article about Folkworks, an educational institution offering a degree course in English folk music through the University of Newcastle, Keegan-Phipps (2007) discusses the risks of institutionalisation that can arise through folk music being taught at an educational institution. The founders of Folkworks were adamant that “Folkworks is dealing not in the consolidation of a folk music canon, but in the increasing of opportunities for participation in the genre” (101). We can see that, as a new programme which began teaching a Bachelor’s degree course in 2001, Folkworks was expected to justify its existence, something that the well-established ISI Surakarta no longer needs to do. The ISI musical style has arguably developed over several decades, through the constant turnover of graduates who become teachers. It will be fascinating to see whether a similar process takes place at Folkworks, where Keegan-Phipps (2007) notes that the staff “are mindful of the problem of teaching folk music at a higher educational level without standardizing the content and style of the music over time” (102).

Keegan-Phipps (2007) describes one of the fears of the Folkworks team, that institutionalisation will lead to the creation of “a folk music elite: a group whose social status within the culture will be simultaneously elevated and self-warranting by the resultant credential of graduation” (102). While graduating from ISI Surakarta clearly opens the door to a range of jobs, it seems that graduates do not hold a higher social status. In fact, the older performing artists, who in many cases did not attend much school at all, continue to be highly respected and their knowledge is frequently sought by younger artists who cannot learn all they need to know in school. The potentially elite status of teachers at ISI, therefore, is currently balanced by the respect for the older generations of artists. The palaces and their schools also provide some counter-balance, offering valued alternatives to ISI as centres of knowledge. However, with nearly all young performing artists now attending ISI, the non-ISI contingent, those who have never studied there, is getting smaller. Perhaps, in the future, the teachers at ISI will be the only ones who are seen as true experts.

Institutionalisation has clearly had a massive impact on performing arts, and we can expect this to continue to grow in the future, as every performing artist follows an institutional path. Despite this, the way that ISI musical style is able to co-exist with other styles, suggests that we will not see other musical styles subsumed into a single ISI style. In addition to palace schools, *sanggar* provide another educational alternative to the two dominant institutions.

Non-formal *Sanggar* Clubs

Students who do not want to enrol full-time at an institute or study at a palace school can learn performing arts at a *sanggar*. This is a non-formal workshop, studio or club where a teacher runs classes several times a week. *Sanggar* are often located at people's homes, such as the home of a dhalang or a dance teacher. Local students attend regularly and practise gamelan, wayang or dance, often performing together as a group.

It would be impossible to surmise when *sanggar* first existed as it is likely that this type of education evolved naturally from large families learning at home into its more organised form today. Geertz (1960) mentions several of these informal organisations that he encountered during his fieldwork in Modjokuto in the 1950s. He describes how “a public school teacher...trained a group of young boys and girls from his school to dance” (286). *Sanggar* that I heard of in and around Surakarta during 2008 to 2015 include: *Sanggar Sawo Jajar*, at the home of Tugini and Priya, where young adults learn wayang and *karawitan*; *Sanggar Pangruwatan*, at the home of the late Sri Joko Raharjo, where young children through to adults learn gamelan; *Sanggar Bima*, at the home of Manteb Soedharsono in Karangpandan; *Sanggar Jengglong Joyo*, at the home of Joko Santosa where gamelan, masked dance and children's dance are taught; *Sanggar Ciptoning*, at the home of Bambang Suwarno, where wayang and gamelan are taught; and *Sanggar Soerya Soemirat* at the Mangkunegaran Palace where dance is taught.

Several studies into *sanggar* have been carried out by students and

professors at ISI Surakarta. For example *Peranan Sanggar Tari dalam Perkembangan Tari Anak-anak di Kotamadia Surakarta* (The Role of Dance *Sanggar* in the Development of Children's Dance in Surakarta) investigates five dance *sanggar* in Surakarta and looks at aspects such as curriculum, routine and occasional activities, and the role of these *sanggar* in dance education for children (Untari 2000). Other studies focus on individual *sanggar*, which may offer classes in wayang, dance, gamelan or more than one art form; research focuses on teaching methods and materials, student population and teachers (Sawitri 2003, Asmoro 2009, Sudarsono 2009, Susila 2010, Sunarto 2010). Some studies focus on specific elements that are taught at a *sanggar*, such as *sabetan* (wayang puppet movements) or vocal parts for dhalang (Randya 2010, Suwondo 2010). As a whole, these studies show that *sanggar* are considered a significant site for knowledge transfer in the arts, and that many performers have attended a *sanggar* at one time. It is notable also that these studies were all produced by students and professors at ISI, and this shows that in the view of the main higher education institution, *sanggar* are considered an important part of arts education in and around Surakarta. It is likely that some of the authors of these studies began to learn performing arts at a *sanggar*.



Figure 2.6 Young children learning dance at the Kraton. (30 June 2006)

Sanggar teachers are typically employed by or come from the family that runs the *sanggar*, and teach several times a week. Students, who can come from any background, including performing artist families, learn in their free time, away from formal educational institutions. For students who also attend full-time arts education, learning at a *sanggar* is an extra-curricular activity, a chance to try out what they have been learning at school, and an opportunity to be exposed to styles not taught at school. The teachers actively instruct students from beginner level, including technique as well as repertoire, with individual attention given to students where necessary.

I interviewed Umiyati Sri Warsini (more often known as Umi Hartono, taking her husband's name), who is a well-known teacher of Mangkunegaran-style dance, and herself a hereditary performing artist. She teaches at *Sanggar Soerya Soemirat*. Umi pointed out a number of key differences between the way dance is taught at formal schools like SMKN 8 and ISI and at *sanggar*.

Whereas at ISI and SMKN 8 students learn warm-up exercises, and separate dance steps as individual movements, at *Soerya Soemirat* students jump straight in and learn dances as a whole. At formal schools, students are grouped according to their ability, for example the semester one students all learn together. At *sanggar* students of all different abilities learn together, from complete beginners to senior students who perform frequently. This means that the beginners learn a great deal by simultaneously copying their seniors while dancing the same dance together. “That leaves them to absorb it,” she explained, and those who quickly memorise the dances are considered good (Umiyati Sri Warsini, interview, 16 May 2014). When Umi teaches, she places the students by rank, with the most experienced at the front and any beginners at the back. The beginners then learn by following the more experienced dancers in front of them, correcting themselves when they make a wrong movement. This is interesting as it is similar to the current system at SMKN 8 and ISI, where students of different abilities are mixed in one class, rather than being streamed, in the hopes that weaker students will learn from their peers. After finishing a dance, if there were parts that were remembered poorly by even the most experienced dancers, Umi will go through those sections of the dance, counting out the steps as she reminds them, often using only the hand and arm movements. The same Mangkunegaran-style dances are repeated over the years, though within a given session a dance is only repeated if the students are preparing for a performance of it.

Umi organises a monthly dance performance given by her students and takes care to give extra attention to those who will perform at the upcoming event. She also selects the students for each month’s show: “I actually try so

that the students take turns to perform there, though we also look at their ability and their discipline. For example, if a student isn't hardworking, meaning they often don't show up, I will consider that too. I feel sorry for the hardworking students, who always show up" (Umiyati Sri Warsini, interview, 16 May 2014).



Figure 2.7 A group of Umi's dance students performing at the monthly *Setu Pon* performance at the Prangwedanan, Mangkunegaran Palace. (4 January 2014)

Jazuli describes *pedhalangan* education at *Sanggar Seni Sarotomo*, where dance and *karawitan* are also taught. The majority of students at this *sanggar* are children who want to learn performing arts. There is no strict curriculum, and Jazuli describes a student-focused approach, where “demonstration with a nuance of play makes up the main learning method” (Jazuli in Rustopo 2012: 256). The students are encouraged to assist at each other's performances, playing the gamelan accompaniment and preparing all the equipment.

Jazuli explains how the students begin to study puppet manipulation:

At the beginning of the learning process, the various students are given the freedom to choose the wayang character they like the most.

Afterwards the teacher gives an example of how to move the puppet simply and appropriately according to the character. Following this, the *sanggar* participants imitate him. This method is repeated until the children have reached a reasonable level of skill. (Jazuli in Rustopo 2012: 257)

Once a student has mastered one character, he or she can move on to learn the next one. The students who are not practising puppet manipulation practise gamelan, singing or wayang speech. Jazuli notes that the role of the teacher is to understand the wishes of the student and to offer gentle guidance, rather than more formal instruction. He points out that “what often happens is that a child who has the highest apparent skill level (who is more senior), informally rebukes and fixes the ‘mistakes’ of his junior, using a method of giving practical examples directly” (Jazuli in Rustopo 2012: 258). That less experienced students learn from their more experienced counterparts is similar to the process described above at the dance *sanggar* and in the mixed-ability classes at school.

Sanggar provide an alternative to full-time formal schooling, offering a place for people of all ages to learn performing arts, while studying or working in other sectors at the same time. For young people engaged in full-time performing arts, the alternative, more relaxed atmosphere provided by *sanggar*

is also welcome. For younger children, a *sanggar* may be their first experience of performing arts and could lead them into an arts career.

We have seen how palace schools run by Surakarta's two courts were the first performing arts schools to be established. The two of these schools which continue to exist today, PDMN at the Mangkunegaran and *Padhasuka* at the Kraton, focus on teaching *pedhalangan*. These schools changed three important elements of *pedhalangan* education: they changed how people learnt, by moving *pedhalangan* education into a more structured setting; they changed who people learnt from, with teachers appointed by the palace; and they changed what was learnt, as only prescribed *lakon* were taught and in the specific palace styles. But who learnt *pedhalangan* did not really change at this time, as the students tended to be already established dhalang or those from dhalang families, who would have become dhalang anyway regardless of whether or not they learnt at a palace school. However, these palace schools emphasised a distinction between court and village performing arts, and highlighted the city-based palaces as centres of knowledge. In the decades to follow, the new government-supported arts schools would further strengthen the pull towards city-based learning.

The state-sponsored performing arts institutions have made a deep impact on arts education by introducing new ways of teaching and learning and also becoming a necessary step on the path to a professional arts career. SMKN 8 and ISI Surakarta offered new teaching methods, such as classroom-based teaching to large classes of students, *karawitan* classes where everyone plays the same instrument in unison, a focus on learning all the instruments of

the gamelan with an emphasis on three instruments (*rebab*, *kendhang* and *gendèr*), and the heavy usage of notation as a tool for teaching and learning. These schools have also been associated with other developments, such as contemporary music and choreography.

Arts institutes have changed arts education, but as we saw, education in Indonesia was changing anyway at that time. These schools offer a way for arts learning to fit into the national education system, thereby offering a way into a performing arts profession which is considered respectable in a society where school is highly valued. Today arts schooling is pretty universal among aspiring young professional artists and the oldest generations alive now are the last to have learnt performing arts entirely outside the school system.

Arts schools can be seen as a leveller of the playing field because everyone is taught the same regardless of their background. Hereditary performing artists go through the same school system as everyone else, although they may already have learnt a great deal at home or elsewhere. On one hand, this fixed system has allowed institutionalisation to take place, which has led to a degree of separation between what goes on in the schools and the artistic world outside. On the other hand, we have seen how the institutes have experimented with different ways of streaming students, and have found that mixing students with different abilities can help those with less experience to catch up with their peers, thus promoting a policy where one's hereditary background counts for less, as everyone must learn the school's material. This type of mixed-ability learning was also found to be commonly practised at *sanggar*, an alternative to the schools, both for hobbyists and for aspiring professionals to gain experience and learn different

styles.

Surakarta has many amateur gamelan groups, but aspiring professional artists have to go beyond this in order to have real success. A formal arts education offers a wider variety of knowledge, such as awareness of the history and theory of performing arts and of different styles. Equally important is the community fostered by the schools, which admits students into the performing arts lifestyle, pulling them in to a network of contacts and a schedule of performances around Java. As part of an arts institute, students spend many hours a day focusing on their chosen art form, as well as the hours spent engaging with arts outside school at performances and informal sessions or rehearsals. It is this time spent engaging with arts which in my opinion is vital for the creation of young professional artists, and as noted above, it seems unlikely that school alone can provide enough of the right sort of exposure.

The effects of institutionalisation appear, to some extent, to have suppressed the abundance of artistic styles among staff and students. When in the classroom at ISI, both teachers and students have “put their ISI hats on”. Teachers inevitably have their own styles, which may be downplayed while teaching at ISI, but when students see them performing off campus, they are able to appreciate the high quality of their teachers’ individual styles. Similarly, students have to rein in their own developing styles while learning the material given to them at SMKN 8 or ISI. The students and teachers also have their own artistic backgrounds off campus, as we shall see in the following chapter that links the performing artist family to the institution and examines heredity among arts students.

Chapter Three

Heredity and the Relationship between Family and Formal Education

In Chapter One we saw how a family of performing artists live and learn their arts in different ways. In Chapter Two we saw how the current situation in formal arts education has developed, and noted that many family members are involved in these arts schools. This chapter will tie the previous two threads together and investigate how knowledge gets passed down through the generations. The significance of heredity in the general community of artists will be examined using quantitative data, and this will reveal a complex network of knowledge transfer that connects performing artist families to formal education.

Family members learn a great deal from their relatives. Although they all value their own heredity, as we shall see, their opinions differ as to the actual effect of this heredity on their talent or ability. Arts knowledge is not merely passed down from parent to child, but instead is transmitted to and from aunts, siblings, cousins, grandparents and so on. Meanwhile the content of this knowledge is not restricted to that learnt purely in the family but is altered and added to with knowledge gained from outside the family circle. Younger family members engage with formal education both as students and as teachers. Knowledge gained from various sources is therefore pieced

together to create sufficient stock for a performing arts career.

Formal education offers a way to learn that appears to be separate from the family. However, as we shall see, these two arenas of arts learning are not as distinct as they may appear. Within the performing artist family discussed in this thesis it is already clear that young family members attend arts institutions and some have become teachers there. But what about the other students at SMKN 8 and ISI, who are not from this performing artist family? Looking at the student bodies of SMKN 8 and ISI Surakarta will give an idea of the prevalence of performing artist family members among today's young artists and therefore show whether heredity is common in Javanese performing arts and not just a feature of the large extended family that we have discussed so far.

Knowledge Flows and the Family

As part of my fieldwork interviews I asked members of the performing artist family to explain who had been the most significant person in the family in terms of assisting or encouraging their own learning process. I wanted to find out how they perceived the flows of knowledge between family members.

Some artists selected their parents as being the most helpful or supportive. Subini described her mother and father, though particularly her mother, as being most instrumental in helping her to learn. She not only taught Subini to play, but also engaged in ascetic activities such as fasting and visiting graves in the belief that this would help Subini to be able to play

gendèr.⁷¹ In some cases, parents were chosen because they had actually taught their children performing arts, such as in the case of Suroño who was taught *gendèr* by his mother, Sarju Sri Prihatin, and Ninuk Subandiyah who was taught to play gamelan by her father, Joko Sabeyan. In other cases, however, people chose their parents because they felt they had provided other types of assistance, such as emotional support or encouragement throughout their learning process. It is impossible to measure the influence of these kinds of support, which do not directly impart knowledge to the recipient but perhaps enable the recipient to be more open to receiving knowledge from elsewhere. It is, however, important to be aware that this kind of support is valued by Javanese performing artists and may contribute to their learning processes.

For some people, other family members had been more helpful or supportive than their parents. Where there was a large age gap between siblings, an older brother or sister had often mentored their younger sibling. For example Suparno chose his older brother Puspocarito as being the most helpful in his learning process. Suparno's father had passed away when he was young and so Puspocarito both taught and encouraged him into performing arts. Sutarmi and Beja both named their aunt, Sumiyati, as being the most helpful. She taught Sutarmi some *sindhènan* on stage during performances and gave Beja advice on how to learn *pedhalangan*. This is interesting because Sumiyati has never been a dhalang. Her experience playing gamelan at hundreds of wayang performances would have provided knowledge that she

⁷¹ The practice of ascetic activities by performing artists will be examined further in Chapter Four.

could pass on, although she didn't practise it herself. Sumiyati's general encouragement was highly valued by her younger relatives; she also took another niece, Sukaeni, for her first performances as a young *pesindhèn*, as described in Chapter One. Some of my interviewees, however, felt unable to name a single person who had helped them the most and believed that all family members had helped collectively.

In order to produce more detailed information about how knowledge flows within and outside the family, I asked Sujarwo in more depth about the sources of knowledge and advice that he sees as part of his learning. He listed twenty-three different components of Javanese performing arts that he had learnt separately from different people at different times. (See Table 3.1 below, and Appendix IV for the complete list with sources.) Some of these involved being taught directly, while others were learnt through watching performances or listening to recordings.

	Gamelan	Wayang	Masked Dance
Learnt from Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Basic <i>Kendhangan Lancaran</i> ▪ <i>Gendèr buka Wilujeng</i> ▪ <i>Gendèran puthut gelut irama wiled</i> ▪ <i>Gendèran Gambirsawit irama dadi and wiled</i> ▪ <i>Gendèran ada-ada lawas</i> ▪ <i>Gendèran grimmingan</i> ▪ <i>Gendèran ada-ada and grimmingan</i> ▪ <i>Kendhangan topèng</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Sulukan in Klathènan style</i> ▪ <i>Lakon-lakon wayang</i> ▪ <i>Sanggit wayang</i> ▪ <i>Keprakan</i> ▪ <i>Prang Kethèk</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tari Topèng Klana</i>
Learnt from Outside Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Rebab basics</i> ▪ <i>Rebab céngkok prenés</i> ▪ <i>Gendèran céngkok variations</i> ▪ <i>Kendhangan tarian</i> ▪ <i>Kendhangan tari in Mangkunegaran style</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Sulukan in Klathènan style</i> ▪ <i>Sanggit wayang</i> ▪ <i>Catur wayang</i> ▪ <i>Keprakan</i> 	

Table 3.1 Sujarwo’s list of what he learnt.

Sujarwo’s list shows that he does not conceptualise the elements of his arts knowledge as chunks of equal size, but rather that he can specify that he learnt one small detail, such as *gendèran puthut gelut irama wiled*⁷² from one

⁷² This is a *gendèr* version of a specific melodic pattern in a specific

person, in this case his grandmother, Subini, and a massive section of knowledge, such as dramatic skill for wayang (*sanggit*), from another person, in this case his father, Hali Jarwo Sularso. Fourteen of the items in the list are labelled as being learnt from family members, and the majority of the remainder were learnt as part of his formal education at SMKN 8 and ISI. Thirteen of the items relate to learning gamelan music, nine relate to learning wayang and one relates to learning masked dance. However, learning the drumming for dance accompaniment or the *sulukan* that are then accompanied by *gendèr* clearly has crossover possibilities as knowledge of one greatly aids an ability in the other. Of the gamelan instruments Sujarwo noted down, he only specifies learning *gendèr*, *rebab* and *kendhang*, with all his *rebab* knowledge coming from formal education. This is interesting, since *rebab* is by far his weakest instrument of the three. He does not say how he learnt to play other gamelan instruments, such as *balungan*, colotomic instruments and other elaborating instruments like *gambang* and *siter*. Perhaps his education at SMKN 8 and ISI, where *rebab*, *kendhang* and *gendèr* are heavily prioritised, has taught him to focus on these three instruments when thinking about his learning, or perhaps he did not actively learn other instruments but just picked them up through exposure and experience.

Reading Sujarwo's list alone can seem perplexing. How do these little threads of knowledge come together and create a whole performing artist who can perform wayang, play gamelan and dance? Knowing only the items in his list would not enable Sujarwo to perform a whole wayang, since only certain

rhythmic density (*irama*).

elements of wayang performance are listed as having been learnt. Nor would it allow for dancing characters other than Klana, when in fact he has done so on numerous occasions. There is no indication of where Sujarwo learnt to play *kendhang* for *klenèngan*, or indeed play many instruments of the gamelan at all. While there are likely to be elements that Sujarwo has forgotten that he learnt, it is also clear that a great deal of knowledge must have been acquired subconsciously, without intentional effort on Sujarwo's part. Having been exposed to performing arts from birth and having inherited genes from his two performing artist parents, it is possible that some of Sujarwo's talent is hereditary. While it would be difficult if not impossible to prove whether genes are directly involved in Sujarwo's case, Levitin (2006) describes how "basic structural elements are incorporated into the very wiring of our brains when we listen to music early in our lives" (107). Growing up surrounded by performing arts will have hardwired them into Sujarwo's brain from the beginning of his life, thus creating a predisposition to learning Javanese gamelan music, wayang and dance.

I was interested in the perceived importance of heredity by members of the performing artist family. Did they put their success down to genes alone, or believe that they were superior to non-hereditary performing artists? A number of family members believed that they did have an advantage in learning performing arts compared to non-hereditary artists. For Joko Purnomo this took the form of a natural ability to learn aurally, which while not making them instant artists, he thought made it easier for them to learn (Joko Purnomo, interview, 8 March 2014).

Sukaeni was among several artists who felt that school could be a

substitute for heredity. She explained that if a person was not from an artist family, it would be very difficult for them to become a performing artist without schooling. However, they could become a talented professional, as good as a hereditary artist, through attending a formal arts institution. She went on to point out that a hereditary artist who also attends school would be even better (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014). Surono described how some of his students at SMKN 8 are not from performing artist families:

It can happen, lots of those who work at SMKN 8, even though they are from artist families, they lose to people who are not from performing artist families, because those people really concentrate, really study. Because the majority of children from arts backgrounds who come to SMKN 8, although they can play *kendhang*, their technique is incorrect. So whatever the quality, if their technique isn't right, they cannot become perfect. But this is different to those who start from nothing, they are just starting to learn, they know about technique first and then learn more intensively, which is better. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

For Surono, as a gamelan teacher, having a blank slate to work with was easier than trying to change a student's technique that they had learnt outside school. This is an important point because it highlights the way that arts schools do teach a certain technique (as discussed in the previous chapter), which may not be the same as what someone has learnt outside school. It also shows that at least some of the teachers at these schools believe that the

“correct” technique, taught in school, is superior to techniques learnt outside school.

Hali stated that the son of a dhalang would not become a dhalang if he didn't want to learn, and that someone without a hereditary background could become a dhalang with enough desire and effort (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014). Hali's younger brother, the dhalang Widodo agreed, explaining that no one is born able to perform wayang; even a dhalang's son must put effort into learning his art. However, being born into a performing artist family has the advantage that a child is already in the right environment for learning arts; the necessary information is easily accessible (Widodo, interview, 15 March 2014). Wakidi, a musician whose parents were not performers, referred to this, pointing out that a dhalang's son can ask his father whatever he wants to know, whereas someone without a performing artist family must find this information elsewhere (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014).

Suparno believed that it was quite possible for someone not from a performing artist family to become a talented artist. He cited the gamelan musician Subandi⁷³ as an example:

Are his parents artists? No. He just used to follow Jiwa, follow Puspocarito. But after he joined them, little by little, he was like a person eating, he felt good. He went with that feeling, in fact he built a

⁷³ Subandi Hardja Suwito, a skillful and knowledgeable *bonang* player, passed away on 21st August 2015 at the age of 56.

home from that, his daily economy, from that he bought a motorcycle. He made a lifelong commitment to performing arts. Because of that we can say, ‘until he was bald’, because of all the arts knowledge that went in. That kid is full of notation. Whereas Bambang⁷⁴ wins on theory, Subandi wins because he is clever and sensitive. Even though before he left Puspocarito’s place he was still playing *bonang panerus* and moved up to *balungan*. When he felt dissatisfied he immediately left for Nartosabdho. So that kid joined the big dhalang. The last one was Purbo [Asmoro]. So he has played for Anom [Soeroto], the first was Nartosabdho, then Anom, Manteb [Soedharsono] as well, and finally Purbo. So that kid is full. (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014)

From this example we can see that although Subandi was not from a performing artist family, he aligned himself with Suparno’s extended family. Despite not being born into arts, because of his strong desire, he was able to learn a lot in his youth, possibly making up for any deficiency caused by being from outside the family. We can see that a key moment was when Subandi realised he could make a living from playing gamelan; for a villager without any qualifications leading to other work, this was an important factor in his career choice.

Some of my interviewees, however, believed that heredity was of greater significance for performing artists. Beja’s opinion differed to many of

⁷⁴ The musician Bambang Siswanto is referred to here. See Appendix II for his short biography.

the others. He stated that in terms of *pedhalangan* specifically, there was an important difference between hereditary and non-hereditary dhalang:

If a dhalang's child holds, only holds, a wayang puppet, one can feel it, one can already feel it. If he sings *sulukan*, it can be felt even though his voice isn't good, it can be felt that he sang the dhalang's *sulukan*. But for the others, sorry, because although they may indeed be good, and some are good, one doesn't feel it. (Beja Nugraha, interview, 23 February 2014)

Beja believes that the *rasa* is simply different when the child of a dhalang is performing and that it is something innate that cannot be learnt. This was a view echoed by Suraji, who based his explanation on his experience teaching at ISI.

Usually, those who are hereditary have a way to learn the materials...they are faster, though this is not an absolute rule. There are also those who are not hereditary who can get it straight away, but I feel that genes are an important factor...related to...when they have already mastered the material. The building of *rasa* from their interpretation (*garapan*) is different between those who are hereditary and those who are not. (Suraji, interview, 31 May 2014)

Umi described her experience teaching at the Mangkunegaran Palace, and how hereditary students often learnt dance more quickly than those not

from performing artist families. She also felt that there was a quality of their dancing which was different: “For those who are hereditary artists there is more feeling, for example in the rhythmic density (*irama*), it’s more sensitive, they know more than those who are non-hereditary. For the non-hereditary students we usually have to count, one, two, three, four..., like that” (Umiyati Sri Warsini, interview, 16 May 2014).⁷⁵ According to these two highly experienced teachers, Suraji and Umi, therefore, it seems that hereditary performing arts students have better natural instincts than non-hereditary students. As well as often being faster at picking up new material, there is something different about their performing, which can be referred to as *rasa*.

Bambang Siswanto felt that heredity made it much easier for someone to learn performing arts and that a non-hereditary artist could not be as good as a hereditary one.

If the genes go through, a person will naturally love [arts].... But for hereditary artists, if they make a break, [and] end their relationship with performing arts, they will be the same [as non-hereditary artists], they will not be able to do it. So if the quality is equal, the hereditary artist will be stronger. A non-hereditary artist has to look for it. But for the hereditary artist, it is there directly every day he is involved in arts activities, his *rasa* will certainly be stronger and it is a self-selecting

⁷⁵ Lindsay (1985) describes how such counting during dance tuition was a new teaching method at the Kraton dance school in early twentieth century Yogyakarta. She explains how this “allowed individual movements or sections of dances to be isolated and rehearsed separately” (17).

process. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

For Bambang, the higher level of *rasa*, as described by Suraji and Umi, is caused by and relies upon constant exposure to performing arts. Although being hereditary may provide a genetic advantage, according to Bambang, it is still important for a hereditary artist to have this constant exposure. This is supported by cognition theory, which explains that everything one has experienced is encoded somewhere in the brain, and each memory simply needs the right trigger in order for us to recall it (Levitin 2006: 161). Therefore, even for hereditary artists, experience is key, as it builds memories that support the learning process. Moreover, “the more we access a memory, the more active become the retrieval and recollection circuits, and the more facile we are with the cues necessary to get at the memory” (Levitin 2006: 161). This means that the frequent exposure to performing arts often experienced by hereditary artists provides them with a huge advantage in learning; it actually makes it easier for them to learn more, because accessing their memories of what they already know becomes easier.

This section has shown how important the flows of knowledge within a family are to each individual’s learning process. For the performing artist family discussed in this thesis, every single interviewee agreed that family was a significant factor in their performing arts learning process, through active teaching and learning as well as provision of support and encouragement. Where parents were unable or unwilling to provide such support, it was often the case that other family members stepped in. The snippets of knowledge gained from family members, however apparently small, were considered

significant parts of what would later become a professional stock of arts knowledge. For artists like Subandi, aligning himself with a performing artist family was the next best option to being hereditary. While Surono believed that non-hereditary musicians could learn better in school, Suraji and Umi believed that hereditary artists have an advantage in learning, a stance which is supported by cognition theory. The next section will move beyond this particular family and begin from the perspective of formal arts schools.

Hereditary Arts Students at SMKN 8

I conducted a survey of students at SMKN 8 and ISI with detailed questions relating to the students' family backgrounds, in order to build up a picture of the links between formal education and family in Surakarta's arts institutions. I chose to survey three departments—*karawitan*, *pedhalangan* and dance—at both SMKN 8 and ISI.⁷⁶ Rather than survey the entire student body, I chose to survey only class one of SMKN 8 and semester two (as my survey dates fell in the second half of the academic year) at ISI. The survey was in the form of a questionnaire which was given to students to complete while my assistant and I waited and dealt with any queries.⁷⁷ I used the same basic

⁷⁶ SMKN 8 and ISI both have other departments, such as SMKN 8's music department which focuses on Western music and *kroncong*, and ISI's various visual arts departments.

⁷⁷ In terms of the reliability of the survey, it used a reasonable sample of students at both institutions; there is no reason to suppose that the year group surveyed would be significantly different to other year groups. It is possible that respondents completed their questionnaires incorrectly for whatever reason, but we can only take their answers as they are, and assume

questionnaire for SMKN 8 and ISI, with a few minor changes. (See Appendix IX for the SMKN 8 questionnaire in its original Indonesian version.) In the following sections, I present the findings of this survey and draw conclusions relating to the student bodies of SMKN 8 and ISI, and heredity in traditional Javanese performing arts.

The survey at SMKN 8 was conducted on 7th February 2014. All the class one pupils were gathered in an assembly hall where they sat on the floor and completed the questionnaires. The completed questionnaires were then compiled and raw data was produced (see Appendix V-VII) which was later analysed. Although a few students were absent that morning, all students present completed and returned the questionnaire. A total of 158 completed questionnaires were received, consisting of 80 from the *karawitan* department, 71 from dance and seven from *pedhalangan*.⁷⁸

The first question of the survey asked, “Are you studying at SMKN 8 or ISI Surakarta, which department and which class?” This was to avoid any rogue questionnaires completed by students from other departments or classes. The second question simply asked, “Are you a hereditary artist, that is a

that the majority of respondents will have answered honestly according to their own knowledge. Respondents were given the opportunity to ask questions if they found anything confusing in the questionnaires and very few asked anything. Therefore the survey results can be considered to be reliable.

⁷⁸ It should be noted that the *pedhalangan* departments at both SMKN 8 and ISI are much smaller than other departments at these institutions. One reason for this is that *pedhalangan* is seen as a more specialised art form, which therefore attracts fewer students. During class, each student practises entire scenes accompanied by musicians, and so the staffing at ISI cannot support a large intake of students (Kathryn Emerson, p.c., 10 August 2016). Also, there are *karawitan* students who perform wayang but who have chosen to study *karawitan* at SMKN 8 or ISI.

dhalang, gamelan musician/*pesindhèn* or traditional Javanese dancer?”

Students were asked to circle either Yes or No. The results are shown in Table

3.2.

Department	Number of Students who answered Yes (%)
<i>Pedhalangan</i>	6 (85.71%)
Dance	41 (57.75%)
<i>Karawitan</i>	52 (65%)
All Departments	99 (62.66%)

Table 3.2 Answers to Question Two by SMKN 8 students

We can see that, overall, nearly two-thirds of the students, 62.66%, said that they were hereditary performing artists. All but one of the *pedhalangan* students said they were hereditary, along with over half of the dance and *karawitan* students. Only one student failed to circle either Yes or No, and the remaining 36.71% of students said they were not hereditary performing artists.

The remainder of the questionnaire asked the students for more in-depth information about the performing arts in their families. Question Three asked students which members of their families were performing artists, and whether it was their profession or hobby, while Question Four asked students to write down which family members were professional performing artists, split into categories of dhalang, gamelan musician or *pesindhèn*, and dancer.

It was interesting that of the students who gave a negative response to Question Two, stating that they were not hereditary performing artists, many went on to list family members as performing artists in their responses to Questions Three and Four. In the *pedhalangan* department, the student who

claimed not to be hereditary in Question Two was able to list family members as performing artists in Questions Three and Four. From the dance department there were 22 students (30.99%), and from the *karawitan* department there were also 22 students (27.5%) who fell into this category. On the other hand, there were no students from any department who answered Yes to Question Two and were then unable to list family members as performing artists in Question Three or Four.

By including as hereditary any student who could list family members of older generations (meaning that siblings, cousins, nieces and nephews were excluded) as performing artists, there were 144 students (91.14%) who were not the only performing artist in their family, but who had at least one generation before them with at least one performing artist, whether professional or hobbyist. This leaves only 13 students (8.23%) who did not have any family members of older generations with wayang, dance or gamelan as a hobby or profession.

These results were surprising, as I had not expected such a massive percentage of students to have performing arts in their families, and only 13 out of 158 students who were pioneers of performing arts in their families. It also raised an interesting question of why so many students (28.48% across all departments) had given a negative response to Question Two, and then gone on to list family members as performing artists. Perhaps their definition of hereditary (*keturunan* in the original Indonesian questionnaire) meant more than merely having family members who did performing arts. Or maybe, despite having performing artists in their families, they did not believe they had inherited skills or knowledge from those relatives. One student

commented:

My family is not a performing artist family, but there are several family members who are artists. And I want to go into arts because from when I was little I already liked arts very much. And eventually I found information about SMKN 8 Surakarta. And my family supported that. (43)⁷⁹

Students like this may not consider themselves to be hereditary performing artists, however, their family backgrounds have clearly played a role in their choice of career path in studying at SMKN 8.

For Question Three students were asked to circle Yes or No to indicate whether or not they had specific family members who were performing arts professionals or hobbyists. The results were tabulated for each department, and the number of non-responses was also noted. The tables in Appendix V show the responses received for each department. I analysed the responses to Question Three according to generation because I believe that a larger number of generations of performing artists represents a stronger trend of heredity within a family. For example, a family where a student has an uncle, grandparent and great-grandparent who are performing artists has a stronger trend of heredity than a student who has six uncles who are performing artists, with no other performing artists in their family. Split according to generation,

⁷⁹ As the questionnaire was conducted anonymously, responses have been coded numerically.

the categories of family members used in the survey can be read like this:

- Student's own generation = brother, sister, cousin
- One generation below the student = niece, nephew
- One generation above the student = mother, father, uncle, aunt
- Two generations above the student = maternal and paternal grandparents, great-aunt, great-uncle
- Three generations above the student = great-grandparents, great-great-aunt, great-great-uncle

Therefore five generations are represented in total, including the student's own generation. I then looked at the number of generations covered by each student's responses to Question Three, ignoring the distinction between performing arts professionals and hobbyists. The results for each department are shown in Table 3.3 and graphically in Figure 3.1 below.

Pedhalangan Department

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists (A)	0 (0%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists (B)	1 (14.29%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists (C)	0 (0%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists (D)	5 (71.43%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists (E)	1 (14.29%)
Total Number of Students	7 (100%)

Dance Department

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists (A)	8 (11.27%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists (B)	16 (22.54%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists (C)	24 (33.8%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists (D)	16 (22.54%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists (E)	7 (9.86%)
Total Number of Students	71 (100%)

Karawitan Department

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists (A)	6 (7.5%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists (B)	20 (25%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists (C)	19 (23.75%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists (D)	21 (26.25%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists (E)	14 (17.5%)
Total Number of Students	80 (100%)

Table 3.3 SMKN 8 students' responses to Question Three by generation

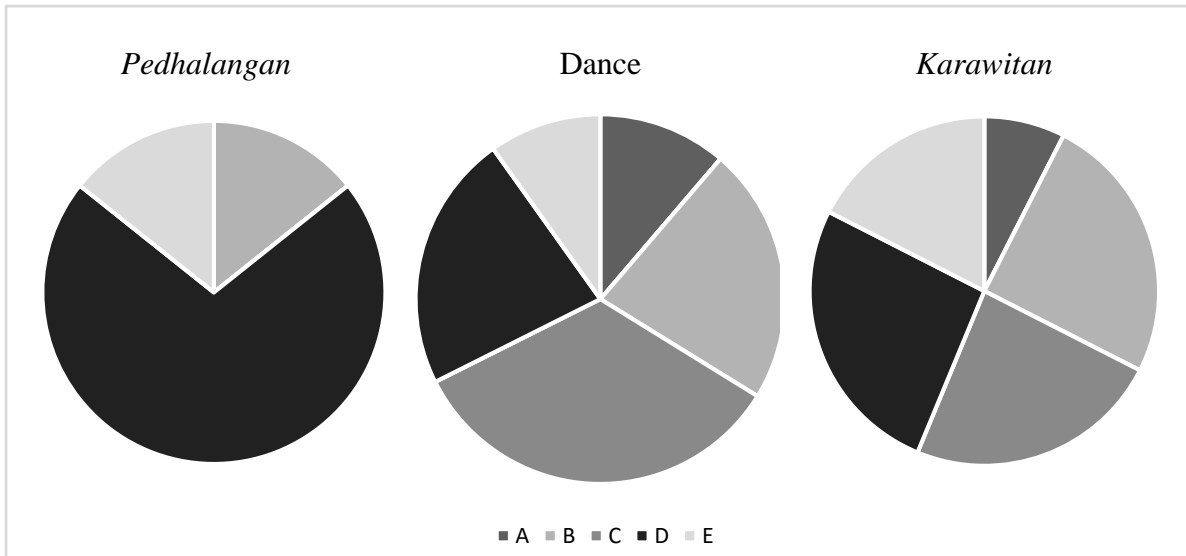


Figure 3.1 Pie charts showing SMKN 8 responses to Question Three by generation.

From this we can see that in every department, most students do have performing artists in multiple generations of their family. In the *pedhalangan* department a clear majority (71.43%) of students have performing artists in three generations of their family, not including their own generation, and none of the students represent the sole generation of their family to have performing artists. Indeed, *pedhalangan* is often considered more hereditary than other Javanese performing arts, and the children of many dhalang have married into other dhalang families. As noted previously, it is often commented upon that the child of a dhalang (especially a son) is expected to be able to perform wayang to some extent, and is believed to have a natural talent. When Sukaeni expressed her desire to become a dhalang to her father, dhalang Tukas Gondo Sukasno, she described his response:

He said, ‘If you become a dhalang, you want to perform wayang, don’t

bother.... If you perform wayang that won't be a surprise, people won't be surprised. The men, the dhalang, they won't be surprised if you can perform wayang. But if you can't then it will look really bad'.

(Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014)

The implication is that it would be ordinary for a dhalang's child to be able to perform wayang, and that they would have to be exceptionally good at it to impress their elders.

Wulan Sri Panjang Mas is one dhalang who can trace her heritage back nineteen generations. When I asked how this was possible she explained:

There is a *Pengruwatan* Book, from my forefathers. They die and it is signed, and goes down to the next person, they die and it is signed, until now. My great-grandfather, my grandfather, then my father has signed it, perhaps if it is passed down to me I will sign it too. (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014)

Comments like these highlight the strong hereditary nature of *pedhalangan*, which is one of the areas where it differs from dance and *karawitan*.

In the dance department of SMKN 8, just over a third of students are from families with performing artists in two other generations and nearly two-thirds have performing artists in at least two other generations of their family. I had expected the dance department to have less of a hereditary student population than either of the other departments because of the availability of

dance classes, *sanggar* and dance on the primary school curriculum. This ought to make it more accessible for non-hereditary participants, particularly children, than *pedhalangan* and *karawitan*. Most schools do not have gamelan instruments, making practical gamelan lessons unavailable; there are relatively few children's *karawitan* groups in the community. There also seem to be more *sanggar* specialising in dance than in *pedhalangan* or *karawitan*. However, the results of my survey show that the majority of students who choose to enter the dance department at SMKN 8 are from families where performing arts are represented. One dance student commented, "My mother founded a dance *sanggar* and they rehearse every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday" (3). In this case we can see that a family background and *sanggar* education can overlap. Many *sanggar* are run by families at their homes, the children of whom are likely to be influenced by the dance activities taking place around them. A *karawitan* student noted, "My family has a *sanggar* that specialises in Trenggalek-style dance, music and *campursari*⁸⁰" (54). Despite having grown up with different art forms to those offered in the *karawitan* department at SMKN 8, this student may well have been influenced to go into performing arts by their family background.

In the *karawitan* department there is a more even spread between students whose families have performing artists in one, two and three other generations. However, compared to the other departments, a relatively large percentage (17.5%) of students have performing artists in four other

⁸⁰ *Campursari* is a form of Javanese popular music that mixes elements from other genres.

generations of their family, going all the way from great-grandparents down to the student's own nieces or nephews. This does not include the student's own generation, of which the student is a representative. Therefore, in these families, a total of five generations have performing artists.

The figures across all three departments are shown in Table 3.4 and graphically in Figure 3.2 below:

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists (A)	14 (8.86%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists (B)	37 (23.42%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists (C)	43 (27.22%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists (D)	42 (26.58%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists (E)	22 (13.92%)
Total Number of Students	158 (100%)

Table 3.4 SMKN 8 students' responses to Question Three across all departments

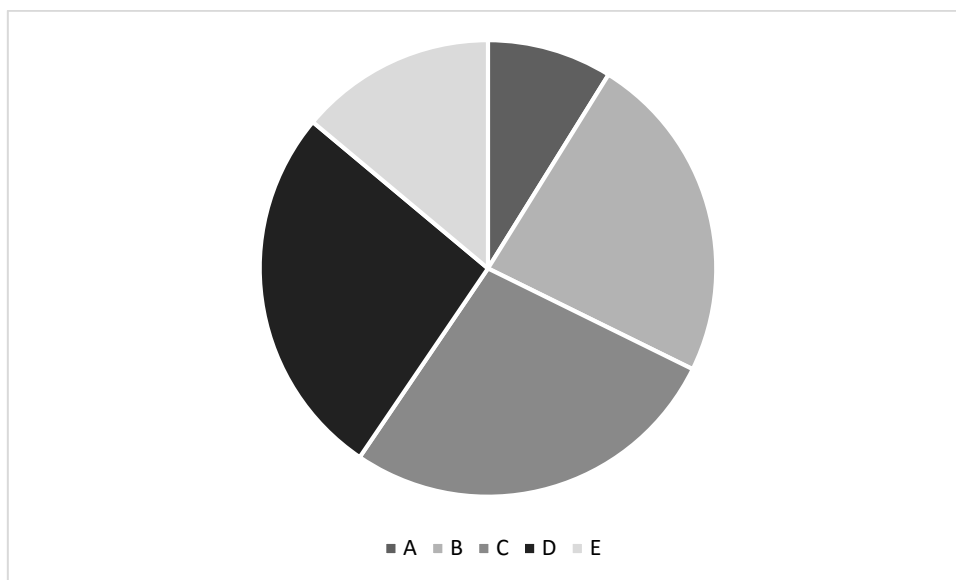


Figure 3.2 Pie chart showing SMKN 8 responses to Question Three across all departments.

From this we can see that a clear majority of students have performing artists in multiple generations of their family. Just over half of all students come from families where there are performing artists in two or three generations not including their own. This trend of performing arts across the generations, I believe, shows a strong tendency of heredity, where it is probable that knowledge is passed down through the generations. The students were asked to complete the questionnaire according to their own knowledge. Therefore, although a student may not have been actively taught performing arts by family members, the fact that he or she knew that their relative was a performing artist suggests that it was significant enough to have had some impact upon their own life choices, such as choosing to enrol at SMKN 8.

In Question Four, students were asked to write down who in their family was a professional dhalang, who was a professional gamelan musician or *pesindhèn*, and who was a professional dancer. An example response was given, showing students that they should write “father, aunt” in the space provided. The majority of students completed this section as per the example, but there was a significant minority who wrote the actual names of professional artists in their family, instead of noting their familial relationships. This made the survey results for Question Four more difficult to analyse and less useful. Nonetheless, I was able to total the number of students with a professional artist or artists for each type of performing art and each department, the results of which are shown in Table 3.5 and Figure 3.3 below.

Department	Number of Students with a Professional Dhalang in their Family (%)	Number of Students with a Professional Gamelan Musician or <i>Pesindhèn</i> in their Family (%)	Number of Students with a Professional Dancer in their Family (%)
<i>Pedhalangan</i>	6 (85.71%)	6 (85.71%)	0 (0%)
Dance	14 (19.72%)	25 (35.21%)	35 (49.3%)
<i>Karawitan</i>	21 (26.25%)	45 (56.25%)	15 (18.75%)
All departments	41 (25.95%)	76 (48.1%)	50 (31.65%)

Table 3.5 SMKN 8 students' responses to Question Four

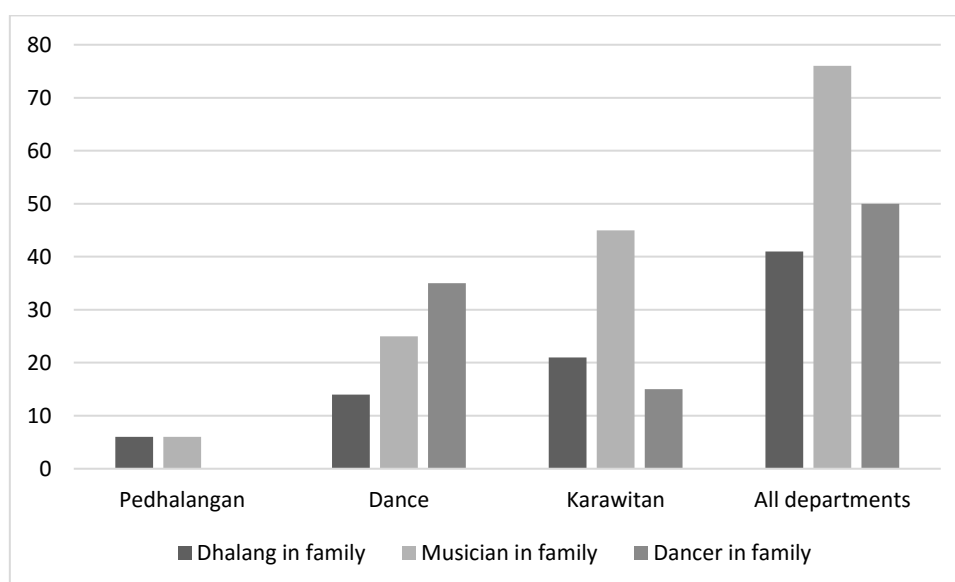


Figure 3.3 Graph showing SMKN 8 responses to Question Four

From this we can see that, for example, in the *pedhalangan* department, six students listed one or more professional dhalang in their family, while six students again listed one or more professional gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn*. The figures are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, five of the *pedhalangan* students listed both dhalang and gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn* in their families. Nearly half of the dance students had a

professional dancer in their family, while just over a third were related to a professional gamelan musician or *pesindhèn*. Over half of the *karawitan* students were related to a professional musician or *pesindhèn* while just over a quarter were related to a professional dhalang.

A number of results stood out from the raw data. For two *pedhalangan* students, both of their parents were professional gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn*. Four *pedhalangan* students said their great-grandfathers were professional dhalang, and three of those four had grandfathers who were professional gamelan musicians. This shows both the prevalence of male dhalang, as opposed to females, which is well-known in Java, and that descendants of dhalang can often trace their heritage back further than descendants of dancers or musicians. Since students were not specifically told which relatives they could write down for Question Four, it could also show that *pedhalangan* students in particular consider this heritage to be important, because they thought to write about their great-grandparents. One *pedhalangan* student commented, “Now my parents live in Surakarta, while my family descended from my great-grandfather who was a dhalang lives in Wonogiri. My twin sister and I have inherited the dhalang talent from our great-grandfather” (5). In the dance department, only two students listed great-grandparents as professional musicians or *pesindhèn*, and three listed them as professional dancers. Meanwhile in the *karawitan* department, only one student listed a great-grandparent as a professional musician or *pesindhèn*. One of the students from the *karawitan* department is from the large performing artist family described in Chapter One. His great-grandparents were professional dhalang, musicians and dancers, and yet he did not list them

in his response. This could be because he is not an aspiring dhalang and therefore this ancestry is less significant to him.

In the dance department eight out of 14 students with professional dhalang in their families said that their grandfather was a professional dhalang. Meanwhile, 15 out of 35 students with professional dancers in their family listed two or more family members as professional dancers. This suggests that whether or not these family members were responsible for teaching the students to dance before they came to SMKN 8, it is likely that some exposure to dancing took place, which could have been a factor in their decision to attend SMKN 8 and specialise in dance. In the *karawitan* department, the majority of students, 31 out of 45, with professional gamelan musicians or dancers in their family only listed one family member as a professional gamelan musician or *pesindhèn*, of which 12 said it was their father, and six said it was their mother. Just two students said that both of their parents were professional musicians or *pesindhèn*. Therefore, for the 20 *karawitan* students with parents working professionally in *karawitan*, one or both of their parents may have been instrumental in at least exposing their child to *karawitan* prior to their enrolment at SMKN 8.

The results from each individual department show, as would be expected, that the art form taught in the department is highly represented among the families of students from that department. In the dance department, more students had professional dancers in their family than had dhalang or musicians and *pesindhèn*. Similarly more *karawitan* students had professional gamelan musicians and *pesindhèn* in their family than had dhalang or dancers. Only students of the *pedhalangan* department, with only seven survey

respondents in total, had the same number of professional dhalang and musicians or *pesindhèn*. This shows that, in general, students are more likely to specialise in an art form that is already represented in their family.

Overall we have seen that many SMKN 8 students do come from families where other performing arts practitioners are present. Some students consider themselves to be hereditary performing artists, while others, although having arts in the family, do not see themselves as hereditary. On the whole, the dance department shows less heredity than the *pedhalangan* and *karawitan* departments, which is likely to be due to the accessibility of dance for children in the community and at school in general. Heritage seems to be more significant for *pedhalangan* students, with more students citing relatives from older generations. In terms of their specialisation, more students tended to have relatives who were professionally engaged in the same art form as the student's department of study at SMKN 8. In the following section, as well as revealing the results of the survey at ISI, we will be able to draw some comparisons between the two institutions.

Hereditary Arts Students at ISI

My survey was not the first to look at family backgrounds of students at ISI Surakarta. A 2009 report investigated the opinions of students on topics including family, perspectives on studying at ISI and aspirations for the future. It found that in the *pedhalangan* department, the majority of students had heard about ISI from their parents rather than from their friends or other

sources. For the *karawitan* and dance departments, the majority had heard about ISI from their friends (Sulastuti 2009). This may support a greater tendency towards family connections in *pedhalangan*.

The report also conducted a survey of students' parents' employment. Unsurprisingly, for the *karawitan* department, the largest percentage, 37.5% of parents, stated they were in performing arts. For the *pedhalangan* department, 33.33% of parents said they worked in the arts, which was the same percentage as those in other fields. For the dance department 23.33% of parents were in arts (Sulastuti 2009: 26-30). We can see that for ISI students of *karawitan*, *pedhalangan* and dance, a large proportion have parents who work in performing arts. This does not include parents who are involved in performing arts as a hobby but work in another field, and nor does it account for students where other family members and not their parents work in performing arts. My survey, conducted five years after the one described above, sought to reveal more details about students' family backgrounds and possible heredity.

The survey at ISI Surakarta was carried out over several days, with a different department surveyed on each occasion. Surveys were conducted during class time, fitting in with the timetable as provided by the heads of each department. In the *pedhalangan* department the survey was conducted on 30th April 2014. Only six out of 16 registered students attended class that day, and therefore only six completed questionnaires were returned.⁸¹ In the *karawitan*

⁸¹ The high rate of absentees in the *pedhalangan* department on the survey date could be representative of a more relaxed attitude towards attendance in that department. When I studied in the *karawitan* department in

department the survey was conducted on 6th May 2014. Forty-five out of 65 students registered for the semester completed the survey. In the dance department the survey was conducted on 7th May 2014. Sixty-nine out of 90 students registered for the semester completed the questionnaire.⁸² This gave a total of 120 completed questionnaires received across all three departments.

Like the SMKN 8 survey, the ISI survey began with a question to confirm the department and current semester of each respondent. This enabled me to exclude the semester five student who was repeating classes in semester two from the results. An additional part of Question One asked students which school they had attended prior to enrolling at ISI Surakarta. I wanted to find out whether the majority of students had come from SMKN 8 or from other secondary schools. The tables in Appendix VI show the previous schools of the respondents.

For the dance and *karawitan* departments, more students came from SMKN 8 than from other schools. In the dance department, 23.19% of students came to ISI having studied at SMKN 8. The next largest feeder school for this department was SMKN 3 Banyumas, which is another specialist arts school. SMKN 9 Surabaya, also a specialist arts school, contributed one student. Therefore the total number of students who came to ISI Surakarta to study dance having previously studied at a specialist arts

2008–2010, students were routinely disciplined for being even a few minutes late to class. I also took some classes in the *pedhalangan* department, and I never saw students disciplined for lateness there.

⁸² The number of students registered in each department is based on the students who registered at the beginning of semester two. It is likely that some students were simply absent on the day of the survey, while others may have dropped out of ISI altogether prior to the survey dates.

school was 28 out of 69 students, or 40.58%. Other students came from non-specialist schools and from schools specialising in non-arts subjects. In the *karawitan* department, a massive 60% of the students came from SMKN 8, while in the *pedhalangan* department only one of out six students came from SMKN 8.

The fact that SMKN 8 is such a large contributor of *karawitan* students could be for several reasons. Firstly, as noted above, there do appear to be more opportunities for children to learn dance outside formal education, at a *sanggar* for example. These young people would come to ISI having studied at non-specialist schools while doing dance as an extra-curricular activity. Secondly, the survey did not ask students what department they were in at SMKN 8. It is possible that some of the *karawitan* students had studied in departments other than *karawitan* at SMKN 8. I have heard of music department students at SMKN 8, who specialise in *kroncong* or Western music, deciding to study *karawitan* at ISI (where there is no such music department). As long as a student can pass the audition to enter ISI, there is nothing to stop them enrolling in a different department to where they studied at SMKN 8.

My survey shows that SMKN 8 is an important feeder school for ISI, contributing just over a third, or 36.67%, of students across all three departments. Nonetheless, the majority of students do come from other schools, including many schools outside Solo Raya, outside Central Java and even off the island of Java. Five of the dance students came from schools in Nusa Tenggara Barat. Therefore, students at ISI are not following a single educational path, from SMKN 8 to ISI, but in fact come from a wider variety

of backgrounds, including non-specialist schools.

This result differed significantly to that from Sulastuti's 2009 survey, which showed the number of students who had come to ISI from SMKN 8, but not which other schools students had come from. According to Sulastuti (2009), in the *pedhalangan* and *karawitan* departments the number of students who came to ISI from SMKN 8 was 100% and 81.25% respectively (31). This shows that in 2009 the vast majority of ISI students in these departments were following a specific educational path, specialising in performing arts when they entered high school at around age fifteen, which was not the case when my survey was conducted in 2014. However, in 2009, 56.66% of dance students came from a non-specialist upper secondary school (Sulastuti 2009: 31), a lower percentage than *pedhalangan* or *karawitan* students, which is a trend also reflected in my 2014 survey. There could be many reasons for the differences between the surveys conducted in 2009 and 2014. Perhaps ISI has become better at promoting its programme to upper secondary school students across Indonesia, or perhaps more parents are encouraging their children to study at a regular secondary school rather than specialising in performing arts so early on.

The remaining questions in my 2014 ISI survey followed the same pattern as my SMKN 8 survey. For Question Two, "Are you a hereditary artist?", the numbers and percentages of students who answered Yes are shown in Table 3.6.

Department	Number of Students who answered Yes (%)
<i>Pedhalangan</i>	3 (50%)
Dance	25 (36.23%)
<i>Karawitan</i>	22 (48.89%)
All Departments	50 (41.67%)

Table 3.6 ISI students' responses to Question Two

From this we can see that a fairly large proportion of students across all three departments answered positively. The lower percentage in the dance department could be due to the relatively high availability of opportunities for non-hereditary children to learn dance at school or at a *sanggar*. Compared to the results from SMKN 8, however, we can see that a far greater proportion of SMKN 8 students (62.66% across three departments) said they were hereditary than ISI students. This could be explained by the fact that, as an upper secondary school, a child's parents or family are likely to play a larger role in encouraging them to attend a particular school such as SMKN 8, whereas a decision to apply to ISI or another university is more likely to be left up to the young adult in question. This would result in more children from artist families attending SMKN 8. Similarly, for children and young people not from an arts background, they are more likely to have freedom of choice regarding higher education than secondary school. They may be encouraged to attend a non-specialist upper secondary school because it will give them more options for higher education pathways than a specialist school. Having finished their non-specialist upper secondary education, but still determined to pursue performing arts, they are more likely to be allowed to follow their hearts, hence the relatively large proportion of non-hereditary students at ISI compared to at SMKN 8.

As in the SMKN 8 survey, there were a number of ISI students who answered No to Question Two but then went on to list family members as performing artists in the remainder of the survey. This could again be due to different interpretations of the meaning of hereditary (*keturunan* in the original Indonesian questionnaire). One student explained: “Even though my father is a performing artist and a dance teacher, since I was little I have never been forced to dance, perform wayang or do arts, because arts grow in one’s heart, thoughts and soul, and flow in every blood vessel” (13). Another student believed he or she was not hereditary despite having arts in the family:

Performing arts blood does not flow directly in me. My mother does performing arts as a hobby, but it is my father who does performing arts and made me interested in arts. Arts is something that I wanted to get into since I was little. (23)

And another student expressed the view that heredity is vital for becoming a performing artist: “If there was no arts heredity, there would be no way we could become artists” (30). There were also four students who did not answer Question Two and then listed family members as performing artists in Questions Three or Four. In the *pedhalangan* department all three students who did not answer Yes to Question Two did then list family members as performing artists elsewhere in the survey, meaning that 100% of *pedhalangan* students had performing artists in their families. In the dance department 35 students (50.72%) answered No to Question Two and then listed family performing artists elsewhere. Three dance students did not

answer Question Two, two of whom listed family performing artists, and one who just listed brother or sisters as performing artists. In the *karawitan* department 19 students (42.22%) answered No to Question Two but then listed family members as performing artists in Questions Three or Four. One student did not answer Question Two, but listed family as performing artists. There were no students who answered Yes to Question Two but did not then list family members as performing artists elsewhere in the questionnaire.

This means that across all three departments, a total of 61 students did not answer Yes to Question Two, but then listed family members as performing artists. Including these students as hereditary, along with the those who responded positively to Question Two, gives a figure of 111 students who are from performing artist families, which is a massive 92.5% of the total number of survey respondents. This is very close to the percentage of SMKN 8 students from performing artist families, which was 91.14%. It is also interesting considering the relatively low percentage of ISI students who answered Yes to Question Two compared to SMKN 8 students. After taking into account all students who listed family members as performing artists in Questions Three or Four, it appears that ISI students are as hereditary as SMKN 8 students.

In Question Three, students were asked to answer Yes or No as to whether particular members of their families were performing arts professionals or hobbyists. The results were tabulated for each department, and the number of non-responses was also noted (see Appendix VII). As for the SMKN 8 survey, I analysed the Question Three data from the ISI survey according to generation in order to show trends of heredity as knowledge

passes down through the students' families. I split the family members according to generation in the same way as for the SMKN 8 data. I then looked at the number of generations covered by each student's responses to Question Three, ignoring the distinction between performing arts professionals and hobbyists. The results for each department are shown in Table 3.7 and Figure 3.4 below:

Pedhalangan Department

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists (A)	0 (0%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists (B)	1 (16.67%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists (C)	0 (0%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists (D)	2 (33.33%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists (E)	3 (50%)
Total Number of Students	6 (100%)

Dance Department

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists (A)	9 (13.04%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists (B)	30 (43.48%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists (C)	10 (14.49%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists (D)	13 (18.84%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists (E)	7 (10.14%)
Total Number of Students	69 (100%)

Karawitan Department

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists (A)	3 (6.67%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists (B)	10 (22.22%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists (C)	15 (33.33%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists (D)	11 (24.44%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists (E)	6 (13.33%)
Total Number of Students	45 (100%)

Table 3.7 ISI students' responses to Question Three by generation

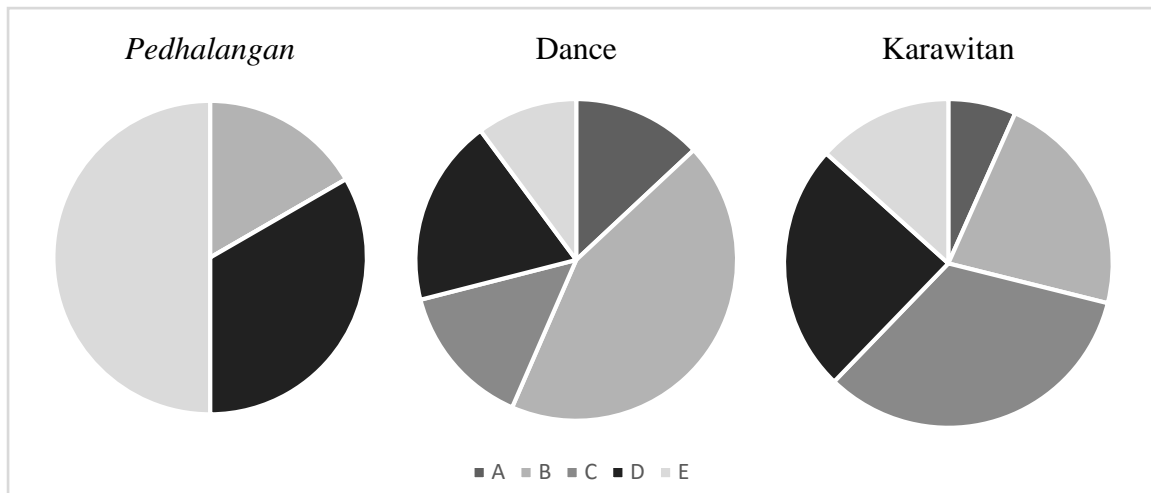


Figure 3.4 Pie charts showing ISI students' responses to Question Three by generation

We can see that half of the *pedhalangan* students have a performing artist in every generation of their family, and that all *pedhalangan* students come from families with performing artists in generations other than their own. This is similar to the results for the SMKN 8 *pedhalangan* department where we also saw strong trends of heredity.

In the dance department nearly half of students represent one of only two generations with performing artists in their families. On the other hand, 43.48% of dance students have performing artists in at least two generations other than their own. This is much lower than at SMKN 8 where 66.2% of students had performing artists in at least two other generations.

In the *karawitan* department, a third of students had performing artists in two other generations of their families. The pattern shown in the pie chart above is similar to that of the SMKN 8 *karawitan* department, with the SMKN 8 department showing a slightly stronger trend towards heredity across more

generations. We can see this more clearly in Figure 3.5 below that compares the results for the SMKN 8 and ISI *karawitan* departments. The *x* axis refers to the number of generations represented by performing artists in the students' families, excluding the student's own generation. The *y* axis denotes the percentage of the total number of students.

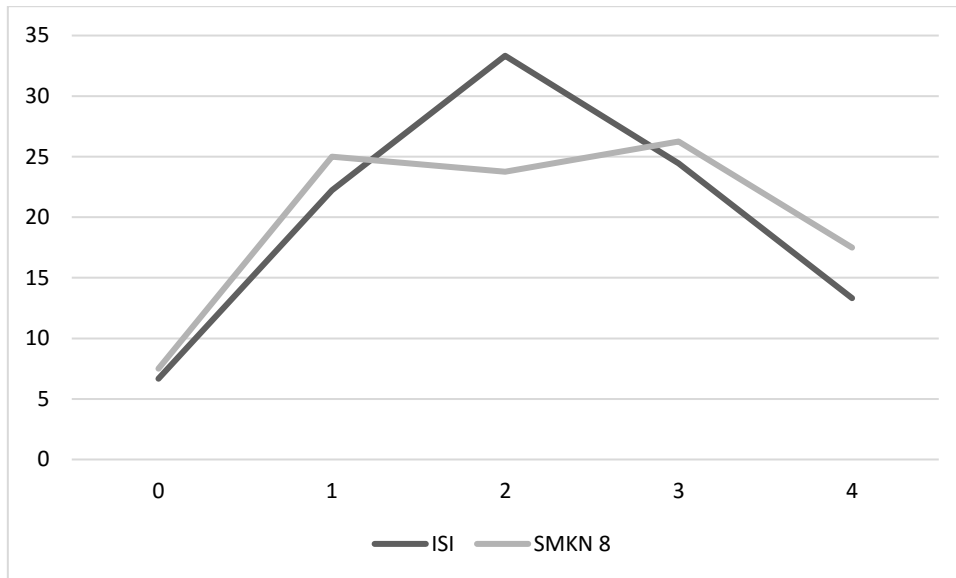


Figure 3.5 Graph comparing results for Question Three from ISI and SMKN 8 *karawitan* students

Looking across all three departments at ISI, the trends of multi-generational heredity are shown in Table 3.8 below:

	Number of Students (%)
Students where only their own generation has performing artists	12 (10%)
Students where only one other generation has performing artists	41 (34.17%)
Students where two other generations have performing artists	25 (20.83%)
Students where three other generations have performing artists	26 (21.67%)
Students where four other generations have performing artists	16 (13.33%)
Total Number of Students	120 (100%)

Table 3.8 ISI students' responses to Question Three across all departments

From this we can see that just over a third of ISI students have performing artists in only one other generation of their families, with another third having performing artists in three or four other generations of their families. The graph in Figure 3.6 below compares the results at SMKN 8 with those from ISI, and clearly shows that, once again, SMKN 8 students have a higher rate of heredity; on average more generations of SMKN 8 students' families have performing artists compared to the families of ISI students. The x axis refers to the number of generations represented by performing artists in the students' families, excluding the student's own generation. The y axis denotes the percentage of the total number of students.

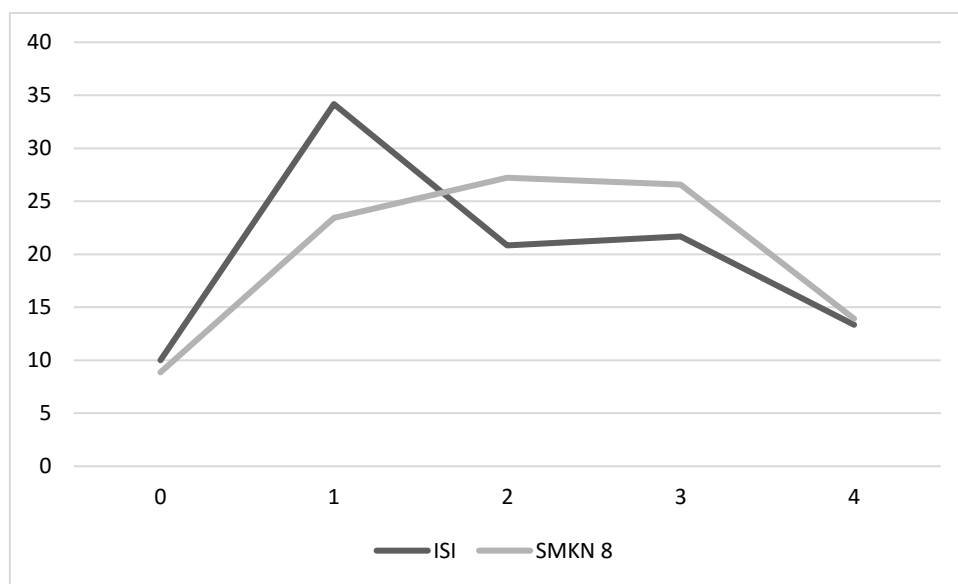


Figure 3.6 Graph comparing results for Question Three from ISI and SMKN 8 for all departments

Question Four asked students to write down which family members were professional dhalang, gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn*, and dancers. Table 3.9 shows the number of students and the percentage in brackets of the total number of respondents in each department, and across all three

departments.

Department	Number of Students with a Professional Dhalang in their Family (%)	Number of Students with a Professional Gamelan Musician or <i>Pesindhèn</i> in their Family (%)	Number of Students with a Professional Dancer in their Family (%)
<i>Pedhalangan</i>	3 (50%)	2 (33.33%)	1 (16.67%)
Dance	7 (10.14%)	16 (23.19%)	19 (27.54%)
<i>Karawitan</i>	15 (33.33%)	23 (51.11%)	8 (17.78%)
All Departments	25 (20.83%)	41 (34.17%)	28 (23.33%)

Table 3.9 ISI students' responses to Question Four

As expected, for each individual department, more students have professionals in that department's particular art form than in the other two art forms. The *pedhalangan* students have more professional dhalang in their families than they do musicians, *pesindhèn* or dancers. Meanwhile the *karawitan* students have more professional gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn* in their families than they do dhalang or dancers. In the dance department there is much less difference between the number of professional dancers and musicians or *pesindhèn*; only three more students have professional dancers in their family than have musicians or *pesindhèn*. Across all three departments, more students have professional musicians or *pesindhèn* in their families than have dhalang or dancers, despite the dance department providing a higher number of survey respondents than the *karawitan* department.

Once again, when compared to the results from SMKN 8, ISI students listed fewer professional performing artists in their families, whether dhalang, musicians and *pesindhèn*, or dancers. At both institutions, there were more

professional gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn* in students' families than there were professional dhalang or dancers.

Two of the *pedhalangan* students had fathers and grandfathers who were professional dhalang, showing a direct line of descent crossing three generations. Nine dance students had one or both parents who were professional dancers, and eight dance students had one or both parents who were professional gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn*. Of the 15 students with a professional dhalang in their families, in eight of these cases, the student's father was one of them. Eight of these students also listed their grandfather as a dhalang, and one student listed their father, grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather as dhalang. This was the only student in both the ISI and SMKN 8 surveys who listed a great-great-grandparent in any context. Fourteen *karawitan* students listed either or both of their parents as professional gamelan musicians or *pesindhèn*, while only one student listed a parent as a professional dancer, clarifying that their mother had been a dancer when she was young.

To summarise, at ISI we have seen that SMKN 8 is an important feeder school, providing many students. However, a significant number of students come from other schools, including other specialist arts schools. Over half of the students said they were not hereditary performing artists, but many of these then described their families as having numerous performing artists. Very few students had no performing artists in their families. As at SMKN 8, the ISI dance department showed less heredity through the generations of families than the other two departments, and fewer professional artists in students' families overall. These survey results have provided a picture of the

educational pathways that lead young arts students to become professional performing artists. In the next section we shall consider how these results are useful in examining the relationship between performing artist families and formal education.

Formal Education and Family

We have seen how today's performing arts institutions were established during the twentieth century, and the various changes they have undergone. SMKN 8 and ISI take students from across Indonesia, from a range of backgrounds, not restricted by any means to those from a hereditary background in performing arts. Applicants must pass a short audition to be accepted, though for SMKN 8, all applicants are likely to be accepted and the audition is used to rank students. As at any school in Indonesia, students must pass exams each semester in order to progress.

Since these schools are open to anyone who passes the audition, it could be said that they, along with their predecessors in the palace schools and *sanggar*, have opened the door of performing arts education for non-hereditary students. As government-sponsored educational institutions, they legitimise performing arts as a career. Children from non-hereditary backgrounds can convince their parents that allowing them to study at SMKN 8 is a respectable option, thus enabling them to continue with education to degree level while still doing performing arts in a serious and meaningful way. No longer do children need a performing artist family background or a community group

near their home in order to get involved in performing arts, and nor must they split their time between school and arts, when they can learn arts at school.

Despite this, SMKN 8 teacher Surono notes that many non-hereditary students drop out during the first few weeks of class:

Sometimes they don't come to school for practical lessons, but only come for theory. It accumulates and in the end they don't get a grade for practical, they drop out. But it shows from the beginning, they have only been here for two weeks, they feel that it's difficult. Lots of pupils are like that. We could call it natural selection. So those who can really handle it stay until the end. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

For students without an arts background, studying at SMKN 8 is a very steep learning curve. They must be truly dedicated as they have to catch up with their peers who have been learning through osmosis since birth.

Therefore, although ostensibly open to everyone, formal arts education creates a sink or swim situation in which hereditary artists are almost sure to survive.

What do the survey results show us about the relationship between family and formal arts education? At a basic level, the results show that the two are strongly correlated, with the vast majority of students coming from families with other performing artists. They also show that students are more likely to choose a specialisation which is found professionally in their families. Dance was the least hereditary of the three art forms at both institutions, a factor which highlights the relative accessibility of dance to non-hereditary participants through the school curriculum, extra-curricular

activities and *sanggar* where dance is taught. Although it was only possible to survey a small sample of *pedhalangan* students, we were able to see that *pedhalangan* students see their heredity as more significant, a view supported by interviews with *dhalang*.

Since both schools are almost full of students from artist families, it follows that the schools are reliant upon these families. There are numerous cases where one extended family has sent many children to SMKN 8 and ISI over the years, and if you took away all the students from artist families, it is questionable whether the schools would still be viable in terms of enrolment numbers. A path of SMKN 8 followed by ISI has become like a rite of passage for the children of performing artist families, some of whom are pioneers going far beyond their parents' educational levels. After following this educational path, some students go on to become teachers at these schools, and so artist families support the schools by providing both students and teachers.

Although it should be made clear that there is no single family leading either school, as a group, artist families in general do contribute most of the students and teachers across the three departments covered here. Since the institutions could not exist without hereditary participants, and it is likely that this has been the case throughout their short history, the institutions can be seen as a modern version of the extended family. Whereas in the past, teenagers devoted their time to performing as part of a large family ensemble, now they perform with their school's group. And where before they would have spent more time at home with gamelan instruments or wayang puppets, this exposure now comes during their long days at school.

Bourdieu deconstructs the concept of family, and suggests that it is in

itself a kind of institution. He explains that “the family is the product of a labour of *institutionalization*, both ritual and technical, aimed at durably instituting in each member of the instituted unit feelings that will tend to ensure the *integration* that is the condition of the existence and persistence of the unit” (Bourdieu 1996: 21-22). The way that performing artist families traditionally lived and worked together supports this. Since they performed together, the activities aimed at strengthening and perpetuating the family as a unit would have been more involving than for other families which did not work as a team. Perhaps, if such families are considered as institutions, it can show how they were able to fit into the new category of state-sponsored schools. The new arts institutions have replaced some of the role of the family, and if that role is to be viewed as institutional, we can see that one institution has perhaps replaced another.

In Chapter One we looked at one extended family and saw that formal arts education was considered important by the middle and younger generations. Parents wanted to send their children to school, and that often meant performing arts school. From that qualitative research alone, it was possible that the family in question was simply unusual. Perhaps there weren't other performing artist families like this, or perhaps the performing arts schools were mainly full of students from non-hereditary backgrounds. The survey proves that this is not the case. The majority of SMKN 8 and ISI students surveyed did come from performing artist families, thus showing that the family described in this work is a reliable example of a performing artist family, and not an anomaly.

Traditional Javanese performing arts are not, therefore, becoming less

hereditary with the rise of formal arts education. Although these schools undoubtedly open a door for more children to launch their careers in performing arts, it seems that few children from completely non-arts backgrounds take advantage of this opportunity. These schools are in fact full of students who may well have gone into performing arts careers anyway, had they been born long before there was any formal arts education.

In my opinion, the surveys show that traditional Javanese performing arts are far more hereditary than I had imagined. I would not have expected over 90% of students to be from performing artist families. If these students are a reliable sample of tomorrow's professional *dhalang*, musicians, *pesindhèn* and dancers, then they are a very hereditary group. Despite the open access of formal arts education, the young people launching performing arts careers today are just as hereditary as their predecessors in the arts world. The families of yesteryear, which could be viewed as a type of institution in themselves, have become part of the official institutions of today.

However, if today's students could just learn performing arts from their families, then what is the role of formal education? The rise of formal educational institutions to their current position as a vital step towards an arts career, alongside general changes in education to a system where the majority of people attend school, has fundamentally changed how people learn performing arts and begin their performing careers. The teenage years are spent in school, rather than at performances. Higher education to degree level in performing arts enables a continuation of specialist education, but also makes massive demands on young adults' time, limiting the amount of performing they can do. On the other hand, there are jobs as teachers,

lecturers, musical accompanists, videographers, events organisers and so on at such performing arts institutions. Full-time and falling under the public sector, these stable jobs are highly sought after, as they offer a regular income that is difficult to achieve through performing alone.

The grandparents' and parents' generations are the last generations where a large number of people have not attended formal educational institutions past primary school, and yet they have been able to have highly successful careers in performing arts. For a young person today, dropping out of school to play gamelan or perform wayang would be almost unthinkable, both because formal education is highly valued and because school is seen as the route into a performing arts career. Therefore, even if they come from a performing artist family and have had gamelan, wayang or dance ingrained in them since birth, today's young adults and children must follow the formal education system in order to become a performing artist.

Javanese performing arts are taught, performed and enjoyed throughout the world at universities, schools, community centres and performance venues. They are not generally thought of as hereditary arts, since they are accessible for anyone to learn and perform. Formal arts education in Java is an avenue for anyone with a basic ability to make Javanese performing arts a significant part of their life and often the focus of their career. In addition to receiving a qualification, students make connections, become known and get booked for gigs by people they know through school. Nowadays it is difficult to start a successful performing career without having been to at least one of these schools. While the older

generations became established performers without needing this education system, today it has become the norm, even though many students come to these schools with a significant level of ability and experience gained through their families. Knowledge gained from family members is highly valued by hereditary artists, and may have come from relatives other than their parents. In some cases, however, the techniques learnt by students outside school are considered incorrect when studying in school. Therefore, hereditary artists must find ways to both combine and differentiate between knowledge and skill learnt from the family and from school. Playing as one would at home may be inappropriate in the classroom. Successful young hereditary artists who have been through arts schooling are able to utilise both types of knowledge effectively.

There was no consensus among my interviewees as to whether hereditary or non-hereditary performing artists were better or more successful. Many informants commented that while family-based knowledge can go deeper, for example, focusing on specific localised styles, school-based knowledge offers a wider scope, allowing students to learn styles that do not run in their family. The surveys show that many students are likely to receive both kinds of knowledge: family- and school-based. This contrasts with previous generations who may have only received family-based knowledge, or in the case of *sanggar* or palace school attendance, will have gained other knowledge to supplement that from their family. Schools such as SMKN 8 and ISI make much bigger demands on students' time than *sanggar* or palace schools, and it is therefore likely that they have a bigger effect on a student's overall stock of knowledge. The next three chapters will look in detail at the

kinds of learning that take place inside and outside school in order to understand what processes of knowledge transmission and acquisition create such stocks of knowledge.

Chapter Four

Traditional Javanese Concepts of Knowledge

Acquisition in Performing Arts

This chapter examines concepts of knowledge and its acquisition in traditional Javanese culture.⁸³ Many old Javanese texts describe knowledge and learning processes and this shows that such concepts play an important role in the culture. Furthermore, processes of learning in Javanese performing arts frequently make use of the same concepts. In this chapter we shall consider multiple ways in which Javanese people present traditional concepts of knowledge acquisition, through texts, stories for performance, etiquette and mystical or spiritual practice.

Ngèlmu is the Javanese term for knowledge that is often applied to esoteric knowledge. It is most frequently used to describe the type of knowledge acquired through spiritual quests, such as through ascetic and mystical practice and through ancestor worship. Another Javanese word for knowledge is *kawruh*, which Robson and Wibisono (2002) translate as “knowledge; lore” (341). The term *wahyu* is used to refer to a spiritual gift or

⁸³ See pages 32-34 for a brief discussion of the concept of “tradition”, and also Pemberton (1994) for further ideas about Javanese culture.

heavenly boon which may be sought by someone, or given to someone.⁸⁴

Wahyu stories form a whole genre of wayang stories describing characters who go on some kind of mission in search of a *wahyu*. The concepts of *ngèlmu*, *kawruh* and *wahyu* and quests to obtain such knowledge are found throughout Javanese texts, stories and mythologies.

Spiritualism has a rich history in Java and continues to be an important part of modern Javanese culture. Many Javanese practise forms of spiritualism, part of a belief system called *kejawèn* (sometimes translated as Javanism) or *kebatinan*, which is not classified as an official religion by the Indonesian government.⁸⁵ According to Djajasoebrata (1999), “*kejawèn* is of a syncretic nature, and contains traits of animism, ancestor worship, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam” (60). The practice of *kejawèn* is an important element in traditional Javanese beliefs regarding acquisition of knowledge. Through *kejawèn*, spiritual processes are used to gain knowledge which is then put into use in daily life.

The links between *kejawèn* and traditional performing arts run deep. Cohen (2002) describes how, as the most highly mediated of the Javanese performing arts, wayang is symbolic of the lowest stage of mysticism (172). Weiss (2003) explains that “performance analogies are regularly invoked in

⁸⁴ Robson and Wibisono (2002) translate *wahyu* rather oddly as “a sign from heaven in the form of a falling star, indicating that the one on whom it falls is destined for high office (village head or king)” (796). However, such a heavenly gift need not be in any specific form; it depends on the individual *wahyu* what form it will be in, and could be in the form of advice, knowledge or a tangible object.

⁸⁵ The Indonesian government only recognises six official religions: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Every Indonesian citizen has their religion listed on their identity card.

mystical writings and...analogies to mystical practice are commonly used in the assessment of performance and learning process” (38). Many performing artists practise *kejawèn*, some even attributing their success to such spiritual endeavours. This chapter will look at examples provided by performing artists of how they have used *kejawèn*, in particular where the purpose has been to acquire knowledge or skill in performing arts.

Many artists link traditional performing arts to traditional concepts of etiquette or politeness. They believe that good manners must be employed in order to gain knowledge in Javanese performing arts. Conversely, through learning performing arts, they believe it is possible to learn such politeness, though as we shall see, this may be restricted to certain milieux.

These more traditional types of knowledge acquisition exist alongside the arts schools examined in previous chapters, and in many cases practitioners see their knowledge as being gained from a combination of formal education and traditional practice.

Traditional Javanese Concepts of Knowledge in Texts

Many Javanese stories and treatises discuss or depict performing arts, and either describe learning or are designed to instruct their intended audience in some way. Through looking at some of these texts we can understand how knowledge transmission can work in the views communicated by Javanese through the texts and stories they write, read and perform.

Wayang stories, fragments of which are also performed as dances, are

a rich source of traditional concepts of knowledge acquisition and transmission. Research by Subandi et al. (1995) highlights the abundance of teachers depicted in wayang stories and explains that “teachers in wayang are the key to teachings sought by wayang fans in general, because of the educational philosophical values that can be obtained through the appreciation of works of art” (112). They point out that there are plenty of examples where a character who has been a student then becomes the teacher of another character. Subandi et al. (1995) divided the teachings given by wayang characters into four categories: skills in body movement (for example, physically battling an enemy), general knowledge, supernatural powers and invulnerability, and spiritual and psychological teachings, and noted that there were numerous types of teacher–pupil relationship at play (112-113).

Anderson (1972) describes how “in the wayang stories and in the historical chronicles, a critical period in the life of a young *satria* (warrior) is a period of isolation and training in a hermitage or mountain grotto. There, under the tutelage of a *resi* (seer) he undergoes an initiation into the esoteric sciences” (44). We can see from this the importance allotted to spiritual practice in the search for knowledge. Anderson (1972) goes on to state: “the traditional image of the acquisition of knowledge is that of a search for a key which opens the door between ignorance and knowledge, making possible the qualitative leap from one to the other. Such a learning process contains nothing in the slightest degree heuristic or pragmatic” (45). This idea is found throughout Javanese myths and legends, which are often told through the medium of wayang and describe characters who undergo long periods of meditation and other ascetic practices in order to achieve a *wahyu*.

Practitioners of Javanese mysticism believe that having a *wahyu* will give them increased potency and enhance their knowledge and skills. Such knowledge may be achieved through complex processes such as asceticism and dangerous quests, but the process of knowledge acquisition itself is not an obviously gradual one. Rather, one either possesses such knowledge or one doesn't; there is no halfway point where one possesses some of the knowledge but not all of it.

Many Javanese myths tell of characters attaining knowledge through interpretation of cryptic clues given by a teacher figure. An excellent example is the story *Déwa Ruci*, derived from the Indian *Mahabharata* epic. The main protagonist Bima (also known as Brataséna) wants to find special knowledge with which he will be able to send his dead father, Pandhu, and stepmother, Madrim, who are currently in hell, to heaven. He believes that Durna, the teacher of the Pandhawa and the Kurawa, can help him obtain this knowledge. Bima meets Durna who agrees to teach him on the condition that he finds a special wood called *kayu gung susuhing angin*. On his quest for the magical wood he meets two forest guardian ogres. After fighting with Bima, the ogres change into the gods, Indra and Bayu. The two gods explain that the meaning of the special wood is a strong desire that can be achieved if one tries to achieve it. Bima returns to Durna, having found the wood. He asks to be taught the knowledge he seeks, but Durna has one more condition. Bima must find the water called *banyu suci perwitasari* or *tirta pawitra mahening suci*. Bima departs for the ocean. He enters the water and in the middle meets a snake, which wraps itself around him. Bima fights against the snake, the snake's mouth is torn and it dies. Bima falls to the bottom of the ocean. There

he meets Déwa Ruci, a miniature god of himself. He gets *ilmu sangkan paraning dumadi*, the special knowledge that he has been looking for, and returns to Durna.



Figure 4.1 The wayang puppet Déwa Ruci

The story operates on many different levels of moral and philosophical meaning.⁸⁶ At a basic level it shows the roles of a teacher and student; by following his teacher's instructions, the student is successful. The story also explains that "one is recommended to find a suitable teacher.... One should not randomly call oneself a teacher" (Seno-Sastroamidjojo 1967: 73). The main characters, Durna and Bima, have complex backgrounds in the Javanese version of the *Mahabharata* epic, and so their relationship is not as

⁸⁶ In a recently published book, Arps (2016) describes and analyses a performance of this *lakon* in great detail.

straightforward as it may seem from the basic plot of the story. However, we can see that the role of a teacher is not to explain everything, to spell out the answers to students, but rather to act as a kind of guide, to gently prod the student in the right direction. Although Durna's motives may be unclear, this already shows the complexity of a teacher–pupil relationship. Subandi et al. (1995) note that, in this story, “Bima always honours his teacher's good name, he almost forgets everything and sacrifices his family in order to study under Durna” (26). It is important to point out, however, that the intricacies of interpersonal relationships between wayang characters can vary according to the actual performance. The dhalang may choose to highlight different facets of such relationships. In his article about traditional arts education, Supanggah links the *Déwa Ruci* story to the stages of experience and conditions necessary to become a performing artist. He explains how Bima's challenging quest, which eventually leads to him meeting the incarnation of his own spirit, is similar to the journey that must be undertaken in order to become a good artist, consisting of preparation, equipping, journeying, commitment and character (Supanggah 2011b: 15-17).

While the *Déwa Ruci* story is most often told as a wayang performance, subject to the interpretation of the dhalang first and foremost, other texts rely more on interpretation by the audience. *Serat Wedhatama* is a Javanese text in the poetic form *macapat*. It is accredited to Mangkunegara IV (ruled 1853-81), though it has been suspected that others, or more than one author, may have written it (Robson 1990: 5). Several verses of the *Wedhatama* are frequently used for *palaran*, a form of singing with gamelan accompaniment. Robson (1990) notes that, “ideally [Javanese poetry] should

be realised by a singer and perceived by ear” (11). While the meaning of the words is important, “these words are ordered in a special way, in which the musical layer should not be ignored” (Robson 1990: 11).⁸⁷ The first verse of the *Wedhatama*, in *pangkur* form, is commonly sung as a *palaran* text:

Mingkar mingkur ing angkara

Turning away from selfish motives,

Akarana karenan mardi siwi

As one is pleased to give instruction to sons,

Sinawung resmining kidung

It is case in the form of a delightful song,

Sinuba sinukarta

Finely finished and well turned,

Mrih kretarta pakartining ngèlmu luhung

In the hope that they may prosper in their practice of noble sciences,

Kang tumrap nèng tanah Jawa

That pertain to the land of Java,

Agama ageming aji

As the spiritual tradition adhered to by its kings.

(trans. Robson 1990: 20-21)

⁸⁷ Many traditions offer poetry that is designed for recitation, a characteristic that should not be overlooked. For example, in her thesis on the sound world of nineteenth-century Singapore and Riau-Lingga, McCallum (2015) investigates “the sounding aspect of the tradition of reciting stories from manuscripts” in the case of Malay *syair* (233).

One of the key concepts in the *Wedhatama* is knowledge of the spiritually beneficial type, *ngèlmu*, as Robson describes:

Here we are interested in *ngèlmu* as it applies to the land of Java....

The young man to whom the teaching is addressed is exhorted to take instruction from a suitable guide.... The search for insight will be rewarded by inspiration from God. (Robson 1990: 14)

Robson (1990) explains how the emphasis on Javanese-specific knowledge and wisdom in the poem could have come about as a response to the effects of Islam and colonialism, “an effort to reinforce Javanese values and ideals of refinement” (18). By offering something to be grasped by Javanese from their own background, it was a reaction against the Javanese-ness produced by colonialism, although at the same time it was in itself a product of its times.⁸⁸

Another part of the *Wedhatama* that relates directly to knowledge acquisition is one verse of the *pocung* section, which is also frequently sung as a *palaran*:

Ngèlmu iku

Knowledge,

⁸⁸ Pemberton (1994) describes how this idea of Javanese-ness developed.

Kalakoné kanthi laku

Goes together with practice,

Lekasé lawan kas

It is effected with firmness,

Tegesé kas nyantosani

The meaning of firmness is steeling oneself,

Setya budya pangekesé dur angkara

That is, with determination striving to master the evil urges of egotism.

(trans. Robson 1990: 35)

In this verse the reader is taught that the acquisition of knowledge requires effort and determination in order to avoid evil. The *Wedhatama* was clearly designed to be cryptic, its meaning unclear from a simple reading, in line with the advice it gives and the mystical type of knowledge described. It is part of a large group of poems that aim to teach in some way. Robson (1990) describes how “didactic poetry has a respectable ancestry in Java, reaching back to c. 1465, when Mpu Tanakung wrote his *Sutasasana*, ‘Instruction for Sons’” (4).

Another didactic Javanese text *Wulangrèh* (*Teachings for Self-restraint*) was written by Paku Buwana IV (1768–1820) and includes a detailed section on the search for a teacher (*Jèn Nedya Golèk Guru*). It explains that if you want to find a teacher, it is advisable to choose a person who possesses real, visible knowledge. It is also important to look at the way that person teaches, whether he is of good or bad ancestry and whether he

knows the roots of laws (Supardi 1961: 9-10). This description of the attributes considered important in a teacher shows us the type of teacher that is valued in a traditional Javanese worldview, the characteristics of an ideal, possibly unrealistic, teacher.

Part of the text *Wulangrèh* is sung as a *palaran* in *pangkur* form. The text begins:

Kang sekar pangkur winarna

Words that are realised in the singing of *pangkur*

Lelabuhan kang kanggo wong ngaurip

A deed which is good for people to live

Ala lan betjik puniku

Those good and bad deeds

Prajoga kawruhana

Better to be acknowledged

Adat waton puniku dipun kadulu

Traditions, rules they must be acknowledged

Miwah ta ing tata krama

Also behaviour and politeness

Dèn kaèsthi sijang ratri

Which must be remembered and be given effort every day

(Supardi 1961: 19-20)

It continues, describing the components of good character and good manners. Such concepts of good manners and being adept at socialising in an

appropriate way as described in *Wulangrèh* are held in high regard by performing artists who, as we shall see later in this chapter, frequently link the idea of learning performing arts to learning appropriate behaviour.

The text *Serat Centhini*, compiled and written in parts by Paku Buwana V (1784–1823), fills twelve volumes and is an example of an outwardly Islamic Javanese text. The Muslim characters undertake a journey across Java and receive various kinds of knowledge from the people they meet. For example, from the first volume, the journey of Raden Jayengresmi, later known as Seh Amongraga:

He met a spirit called Ratu Mas Tranggana Wulan of Majapahit who was meditating and then became the spirit king of Bago forest. Ratu Mas Tranggana Wulan explained about the cormorant bird, the *prenjak* bird, a type of monkey and the woodpecker.... On Mount Cambiralaya he saw the former hermitage of Dewi Gendrasari and a statue called Drepa. In the village of Padhangan he met the village chief, called Ki Padhang, who told him the story of the statue: there was said to have once been a man meditating; he fell in love with Dewi Gendrasari who was meditating at the peak of Mount Gambiralaya. His offer of love was refused, his genitalia were cut, died and transformed into that statue. (Adisasmita 1974: 11)

In this short excerpt we can see that there are teachings about the birds, and in the next village a story with a clear moral. This idea of travelling on a quest for knowledge is found in many Javanese texts and stories and implies

that one can learn from the interactions with people one meets. Many wayang stories feature characters who leave their homes in search of knowledge. As well as wandering and learning from people along the way, characters live away from society at hermitages on mountains or in caves and seek knowledge through asceticism. For example, the ascetic Abiyasa lives on a mountain and is often consulted by other characters in search of knowledge or wisdom. Other types of knowledge imparted in *Serat Centhini* include knowledge about Javanese numerology, dates, names and many other aspects of mystical beliefs. The characters in *Serat Centhini* meet many teachers throughout their journey, but the onus is on the student to seek out knowledge, rather than on the teacher to offer it. This is further emphasised in *Serat Centhini* in an analogy related to wayang:

The *guru* merely makes a beginning but he does not finish the *lakon*, for it is not he who is called the *dalang*. He is not the *dalang* who ends the tale. For that are you, and no other.

(Zoetmulder 1994: 263)

This is part of the teachings of Amongraga to his wife, Tambangraras, and clearly shows that the student, Tambangraras, who is being addressed here is expected to learn not only from the teacher, but on her own impetus. Zoetmulder (1994) has considered the points at which *Serat Centhini* shows elements of both Islamic and Indian mysticism, and discusses the different ways in which knowledge is passed on. He notes that people are given different knowledge depending on their individual status, which implies that

different knowledge was considered more or less suitable for different recipients (Zoetmulder 1994: 127-129). As Chapters Five and Six will show, this concept applies to performing arts too, in that different types of knowledge are accessible to different people.

Serat Centhini also deals directly with wayang and gamelan in many different ways. In one excerpt they are described as follows:

The screen is the visible world. The *wayang* puppets which are set up to either side of the screen are the categories of God's creatures. The banana trunk (into which the puppets are stuck) is the earth. The *bléncong* is the lamp of life. The *gamelan* is the harmony of events.

(Zoetmulder 1994: 245)

Body and spirit are described as uniting as the dhalang enters into the puppets, and the *rasa* is defined as the holy spirit (*roh kudus*). The text describes a divine dhalang, whose performance ends before it begins, as “this is the description of a Divine Being which has already preordained everything before the creation” (Zoetmulder 1994: 249). Rather than a dhalang being depicted as a god, however, it seems that God is being described as a dhalang and people “are governed by the spirit, life itself...[They themselves] are the spectacle” (Zoetmulder 1994: 248). We can see through this that wayang with its relationship between the dhalang and his puppets is an apt analogy for the world with a single God and his creatures. Later in *Serat Centhini*, wayang and dhalang are equated with servant and Lord, in this case mankind and God, and “stand in a fully equal state of dependence upon one another as two

relativities which cannot exist without each other” (Zoetmulder 1994: 261). Zoetmulder describes this as leading to “a synthesis of opposites” where the wayang and dhalang, and the other opposites, essentially become one (Zoetmulder 1994: 261). This idea is echoed by Anderson (1996) who describes Javanese social hierarchy as one where each position is dependent on all the others (18).

In his analysis of the text *Suluk Wayang*, where wayang is likened to a stage on the mystical path to perfection, Cohen describes how the knowledge hidden in the text is esoteric:⁸⁹

It has immediate practical applications, but it is not a perspective to be achieved by the uninitiated. It requires guidance...in order to be meaningful, as opposed to just a string of bizarre paradoxes and striking images. *Suluk* were written...not for solitary reading, but for social events, in which the participants included initiates at various levels of authority and mystical insight. (Cohen 2002: 183)

Through Zoetmulder’s work and Cohen’s article, we can see that even reading and interpreting such texts is like a quest for knowledge in itself, a quest which, like the performing arts themselves, was not designed to be

⁸⁹ For Cohen’s purposes, “*suluk* refers to a corpus of poetic texts on mystical subjects in Modern Javanese, which scholars believe were written for the most part between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries” (Cohen 2002: 168). This is distinct from the *suluk* vocal parts used by dhalang in wayang performances, which Emerson notes come from a variety of literary sources including Old Javanese poems (*Kekawin*), *macapat*, and *sekar ageng* (Emerson in Asmoro 2013b: 428-429).

conducted in a solitary manner.

Robson (1990) describes one of the possible messages of the *Wedhatama* as being about the cultural identity of the Javanese (18). Through all these texts, we can see how different aspects of cultural identity are described, whether assimilating Islamic views, Indian elements or looking to aspects considered more purely Javanese. Javanese performing arts are then an expression of such cultural identity, and the overlap between texts to be read and texts performed means that such performances reinforce ideas of cultural identity through text and performance. Furthermore, these texts are read, analysed and sung by the same people who watch or perform Javanese traditional arts. The quests for knowledge described within these texts are not restricted to historical or fictional characters, but instead contribute to the types of teaching and learning that occur in Javanese culture. While *Wulangrèh*, as a treatise, explicitly lays out the ideal attributes of a teacher, the other texts more subtly highlight ideal aspects of teaching and learning. There may be differences between these versions and the reality of knowledge transmission in Java, but it is certainly possible to spot similarities between the way Javanese artists view their own processes of learning and the descriptions in these texts.

Kejawèn and Performing Arts

We have seen how Javanese texts describe concepts of knowledge and its acquisition which are linked to performing arts in various ways. But how

are spiritual activities carried out by today's performing arts practitioners linked to these texts? Zoetmulder (1994) describes how, in their religious beliefs, Indonesians "are looking not so much for theoretical knowledge, but more for knowledge which is meaningful for life as it is lived" (115). This is reflected in the *Wedhatama*, in which the reader is instructed that, rather than becoming too caught up in religious fervour, "it is better to be practical and consider how you are going to earn a living" (Robson 1990: 15). As we shall see, these ideas are exemplified in the spiritual activities undertaken by performing arts practitioners, which usually have as an aim the acquisition of knowledge, prosperity or good health for the practitioner or their family.

Kejawèn incorporates numerous types of spiritual and ascetic activities, one of which is ancestor worship. Many Javanese believe that the spirits of their ancestors can be called upon for help or advice. The graves of well-known musicians, dancers and dhalang are visited by artists hoping to receive new skills or wisdom. These pilgrimage-style journeys are supposed to be carried out on foot and at night. Supanggah (2011a) writes, "the most popular site visited by these musicians and dhalang was the grave of *éyang* (grandfather) Cakarma.... During his life, *éyang* Cakarma was not only a skilled musician but also had extraordinary spiritual powers which could turn someone into a musician in a moment, without having to learn to play gamelan or studying the art of puppetry with another artist" (244). According to Hali, Cakarma lived during the reign of Paku Buwana X.

That is what people say, my father also said that if [Cakarma] was leaving for a wayang performance he never needed to look for

musicians. Only his wife, with two children. That was all, well, he could then perform wayang. ‘Come here.’ ‘What is it?’ ‘You play bonang there.’ ‘But I can’t [play bonang].’ He could play bonang, he could play bonang! Wow, that was fantastic! Also for singing, [a person] cannot sing, then can sing. Later after the performance, they can no longer do it. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

Other people described being able to retain their newfound abilities. Subini described how her grandmother⁹⁰ took her daughter (Subini’s mother) to make offerings at Cakarma’s grave so that she could play *gendèr*, and she attributes her own skill to this visit as well: “I only incurred the effect of Grandma, after visiting the Nguter grave, asking that I be able to play *gendèr*” (Subini, interview, 20 January 2014). As well as this power, it is said that Cakarma was able to perform at several places simultaneously:

The glory of Cakarma was that he performed on one night [simultaneously] in three places. One night he performed wayang in three places.... It was like this—here was Cakarma, there was Cakarma, and over there was Cakarma. He was great, indeed he was fantastic.... One night, without moving. The audience was confused. They looked here, the dhalang was Cakarma. They moved there, there was Cakarma, moved again there was Cakarma again. (Hali Jarwo

⁹⁰ Since Subini herself was born in the 1920s, we are going a long way back in this recollection.

Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

As part of my fieldwork, I visited Cakarma's grave in Nguter, Sukoharjo. Having had the exact location of the grave pointed out by a local, I picked my way carefully between the hundreds of gravestones at the large graveyard. Ki Demang Cakarma's⁹¹ grave had a roof built over it and was clean apart from a few stray weeds. There were some local people visiting other graves while I was there and two of them came over to talk. They said that Cakarma's grave had been there as long as anyone in the village could remember, and that the locals believed that their children were musically talented (though in *campursari* rather than traditional arts) because of Cakarma being buried there. One of them said he felt Cakarma's presence while we were there, as he got goose pimples on his arm, which were visible to me too.

⁹¹ The title Ki Demang was given to him by Paku Buwana X of the Surakarta Kraton.



Figure 4.2 Cakarma's grave in Nguter, Sukoharjo (29 March 2014)

Visits to graves were considered so significant for dhalang that the teachers at PDMN, the Mangkunegaran dhalang school discussed in Chapter Two, used to take their senior students on a pilgrimage to Cakarma's grave. Bambang Siswanto, who studied at PDMN, describes this as a school tradition (no longer practised):

From the Mangkunegaran, PDMN, approaching every graduation there was an event, to repeat the journey of dhalang who had graduated from the Mangkunegaran.... Usually they were taken there on foot. So they followed the shortest route.... They travelled by night, so after the *maghreb* prayer⁹² had finished they walked. Once they arrived [at the grave] they prayed, and then went home, walking again.... In the past

⁹² This Muslim prayer takes place every day at sunset.

it was almost like a rule, from [the PDMN teacher] Behiyatno.

(Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

This example is one of the ways in which schooling can co-exist with a non-learning-based form of knowledge acquisition. The school encourages its students to partake in a pilgrimage to a site known for imbuing pilgrims with new knowledge. There is no apparent contradiction, and it could even be said that the two forms of knowledge acquisition are complementary in this case.

A dhalang is often seen as a spiritually powerful person; he may be called upon to enact ritual performances called *ruwatan* which must be held to protect children of particular birth orders from being eaten by the demon Bathara Kala.⁹³ Geertz (1960) describes how “sometimes people regard the puppets themselves as being entered by spirits during the performance; and good dhalangs are often said to be entranced, which is why they have such powers of concentration and strength” (269). Dhalang are believed to have many spiritual powers, including powers of healing. Widodo described his experience as a young dhalang, at one of his first performances:

In Kedung Gong village. For the night performance they asked for [the *lakon*] Harjunasasra Lahir. It’s a sacred story...., offerings must be made.... I refused. ‘It’s okay, later it will be my responsibility,’ [the host] said. ‘If anything happens, I will take responsibility.’ ‘Oh yes.

⁹³ There are many of these inauspicious birth order combinations. See Headley (2000) for more on *ruwatan*.

Okay.’ I said. We were just at, what was it, Mangliawan chasing Bathari Sri, there was a cry.... And then, ‘Stop, stop!’ ‘What’s up?’ ‘My nephew isn’t there,’ he said, ‘He’s dead, gone.’ I had already stopped. ‘But, please, my father wants you to look at my nephew.’... Now I wanted to get up, but my brother Hali said, ‘If the wayang isn’t finished, don’t stand up there. You can get up when it’s finished.’ I was asked to look at that child. ‘Bring the child here.’... The child was brought to me. What should I do? The child was given time with me while I performed wayang.... It was like he was dead, not there any more. What was I meant to do? I was confused! I had one belief, *kejawèn*. I gave it, *puff*, he cried.... I blew on him, but I meditated first.... I gave him a jacket, breathed on him, that was all, he cried.... Then I passed the child to Bagong, Hali’s older brother.... Yes! He is a good man, he knows about *kejawèn*. I gave the child to him. He got better. ‘Okay then,’ I was asked to continue with the performance. (Widodo, interview, 15 March 2014)

The spiritual power that a dhalang can be imbued with does not lie solely in the context of a performance, as in Widodo’s account, but also spreads into the areas of teaching and learning. Geertz describes possessed dhalang, called dhalang *tiban*, who have allegedly acquired their skills through otherworldly means. Describing the tale of a dhalang *tiban*, Geertz (1960) states, “the groom-to-be came by again and said that there was a dhalang *tiban* not so long ago near Kediri. Evidently a spirit came and entered him; for, although he had never dhalanged [sic] in his life, he was then able to do so

without study and did so for thirty-five days without stopping and then lost his spirit and didn't know how to do it any more" (269). A more recent example of this phenomenon is the former District Chief of Wonogiri, Ki Bodronoyo Begug Poernomosid, who claims to be a dhalang *tiban* (Purnomo 2013).

Although a dhalang's healing power and the dhalang *tiban* apparently occur without intention on the part of the dhalang, dhalang do actively engage in spiritual activities that they believe will increase their potency and enable them to acquire knowledge. For example, a dhalang may fast, eating only white rice and water, for up to forty days before a wayang performance. This is called *mutih* and in Javanese culture, it is considered a form of prayer to protect oneself from evil spirits or from evil conducted by another person against oneself. Hali explains the benefits of *mutih* for a dhalang: "*Mutih* makes your speaking good. Performing Arjuna is really like Arjuna, performing Bima fits perfectly, performing Bagong or making the boat move is also right. That is the effect of *mutih*" (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014). Other forms of fasting practised by Javanese as part of *kejawèn* include *ngrowot* where one cannot eat anything except fruit and vegetables (no rice, no fried foods, etc.), and *ngebleng* where one does not eat or drink anything at all and stays in the same room without sleeping, for one to forty days. Joko Sabeyan's practices combined two fasts:

Ten days and ten nights of *mutih*.... Followed by *ngebleng*. That is not eating or drinking for three days and three nights. You are not allowed to eat, not allowed to drink and must be naked, you can't use a mat [to sit or lie on], you must use banana leaves. And for the pillow you use a

brick. Three days, three nights like that. (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014)

A practice called *kungkum* is undertaken by dhalang in order to achieve spiritual blessings and self-protection. *Kungkum* is an ascetic practice that consists of sitting for hours immersed in cold water at night, often in a river, spring or lake. In the following account, Suparno describes how he did *kungkum* when he wanted to be successful as a dhalang:

Before I had [my son] Sigit, if I took my wife to the well [to do *kungkum*] she would definitely come. My goal was one: I just wanted my performances to sell, I didn't want to be famous, different. Sell at wayang. Whatever I was told to do by my elders I would do it.... Now, finally, a gift from God, my wife was five months pregnant with Sigit, but I was in a tough situation. Well, it ended when, at the seventh month of her pregnancy I got a wayang job. When he was born, Sigit was born, I performed. Back then there was still a celebration to mark five days after the birth of a child (*sepasaran*), and a celebration to mark thirty-five days (*selapanan*), like putting on an event. For Sigit's five-day celebration I was away performing, his thirty-five day celebration I was performing, until people began to talk, 'Why wasn't he at home for his son's five day and thirty-five day celebrations?' It began like that. Like my income was obvious. And then, what year was it? Eighty-four or whenever, my mother died. I got a message, 'You're like a person whose portion was one glass, who now has half a glass

left.’ ‘Why is that, Uncle?’ ‘Your mother has passed away.’ ‘What? How could this be?’ ‘Yes, what the heavenly gift (*wahyu*) of *pedhalangan* took was your mother.’ ‘Oh, I see.’ ‘Yes, you still have people who want you to perform, only it will be different from before when your mother was here.’ I got a clear explanation. Until now I have not had a desire to sell more performances, not at all. Have you given up? No, I haven’t. If someone asks me to perform then I do, but there is no feeling of having to sell. Because, like a person who has eaten, I am full. (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014)

We can see from this story that although people believe that their ritual actions can help them to achieve their goals, they are also wary of the possibility that they might backfire in some way, that whatever happens which is good as a result of their spiritual activities will be countered by something bad. Hali believes that *kungkum* is good for a dhalang because “here (points to his head) becomes clear and for a dhalang, wow, it is like being guided. So [one’s mind] moves on its own, it moves on its own without being ordered. Like that” (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014).

In addition to fasting and *kungkum*, late-night prayer and meditation are important components of *kejawèn*. Hali describes:

Artists rarely go to sleep early. Right? They definitely go to sleep late at night. Rather than be asleep at 12am, they meditate. Well, this meditation, this is what is good. It’s up to you what you ask for. Ask for what from God.... Ask for a long life or ask to be often

given...good health, yes it is possible through meditation.... Yes, praying at night is for making requests, for example, one month before performing wayang, to ask that when I perform I can be good so that no one teases me. To be safe, like that. Everyone who watches will be happy, nobody will disturb [the performance], that is for night-time prayer. Yes, that is what I do. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

Bambang Siswanto described how, as a very young boy, he would imitate his father, the dhalang Gondo Tomo, when he meditated:

On the eve...of *Jumat Kliwon*, [my father] would meditate. There was incense, and then he would always hit the wayang box, *dug dug dug*, and hit the big *kendhang*, *bug bug*, and I would join in.... I was small and would sit on his lap, he would meditate, I don't know what..., I used to imitate him back then, and then father would hit the box, *dug dug dug*, three times, I remember that, and then I would join in, *dug dug dug*, and then he had a *kendhang* above, father three times, *dug dug dug*. 'Dad!' I would be lifted up, and hit it three times. Yes, that was when I was little. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

These ritual activities, collectively known as *laku prihatin*,⁹⁴ are not restricted to dhalang, but can also be conducted by musicians. For example,

⁹⁴ This term refers to the idea of self-suffering.

Suyadi Tejopangrawit “fasted, reduced his hours of sleep, immersed himself in water for hours, and made pilgrimages to sacred tombs.... [He] often went to Mount Lawu for ascetic practices, to find inner peace while memorising pieces of gamelan music” (Harisna 2010: 48). He believed that these activities would aid him in achieving his ambitions.

Javanese also undertake these rituals for goals outside performing arts. Sutarmi describes the various spiritual activities she undertook as a young single mum in order to find a soulmate:

I did *kungkum* when I was suffering. My son was still only three months old. I did *kungkum* near Jalatundha [or] Susuhan, until 12am, with my friend. I did it many times back then. When Jarwo was still a baby I left a broom [because] our ancestors said that if you want to go anywhere, leave a broom there so [the baby] doesn’t wake up. At 12am I went there.... I got home at 2am. (Sutarmi, interview, 23 February 2014)

Her older sister, Sukaeni, went with their brother Joko Santosa to Pringgondani in the night where they had to enter seven different springs of water seven times each, making a total of forty-nine.

The first one was shallow like this, with water up to [my calves]. Then the second one was deeper.... And then the last one was very deep. When it was still shallow, I was already like *ssshh*, wanting to get out, from the coldness.... And then I crept along, crept along following

what, I don't know, it was the middle of the night.... Then Joko Santosa said if I wasn't strong enough, don't say that I wasn't strong enough, don't say it. Just keep quiet, get out. I just did it once, I wasn't strong enough and I got out, it was okay. But Joko Santosa, I was surprised, he was strong enough to complete forty-nine times. (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014)

Sukaeni's aim was not to become a famous *pesindhèn* but because she wanted good luck and safety for her family. *Kungkum* is often done by a group of friends together rather than individually. Hali told me how he used to do *kungkum* in a river, Kali Anyar, near the Solo bus terminal, with his friends. His younger brother, Widodo, described how he once did *kungkum* every night except on work nights for a year, and that he used to have a gamelan group who all did *kungkum* together.

Another form of *kejawèn* practice is to walk around a certain area or place. Walking around the boundary of the Mangkunegaran Palace seven times on a Thursday night, and doing this every week for seven weeks, is supposed to bring good luck. Sukaeni described how she walked around the boundaries of her house and land three times when someone was bothering her. The Kraton and Mangkunegaran both have annual processions to mark the Javanese New Year, which follow the boundaries of their land.⁹⁵ Bambang Siswanto describes how “when I was small, on Thursday nights my mother

⁹⁵ These practices remind me of the ancient English custom of beating the bounds, where a perambulation is undertaken to mark out the boundary of a parish or other area.

would take me from our house to Ronggo Warsito's grave. There was a village encircled by a road, so everyone would walk.... We had to complete three perambulations" (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014).

Offerings are an important aspect of *kejawèn*. They are often presented before a wayang performance, and in the past an elaborate ritual was carried out for the gamelan instruments before a *klenèngan*:

For example, if there was a *klenèngan* for one day and one night, before the gamelan was played, the big gong was taken into the house.... It was given offerings.... The gong was laid down like this, the boss (*pencon*) was given powder...and then given incense and flowers. In the past the gamelan was given complete offerings. In the bonang, in the gong as well, there would be a live chicken.... Right at the gong, *squawk squawk squawk*, yes. When the gong was struck, *gong*, the chicken was near the big gong, with its legs tied up. Nowadays this isn't done. (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014)

While offerings are now rarely given to the gamelan instruments, there are still plenty of situations where offerings are used. Umi describes how, before any performance of specific dances of the Mangkunegaran Palace, she ensures that offerings are made, even if the performance takes place away from the palace:

If I take, for example, [the dance] *Srimpi Muncar* or whatever, [the

dances] *Bedah Madiun*, *Bedhaya* or *Pandelori*, I certainly [take] offerings, Yesterday, there were...offerings for the gamelan for sure, *sokoguru* offerings [for the pillars] in the *pendhapa*. For the dances *Srimpi Pandelori*, *Muncar*, *Bedhaya*, *Bedah Madiun*, I usually use it. If I am outside [the palace], for example at ISI, and performing *Muncar*, I don't make lots but I just bring incense. Incense with flowers. Later, there, before the performance I pray, pray in my own way. Basically whatever our request is to The All-Powerful, like that, so we are given an easy path, the [dancers] don't forget, the performance goes well, definitely like that.... In Jakarta, I took the equipment.... Market foods, flowers, incense, and I made red-white porridge.... I was with Tari that time, and I said, 'Come on Tar, give it to the person in the kitchen, give them the palm sugar.' So we made it. We went as far as that because of our beliefs. (Umiyati Sri Warsini, interview, 16 May 2014)



Figure 4.3 Dancers rehearse in the large *pendhapa* of the Mangkunegaran Palace, with its pillars that require offerings before a performance. (3 July 2013)

It is not, however, considered necessary to engage in any of these spiritual activities to be a performing artist. Numerous artists I spoke to said that they did not conduct any spiritual or ascetic activities in relation to their arts. For some, particularly Christians, they felt that these activities would conflict with their religious beliefs, while for others, they did conduct spiritual activities but saw them as being for the benefit of their children or their general wellbeing rather than relating directly to performing arts. Joko Sabeyan told me that he used to conduct various *kejawèn* rituals but now he believes that a focus on learning is more effective: “In the past there were some [rituals] that I did, but what is important is learning, really learning. Doing rituals from here to there, here to there ten times, if you don’t study you won’t be able to do it. That’s the truth” (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014). He has successfully passed this philosophy on to his oldest daughter, Ninuk, who explained:

Perhaps in the past asceticism was like fasting [and] walking around the village or whatever. But the asceticism of children today is that what is important is studying hard, like that. Before, [people’s] educational background was inadequate, so the asceticism came in. But today the asceticism is studying hard and being loyal to your parents. (Ninuk Subandiyah, interview, 23 February 2014)

We can see from this that there are many different ways to view spiritual or mystical practices, but that people tend to find a way to make these ideas relevant to their lives, rather than dismissing them outright. Bambang

Siswanto can see links between *kejawèn* practices and the acquisition of knowledge in performing arts, without involving any kind of magic.

A person's imagination, if he sits too long, between sleepy and not sleepy in a quiet atmosphere and he only thinks about wayang, sometimes he will be like, 'Oh I got a *cempala* for this,' or 'I got the *keprak*.' 'Oh I got a Gathutkaca wayang,' like that. Sometimes there is the imagination. And later he will tell his friend, 'Oh I was given this.' When I went there, my mind was blank..., even if I wanted to speak I was [nudged] like that. My mind was always active and didn't make imaginary ideas or hallucinations. So for me there, yes, at the grave, at night it was quiet. At a village home it's quiet, let alone at a grave.

(Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

He believes that practising *kejawèn* can help a performing arts student to learn about *rasa*:

For arts, it is necessary to find the technique first, then look for the *rasa*. There are many methods to look for the *rasa*, one of which is *laku prihatin*.... What is clear is that a person's feelings must be calm. If they are not calm it won't work. So make zero feelings first and then enter what is wanted by the *gendhing*, what is wanted by the dance, what is wanted by the wayang scene. If a person cannot be zero, zero means without thinking, without anything, indeed empty, whatever he wants, he cannot [get it]. One of the methods is concentration, there are

meditation methods, there are Javanese *kejawèn* methods of that type. All of these are to believe in yourself, trust yourself, just to strengthen that. There is the suggestion ‘I can’, ‘I can do it’, like that. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

Dhalang Wulan Sri Panjang Mas believes that her acts of *laku prihatin* have helped her along the path to becoming a successful dhalang.

I do *kejawèn* rituals perhaps for a month, two months or a few months. Sometimes we, we [decide to be] self-suffering this year.... And we, as Javanese, decide not to take the luck this year. Perhaps next year. Like that. So if I say it isn’t easy to become a dhalang, like turning the palm of your hand, it isn’t easy. So it must come from underneath.... With each step we layer it or we base it with self-suffering. Hopefully our wishes are heard. (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014)



Figure 4.4 Some of the foods that are commonly used as offerings. (22 August 2014)

These examples of performing artists using spiritual and ascetic acts in order to acquire knowledge show that, even in a world where formal education is highly respected and followed by all young aspiring professional artists, there is a place for older forms of knowledge acquisition. We have seen how today's performing artists continue to find relevance in these practices, and in many cases, believe in their power to contribute to knowledge acquisition in performing arts. The acts carried out by *kejawèn* practitioners do not appear to have a direct link to the exact knowledge attained; for example, rather than practising puppets' speech, immersing oneself in water could improve one's ability at puppet voices. Nonetheless, practitioners clearly believe that there is some benefit to be gained from these spiritual or ascetic activities, which draw upon a long history. It would be difficult to calculate to what extent these practices contribute to one's learning process. However, it is important to respect the role of such practices in performing arts knowledge acquisition, since they are valued by performing arts practitioners. Another area of traditional Javanese beliefs which is frequently described by dhalang, musicians and dancers in relation to performing arts knowledge is etiquette or politeness, examined in the next section.

Learning Arts, Etiquette and Socialising

Related to traditional Javanese concepts of knowledge are traditional views of Javanese politeness or etiquette. Politeness has been defined as “one of the constraints on human behaviour which help us to achieve ‘effective

social living” (Watts et al. 1992: 2). As has been stated by a number of researchers, social living is highly prioritised in Javanese culture. Hughes-Freeland (1997) notes that “Javanese self-control facilitates social interaction, not personal ends” (56) and this self-control is possibly the most important aspect of Javanese politeness and etiquette. Enactments of such self-control to social ends are shown in the structure of Javanese language as well as in the bodily actions carried out by Javanese to show respect and deference to their superiors. Anderson (1996) describes Javanese social structure as dependent on the acting out of specific roles according to one’s order within the overall hierarchy and explains that “social approval for individuals within each order depends on how adequately they fulfil their order’s functions” (18). We can see from this that etiquette is important because each person must know their place in society and act accordingly in order to support society as a whole.

Traditional performing arts exhibit many of the ideal characteristics of Javanese politeness, such as the appropriate language levels used in wayang, and the way gamelan musicians must listen to each other while playing together to achieve a desirable musical effect. Learning dance or gamelan is a group activity that teaches people to cooperate and respect each other.

Anderson (1996) describes these links, explaining that “it was traditionally from the ethical and religious aspects of wayang that the education of Javanese children drew its inspiration” (39). The models of etiquette and social behaviour enacted by wayang characters were expected to be learnt by children. In fact, Anderson (1996) goes further, suggesting that the “ethics, morality, and philosophy [of Javanese civilisation is] best expressed in *wayang*” (45). Similarly, dance was taught “to develop physical grace, a sense

of rhythm, and a harmonious personality” (Anderson 1996: 40). These qualities were valued as part of the Javanese quest for refinement in their behaviour, a key feature of Javanese etiquette.

Hughes-Freeland (1997) states that “[Javanese] court performance is recognised by its practitioners to be a moral and intellectual activity, a system of knowledge which provides a basis for a sense of identity and culture” (56). I would argue that this also applies to performing arts outside the courts, including those taking place in villages and homes. Through learning performing arts, practitioners develop behaviour that is considered appropriate for a particular cultural identity. Many of the performing artists I spoke to felt that there were strong links between learning performing arts and learning polite behaviour. Some of those who were parents described a desire for their children to learn performing arts in order to learn good manners. Meanwhile, for student dhalang it was considered necessary to be good at socialising in order to develop one’s career.

Beja described how, by learning performing arts, a child would automatically learn good manners:

What is clear is that traditional performing arts education is indirectly education in etiquette too. That is very important. My father also said so. As the child of a dhalang, traditional arts education is important, it indirectly also teaches etiquette, manners, [and] indirectly [teaches one] how to respect others. (Beja Nugraha, interview, 23 February 2014)

He could thus see far-reaching benefits for his son in learning traditional performing arts, beyond simply being able to perform. Hughes-Freeland (1997) describes how students of Javanese dance begin to replicate the self-controlled nature of dance in their daily lives, and states that dance “is a moral practice leading to the possibility of socialisation into the proper Javanese way of behaving” (57). While writing this section, I realised that I too had learnt some traditional Javanese good manners through learning to play gamelan. By imitating the way Javanese people behave at performances and group rehearsals I had acquired some of their mannerisms. For example, a polite Javanese person, when crossing a gamelan ensemble or simply walking through the audience at a performance, will stoop slightly and dangle their outstretched right hand in front of them, as if to gently create a path. At certain group rehearsals, upon arrival all the musicians shake each other’s hands. I had begun to engage in these practices in order to show that I wanted to be part of that community, and unwittingly I had been learning Javanese manners at the same time.

The links between learning performing arts and learning politeness or etiquette are sometimes intentionally put to use by organisations working in the fields of rehabilitation or therapy. The UK-based charity Good Vibrations teaches gamelan to prisoners and patients in secure hospitals. Research commissioned by the charity has shown that their gamelan workshops can help with crucial life skills and “significantly [improve] confidence, listening and communication skills, tolerance, levels of self-expression, and ability to cope with stress and prison life. For many participants these changes are sustained in the long-term” (Good Vibrations). Similarly, Dance United uses

dance as a tool to help disadvantaged youngsters. By teaching dance workshops the charity aims to “instill focus, creative thinking and clarity of purpose in people who are excluded, at-risk and vulnerable” (Dance United).

For dhalang, however, knowing how to behave politely is not enough. Many dhalang I spoke to describe how socialising (*srawung*) was an important skill for a dhalang’s career. Widodo described how socialising, one of the ways in which good manners are put into practice, can be very important for aspiring dhalang:

For a dhalang who is hereditary it depends on the person. Does he want to perform wayang often or not, and does he want to make relationships [with others] or not? Hereditary dhalang are good, the father’s good, his child is good, but if he doesn’t want to socialise, it won’t work.... Say I am already clever, I can do anything, but I don’t want to socialise, if I don’t want to socialise there’s no way it will work. (Widodo, interview, 15 March 2014)

He felt that the same was true for gamelan musicians to a certain extent. If nobody knows a person’s capabilities, he or she won’t get booked for any gigs, and people find out about someone’s capabilities in part through socialising. For a dhalang, it is even more vital to make oneself known. This can be achieved by frequenting places where other dhalang congregate such as wayang performances, making an effort to mix with other dhalang, and making oneself known to potential sponsors.

However, socialising is not only important for dhalang in order to get

jobs, but also to reinforce the dhalang's position in the community. The dhalang has traditionally been a highly respected figure in the local community, sometimes a traditional healer or a numerology expert. People would go to their local dhalang if they had a problem or a question. For example, if their child is often sick, a dhalang may be asked for advice, or if their adult child is going to marry, a dhalang may be asked to recommend auspicious dates for the wedding. In order to uphold this level of respectability, a dhalang must be expert at interacting with a wide range of people. Following this, the experience a dhalang gains from his social role in the community can aid his performances, by providing ideas for material and a connection to his audiences.

The way dhalang conduct themselves professionally in relation to other dhalang and the image they project seems to have changed gradually during the period covered by my research. Surono described how his grandfather, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, was not only known for his performance skills but also for his solidarity with other dhalang. He gave the following example:

In Klaten there were areas, the areas for each dhalang's performance, so every dhalang had his own area.... Now, one time...there was a person from a dhalang's area that was not my grandfather's area who wanted to book my grandfather. In that case my grandfather would first ask, 'Who is the usual dhalang in your area?' For example, it was Kesdik. 'And if you book or ask Kesdik how much do you pay him?' My grandfather would ask like that. And then this person would answer, 'If I book Kesdik I pay 3 million [rupiah].' My grandfather

would say, 'If you want to book me, I want 4 million.' Yes, afterwards, okay, deal, and then my grandfather would go to Kesdik and say, 'I got a job in your area, so please can you get the musicians, wayang puppets and gamelan ready. I will give you 3 million.' Now that, that was his character. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

Qualities like this were highly valued; they were arguably a necessary skill for a dhalang to master in order to have a successful career. Such attributes continue to be highly respected today, though most people agree that it is rare to find a dhalang like this nowadays and wayang has become more of a business.

Hali linked the idea of learning performing arts to learning good manners directly. He explained that in the past people would be taught good manners relating to the gamelan, for example that one should not step over the instruments. This is considered impolite as it is believed that there may be a spirit inhabiting an instrument which would be disturbed.⁹⁶

So people sit down and are already being taught something, sit like this, don't step over the gamelan. That is already a lesson, isn't it? Yes, a little bit polite, isn't it? But if our ancestors were artists, we already know, we don't want to step over the gamelan, right?... In school there isn't a lesson like that, it's a bit different. (Hali Jarwo Sularso,

⁹⁶ This may be simply a convenient way to make superstitious Javanese respect the instruments.

interview, 9 February 2014)

Therefore, with the focus of school being on learning technique and repertoire, the basics of how to approach the instruments are often overlooked.⁹⁷ The roles of teacher and student are also different in school. I have observed that in attending rehearsals at the Mangkunegaran Palace, it is usual for the students to show respect to their teachers, Hartono and Umi, by touching the teacher's hand on their cheek or forehead, which is a traditional way to show respect to an older relative. This rarely happens in classes at formal educational institutions such as ISI, unless a student and teacher have a familial relationship outside school.

Traditional performing arts can be seen to represent traditional Javanese values, which include good manners. We can see that good manners are used during performing arts activities, particularly outside the formal educational setting. This explains why, for some parents, learning performing arts is a good way for their children to learn to behave well in society. Hughes-Freeland (1997) describes learning court dance as a traditional way to acquire knowledge, because "dance is cultural consciousness in motion" (56). While understanding and enacting polite behaviour will be necessary to begin to learn court dance, the learning of the dance itself will then endow the student with greater knowledge of such behaviour. Similarly, socialising well is a form of politeness. It is a necessary skill for a dhalang to retain a position of

⁹⁷ In contrast with this, Mrázek (2008) describes how in Thailand the etiquette surrounding musical instruments is taught as part of formal music lessons (61).

respect in the local community and the wider performing arts scene, as well as to get booked for performances. Learning *pedhalangan* necessitates learning skills of socialising. This etiquette links into a Javanese worldview that can be called traditional, a perspective which includes *kejawèn* and knowledge concepts of *ngèlmu* and *wahyu*. The better one's manners, the better chance one has of acquiring knowledge, through whatever means, and through acquiring knowledge of performing arts, one also learns about socially appropriate behaviour.

Concepts of knowledge and its acquisition are a significant theme in traditional Javanese culture. Many old texts and stories deal directly with these topics, and therefore it is important to understand how such concepts connect to knowledge acquisition in Javanese performing arts. This chapter has examined texts that provide advice on teaching and learning, and stories that describe processes of knowledge acquisition. Many wayang stories describe knowledge that is acquired through otherworldly means and encounters, often as the result of a long struggle or quest, though the final acquisition of the knowledge itself can seem instantaneous and not an obvious result of learning from the activities carried out during the quest. As well as being linked to knowledge acquisition in performing arts, many of these texts are utilised in some way for performing arts material, whether as wayang stories or as vocal parts for gamelan music. Such mystical means of learning might sound far fetched or old fashioned in a community where aspiring young professionals attend full-time formal arts school. However, we have seen that Javanese mysticism, called *kejawèn*, is still practised by Javanese performing arts

practitioners, some of whom claim to have inexplicably acquired knowledge, skills or special powers.

Ideas about politeness and socialising in Javanese culture are considered important for knowledge acquisition, both in terms of learning good manners through learning performing arts, and in needing to practise good manners in order to be successful in performing arts. One of the differences between learning inside and outside a formal arts institute is the extent to which performing arts etiquette is taught or practised on a day-to-day basis.

While this chapter has focused on spiritual practice used for or as performing arts, there are also many examples where performing arts are used as spiritual practice. Weiss (2003) describes how a performance that successfully has *rasa* is one where there is a “mystical unification” of body and mind (27). Elsewhere, Baily (1988) describes how the process of learning music can itself be spiritual: “Amongst the descendants of Muslim court musicians in India, musical practice (*riyaz*) has something of the aura of spiritual discipline in a Sufi method of purification. This is encountered most explicitly in the *chilla*, a period of intense and isolated devotion, either to music or to religion” (113). While learning gamelan may not hold the same spiritual significance, clearly there are many links between performing arts knowledge acquisition processes and mystical practice.

Examining traditional Javanese views on knowledge acquisition, from texts and from practitioners, shows that from wayang stories to concepts of politeness, many of the same themes are present. In a study of how Javanese people learn their performing arts, it is important to consider the historical

influence of stories that they have grown up with, the way traditional etiquette impacts upon people's interactions in a performing arts setting, and the spiritual practices that they believe have an effect on their work as performing artists.

Chapter Five

Arts Learning Processes Examined - Part One

Having met members of a large performing artist family, understood how performing arts education has developed as part of Indonesia's national education system, and looked at some older Javanese conceptualisations of knowledge and learning, Chapters Five and Six will investigate different ways in which Javanese people learn their performing arts. Examining the methods of knowledge acquisition themselves, instead of focusing on where they take place such as in school or at home, will enable us to better understand the kinds of processes at play when someone is learning gamelan, dance or wayang.

Perlman (2004) describes how the mind draws on different types of memory, reasoning and cognitive processes, and states that "this cognitive heterogeneity...explains why music can be mysterious to its own expert practitioners" (18). Perlman and Brinner both provide systems of categorisation for the types of knowledge held by gamelan musicians. Perlman (2004) uses categories of implicit and explicit knowledge, where implicit knowledge is acquired slowly but can be quickly summoned to action and where explicit knowledge may be hard to immediately put into practice (22). Brinner discusses procedural and declarative knowledge types. Declarative knowledge refers to factual information whereas procedural knowledge is about *how* to do something (Brinner 1995: 39). He goes on to describe a

process where “by applying procedural knowledge to a stock of declarative knowledge of prototypical pieces, a musician gains declarative knowledge, increasing his or her knowledge of repertoire” (Brinner 1995: 148). Shanks states that “implicit learning experiments provide a good deal of support for the notion that the application of knowledge depends fundamentally on similarity.... People seem to learn about complex domains by accumulating information about the frequency statistics of the stimuli they encounter, and respond to new events on the basis of their featural overlap with stored representations” (Lambert and Shanks 1997: 211). This fits well with Brinner’s concept of prototypical gamelan pieces, which act as models allowing musicians to learn new pieces. This chapter will show how not only gamelan musicians but also dancers and dhalang use a range of methods to acquire knowledge of various types.

Based on interviews with performers and supported by pre-existing research, I have divided the ways in which people learn performing arts into ten learning methods. The methods to be covered in this chapter are those where there is a direct encounter between the learner and the performing arts, triggering an immediate learning process. The first three methods, *kupingan*,⁹⁸ simultaneous imitation and following, and learning through *latihan* (rehearsals) and performing, all take place at the time when performing arts are being done. Exposure and absorption can be a subconscious and unintentional process. The idea of learning by association, which refers to

⁹⁸ This refers to picking something up by listening alone, from the Javanese word for ear, *kuping*.

learning one part by knowing another, highlights the links between different art forms where knowledge of one enables a practitioner to learn another.

Each section will consider what the learning process is and how it works, by looking at examples from practitioners I have interviewed. In Chapter One, we saw how a large performing artist family lives, and in this chapter we will see how many of the same people learn their arts. The reader may notice that the same performing artists appear in several different sections of the chapter, and this shows that each individual tends to learn in many ways.

Kupingan

Javanese writers refer to the term *kupingan* as a method of knowledge acquisition, taken from the Javanese word *kuping* which means “ear”. Waridi (1997) gives an example of *kupingan* as “a person who is interested in learning *karawitan* always going to places where *karawitan* events are held”. He goes on to explain how this technique was considered effective before notation was commonly used, but that it requires a long period of time “because it is not a direct process of learning and teaching between a student and a teacher” (Waridi 1997: 34-35). Harisna (2010) notes that in order for *kupingan* to be successful, “it must be supported by perseverance and the willingness of individuals to repeat the results of their observations. The outcome is apparent when the person has memorised the material taught” (42). We can see that with the *kupingan* method, firstly, the onus is clearly on the

student to learn, without a specific teacher, and secondly, that children of performing artist families may have an easy advantage if they are surrounded by gamelan activities. *Kupingan* as a concept is more easily applied to gamelan music than to dance or wayang, which obviously incorporate important visual elements.

We could refer to *kupingan* as “learning by ear”, however, simply listening and playing, with less of a focus on learning, may be closer to reality. Subini describes how she used *kupingan* and this is a simple example that captures the idea very well: “Whether you play *saron*, play *demung*, play *slenthem*, as long as you’ve heard it you can play it” (Subini, interview, 20 January 2014). Joko Sabeyan explained that this is a process which begins at a very young age: “*Kupingan* is every time we hear a note, especially gamelan, oh this is *sléndro*, this is *pélog*. From when we are little we can already feel this is *pélog*. I could already do this from a young age” (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014). Being able to differentiate between the pitches of the *sléndro* and *pélog* scales used in gamelan can be seen as the first step in developing a good ear, and tends to be a skill readily acquired by children surrounded by these musical tones.

Subini explained how she never made a big effort to learn gamelan music through listening. “I also don’t know, I’m surprised at myself, every time I play it I know it, by just listening I can play it” (Subini, interview, 20 January 2014). Hali Jarwo Sularso felt that the concept of playing together was related to *kupingan*. He said, “*Kupingan* is when lots of friends play gamelan and they remember it all, without using notation. But if they are asked to write notation they can’t do it. That is *kupingan*” (Hali Jarwo Sularso,

interview, 9 February 2014). And he explained how he considers this way of playing to be of high quality:

Because there is a [rhythmic density or tempo] called *rangkep*, where the *gendèr* must be able to play, the *siter* must be able to play, the *gambang* must be able to play. But now it's not like that, is it? When it's in *rangkep* it gets so [fast] that the *gambang* cannot play. But in the past if people played like that they would be told off. 'Don't just play in *rangkep*! Check how the *gambang* is.' Like that. 'How is the *gendèr*?' That was how people in the past thought. I was once angry with a friend. I was playing *gambang*, and I couldn't keep up with his *rangkep*. After stopping my heart was beating fast. 'You swap with me and play *gambang*, I'll play *kendhang*, why not?' He played *gambang* and wow.... Nowadays it is difficult to get them to control [the tempo].... In the past this wasn't allowed. In the past people were even told off for playing loudly. Don't play loudly! It's called compact, everyone plays uniformly, everyone plays with the same volume. The *gambang* and *gendèr* must not be conspicuous, they mustn't stick out. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014).

He believes that these problems of compactness are avoided when the gamelan musicians use *kupingan*. Their enhanced listening ability is used to play together as an ensemble, as well as for learning individually. *Kupingan* also has uses beyond gamelan music. Hali's younger brother, Widodo, began learning *pedhalangan* through *kupingan*, by listening to his older brother and

to their father. He would imitate their *suluk*, though later he decided to learn to read notation in order to broaden his repertoire.

For musicians who didn't grow up surrounded by gamelan it appears to be more difficult to use *kupingan*. Suroño commented:

To be honest, for me learning *karawitan* relies more on this (points to his head), not *kupingan*. Because my background... was that I began to know the arts world since I was in Manjungan [as a teenager], so my ears weren't very good at learning... [Because] I didn't feel it from a young age, different to Sujarwo.⁹⁹ Even when he was a newborn, Sujarwo was already in that environment... For me, I rely more on notation. I am quite slow at using *kupingan*. (Suroño, interview, 2 March 2014).

Bambang Siswanto, however, was able to train himself to use *kupingan*:

Sometimes a person's hearing is absolute and this is good and can be effective, sometimes not. Like me, at the beginning it was not effective. My eyes were effective, through following the movements [of a musician's hands] with my eyes.... The notes were not important, but the way of moving. But in order to remember it, after I had been

⁹⁹ Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, Suroño's cousin, is referred to here. See Appendix II Fieldwork Interviewees for his short biography.

learning for a while, listening was more effective. So *sléndro-pélog* wasn't confusing. If the whole gamelan is sounding, I can still hear [the instrument] I want to hear. Once I could do that, listening became effective. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

He believes that an important aspect of *kupingan* is being able to vocalise what one hears, and instantly translate that vocalisation into the appropriate instrumental idiom.

Whatever the instrument, one must be able to vocalise it. So as a result of hearing, it can be vocalised, later the reflex is made in the hands to move. (Vocalising) *Ne ne*, so that voice, my hands already know, they are already like this. *No no no no no no*, definitely like that. *Gendèr*, *nek nu na ni*, *no nek no*, my hands are already moving. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

Sukaeni linked the idea of *kupingan* to *perasaan* or feeling. She explained how she could play pieces that she didn't know the name of, and hadn't necessarily played before, by following other instruments such as the *bonang* (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014). As we shall see in the next section, this idea of simultaneous following is key to the way in which Javanese musicians and dancers learn and play together. Wakidi also described *kupingan* as being related to feeling, and to the idea of *alami* (“natural”) performing artists, a term he applies to himself, meaning those who

learnt outside the formal education system.¹⁰⁰ He defined *kupingan* as listening and then memorising (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014). However, for the other musicians and performing artists I spoke to, there was no explicit process of memorisation at work in *kupingan*, rather a seemingly automatic transition from listening to reproducing, with very limited conscious effort on the part of the musician or artist. Levitin (2006) describes how most people become “expert listeners” by age six because we have “incorporated the grammar of our musical culture into mental schemas that allow us to form musical expectations” (216). Perhaps it is these mental schemas that allow performing artists, especially those who grew up surrounded by arts, to access *kupingan* and learn through listening alone.

Simultaneous Imitation and Following

Simultaneous imitation and following are techniques used by gamelan musicians and dancers but not by dhalang, since there is usually only one dhalang performing at a time. Gamelan musicians use this technique to play pieces they may not have played before or do not remember. With the instruments of the gamelan taking on different roles, musicians can join in with a piece by following other instruments, responding immediately to aural

¹⁰⁰ This concept of a “natural” artist, suggests, somewhat unhelpfully in my opinion, that learning outside school is somehow more of a natural process, and that arts schooling is perhaps “unnatural” in some way. Nonetheless, it offers a way for non-schooled artists to define themselves without negatively emphasising their lack of schooling.

cues. Brinner (1999) describes how “a Javanese musician must listen interpretively” and respond appropriately to particular cues (24). Elsewhere he defines this as a process of deductive imitation, which “involves idiomatic translation or transformation of an essence abstracted from perceptual input” (Brinner 1995: 138). In other words, the musicians follow instruments that may be played differently to their own, using the heterophonic structure of the music to play together. He describes how the gamelan ensemble forms an interactive safety net, allowing musicians to follow along without creating problems for the overall music of the ensemble (Brinner 1995: 179-180).

Bambang explained to me how he could use such deductive simultaneous imitation for some instruments but not others: “If I don’t know the piece at all, I can still play *gendèr* for it, but I certainly cannot play *rebab* or *bonang*. I can play *balungan*. I can follow the *bonang* or the *saron panerus*” (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014). In this way, the use of simultaneous imitation enables musicians to play a much larger repertoire than the pieces they have committed to memory. Levitin (2006) describes the concept of chunking, where musicians remember schemas for familiar sequences and use faking to fill in between by replacing a gap with something “stylistically plausible” (215). In Javanese gamelan this is referred to as *ngawur*. It can occur when a gamelan player does not know the piece they are playing, and is playing an elaborating instrument. They must try to get by through a combination of deductive simultaneous imitation and filling in their part by faking it at times when a cue from another instrument is not immediately apparent. For instruments that can easily rely on cues for all their notes, *ngawur* is unnecessary.

As well as a way to survive a performance, simultaneous imitation is an important method for knowledge acquisition, which can be used at rehearsals and informal playing sessions as well as during performances.

Suparno used this technique to learn gamelan:

I only imitate. So I don't use notation, I just imitate. For example, playing *demung* sometimes I see who is next to me and just copy them. After a long time, [the material] has gone in here (indicates his head). (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014)

Whereas *kupingan* is focused on listening, in simultaneous imitation a musician concentrates on doing. They are engaged in listening, but must respond almost instantaneously to what they hear by moving to play an instrument or vocalising. There is less time to consider what one has heard, as an immediate reaction is required. This is an important skill for professional gamelan musicians to acquire in order to access increased repertoire, but it is also a learning process in itself, as information gained whilst playing music enters the memory without an explicit process of memorisation. This is similar to the process during dance classes.



Figure 5.1 Dancers rehearsing at the Mangkunegaran Palace. The dancers on the left are turning around to look at their peers and find out what the next movement should be. (26 June 2013)

In palace-style dance, the dancers are expected to have fully memorised the dance routine for any performance. It is during the learning process that simultaneous imitation is one of the most common methods for teaching and learning. As noted in Chapter Two, during a group dance class, the dancers are positioned so that less experienced students can see their more expert counterparts. This is so that they can simultaneously imitate them, and learn through moving as they dance. Umi commented that if a new student approaches her, she suggests they just join in at first, dancing at the back of the class (Umiyati Sri Warsini, interview, 16 May 2014). The desirable type of imitation in this case is not deductive; it is unlikely that a dance student can deduce their own role from following a different role. For dance, an exact imitation is the end-goal, as a number of students usually learn the same role together.



Figure 5.2 Umi (in front wearing a yellow t-shirt) dances in front of her students to demonstrate the correct movements. (19 June 2013)

While this type of imitation is restricted to group classes for palace-style dance, for village-style masked dance, learning through simultaneous imitation can take place during a performance for dances with more than one of the same character. Beja explained that he learnt on stage rather than through rehearsals:

When I did masked dance for the first time, the learning process from my father was direct [in performance], not through rehearsals. Yes, in 1995 in Jakarta, at Taman Mini no less, that was the first time I did masked dance, following Father. My role was at the back. (Beja Nugraha, interview, 23 February 2014)

Beginner dancers often start by performing simple roles where several

people are dancing the same routine.



Figure 5.3 The dancer on the right in the photograph is following behind the dancer on the left. He doesn't know his role well, having never danced it before. (1 July 2009)

Processes of simultaneous imitation and interpretation like this are key to the way people learn gamelan and dance. They can take place during classes, rehearsals and performances and are a vital skill for performing artists, both as a way to survive professional life and as a learning technique.

Learning through *Latihan* and Performing

A *latihan* is a rehearsal, but whereas in English the word rehearsal is often used to refer to preparation for a specific performance, there are many routine, weekly or twice-weekly *latihan* held in and around Surakarta where professional and amateur musicians or dancers come together to play music or dance for enjoyment. As Sutton (1993) notes, a *latihan* “is valued in its own

right” (18).¹⁰¹



Figure 5.4 Hartono (playing *bonang barung*) and Umi (playing the *keprak* to guide the dancers) run the twice-weekly *Pakarti* (*Paguyuban Karawitan dan Tari, Karawitan and Dance Club*) *latihan* at the Mangkunegaran Palace. (4 January 2014)

¹⁰¹ Santosa conducted research on members of *latihan* in two sub-districts of Surakarta, surveying over two hundred musicians and singers. He asked them questions such as how long they had played gamelan, whether they studied at home or had attended gamelan courses, how they preferred to learn and whether they listened to recordings of gamelan music. He chose not to ask about their profession because he believed that “most people do not want to acknowledge the gamelan musician profession as a stand-alone profession” (Santosa 1990: 22). This makes it difficult to use his data to find information about aspiring or professional musicians. It is likely that a small number of the people surveyed were professionals, who made their income from performing, because many *latihan* are attended by both students and professionals. However, the majority of Santosa’s informants are likely to be amateur hobbyists, who play gamelan in their spare time and are rarely paid to perform. More recently, a PhD thesis by Jonathan Roberts provides a detailed account of amateur gamelan groups in Solo and examines “the social organisation of ensembles and the social implications of participation” (Roberts 2015: 41).

Young or less experienced performers sometimes attend *latihan* as a way to learn from more knowledgeable players. In many cases a *latihan* is led by a professional musician, who may act as a kind of teacher, selecting repertoire for the group and helping less experienced participants, but rarely instructing individuals in exactly what they should play. Sutton (1993) points out that “little is said by a group leader unless the resultant sound is too disorganized or misconceived” (19). An example of this is the senior musician Suropto Hadi Martono, who runs a number of *latihan* held in people’s homes and at community spaces, which cater to participants from a range of backgrounds, amateur and professional, old and young. Musicians learn from each other at these *latihan*, picking up variants of melodic phrases, drumming patterns, and ideas for arrangement of repertoire. They can engage in simultaneous imitation as discussed in the previous section, and may also be allowed to choose some of the repertoire of the *latihan*. Outside the formalised classroom and away from their teachers, musicians can try out particular styles or melodies in a musically supportive atmosphere.



Figure 5.5 Musicians at a *latihan* at Cakra Homestay. (25 June 2013)

Whereas gamelan music and dance are learnt at *latihan*, a dhalang does not usually learn through routine group rehearsals. *Latihan* for wayang, if held at all, are in preparation for a performance and tend to be aimed at rehearsing the musicians, rather than the dhalang himself. Only sections of the wayang show are practised, with the focus on those parts with particularly unusual or challenging musical accompaniment. It is unusual for a professional dhalang to rehearse his part at all in the context of a *latihan*.

The line between *latihan* and performance is not particularly clear-cut in terms of the way the music is played. Sutton (1993) notes that “the distinction between performance and rehearsal in Java is much less sharply drawn than in the West” (17). At both *latihan* and performances, musical pieces or suites are played through in their entirety without stopping. Learning therefore also takes place at a performance in a similar way to at a *latihan*. Soetarno (1997) describes the wayang performances put on by famous dhalang Anom Soeroto every thirty-five days for his Javanese birthday, as “fostering a sense of family among dhalang, also for gaining experience, exchange of thoughts, exchange of creativity, and this in turn enriches the experience of the soul” (18). For children, the time immediately before a performance was traditionally an opportunity for them to try out the gamelan instruments and play with the wayang puppets. Although I have witnessed this at village performances, it is no longer the norm. Supanggah (2011a) notes that “many performances today are more formal or ‘closed’ in nature, with an increasing gap between the artists and the audience” (254). Nonetheless, while children nowadays rarely get the chance to try the instruments before a show, performances still provide an opportunity for children to learn by watching

and listening, and sometimes by becoming the performer themselves.

Many of my informants described their first experiences performing as on stage with no rehearsal. In some cases, such as Suparno's account below, this was actually the first time they had done a particular performing art at all.

[My first time] holding wayang puppets was at Gondo's place, for a *ruwatan* ritual performance. The person having the ritual done was my sister, Gondo, who had knocked over a rice cooking pot. The person doing the *ruwatan* ritual was Mbah Masaran. That night Darto, Mbah Masaran's son, the father of Teguh who lives in Karangnom Mudal, was the dhalang, with the *lakon Kilat Buwono*. During the day I was asked by my father to perform wayang after the *ruwatan* ritual. Me, even though I was only a young child and my speaking wasn't good. I said I couldn't do it. 'How come you can't do it? It's only the follow-on after the *ruwatan* ritual. At home you play with wayang puppets. You should put that into practice at the performance at your own sister's place.' 'What's the *laken*?'¹⁰² 'Ssss, *lakon*!' I had thought I was using the high Javanese form of the word *lakon*. 'An easy one.' 'What?' 'Permadi's wedding. You've memorised it haven't you? The first scene is in Dwarawati where Baladewa is angry that Permadi has got married. Just like that.' Now, a child doesn't have knowledge of

¹⁰² The young Suparno tried to turn the Javanese word *lakon* from low Javanese to the higher, more polite form by altering the vowel sound, as is the case for many Javanese words, but inadvertently turned it into a word for male genitals.

dramatic skill (*sanggit*). But I was brave enough to come forward. In the first scene the characters hadn't even greeted each other, but were angry straight away about the whereabouts of the wedding party. My father laughed from behind the wayang screen. 'What is this kid doing?!' Of course, after I had finished as we were going home, [he said,] 'What were you thinking?! People with guests they haven't even greeted but are immediately angry?!' I couldn't do it yet, but would be able to in future. So, starting from being laughed at, I was then trained so things ran more smoothly, at that time using the *mucuki* model.

(Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014)

Suparno's first performance sounds humiliating, and yet it didn't put him off wayang. His father expected him to jump from playing with puppets at home to performing a complex story on stage. It is likely that he was aware that his young son would be unable to perform properly, but children are forgiven for performing badly and being on stage, and being laughed at, could help move Suparno's learning process along.

The *mucuki* system as a way for child dhalang to practise in a real performance situation continues to this day, with a young child, most frequently from a dhalang family and sometimes related to the dhalang who will give the night's performance, taking to the stage and becoming the dhalang for around thirty minutes before the main performance begins. With the gamelan musicians already in place to accompany them, and the audience beginning to arrive, a child dhalang can get some exposure and feel what it is like to be the dhalang, before he or she is able to perform a whole *lakon*.

Mucuki performances tend to feature just one or two scenes, with a focus on battles rather than speech, as child dhalang tend to have better puppet manipulation skills than they have knowledge of textual content. Many of the dhalang I spoke to had performed *mucuki* when they were young, often before their father's show. Wulan describes how she is teaching her son to perform wayang by encouraging him to *mucuki* before her performances:

When he was in class six of primary school I said to him, 'Son, you are going to be a dhalang. Here's the text, you read it.' I taught him and he could do it, so I gathered together his classmates from school. I trained them to play gamelan, to accompany him. Then when it was his first performance at home...everyone knew that my child was a dhalang... Then, after a while, if I had a performance in Klaten or wherever, my son could already perform wayang, I told him to *mucuki* before my performance. (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014)



Figure 5.6 A child dhalang, Kuntawijaya, performs *mucuki* in Sekalekan village, Klaten. Note the small platform he is sitting on so he is the right height for the screen and box. (20 February 2016)

Sutarmi learnt to sing by performing as a *pesindhèn* for her father's wayang performances. She explained how she started out only singing the simple repertoire such as *srepeg lasem* and then learnt other pieces by listening to them. She also learnt to play gamelan instruments like this.

Learning to play gamelan, I didn't learn. Just if Father was performing wayang and there was nothing to sing in the *manyura* section I would play *demung* or *saron*. I used my own elaborations, my own arrangement. I just listened. (Sutarmi, interview, 23 February 2014)

Hali described how he also learnt to play gamelan through performing, starting by playing gong:

The gong came first.... When I was little I would sleep and then be woken up at 3am to play gong. Oh yes, I was so happy! After that came *bonang*, after gong, *bonang*. How does the *bonang* go? Ah, it goes like this. Once I had memorised *bonang*, then came *kendhang*. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

Later, as an adult, he continued to learn while performing, but from his friends and peers:

If we gathered with Wakidjo, then I could check. Oh, if that is the case, my *rebab*-playing the other day was wrong. It was often like that with my friends. Wakidi is one of my peers. Wakidi, Wakidjo, Yadi, if there

was a *klenengan* I would definitely play *kenong*, but [listen to] that *rebab* playing. Yes, until the *kenong* was wrong because I wasn't [concentrating]. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

He also learns from watching other dhalang and takes elements that he likes as inspiration for his own wayang performances:

When a dhalang performs there is humour, there is *sulukan*, puppet manipulation, *keprak*, and what do I like? If the *keprak* is good I use it. Wow, the jokes are good, I will use them. But I don't write them down, I put them in here (indicates his head) and they are in. Wow, the story is good.... Yes, I use it. So in the past I learnt to perform wayang by watching wayang performances until the end. I never went home early, never, I stayed until the end so that the story could finish. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

He finds it easier to absorb and retain information through watching wayang performances if he is playing the gamelan, so if the dhalang is a friend of his and there is space, he will join the gamelan musicians for some of the performance.

Traditionally, two wayang performances were held for an event, one during the day, which was considered less important, and the other at night, from around 9pm until the morning. This night performance was considered the more significant one and would feature the main dhalang. He might ask a younger brother or a son to perform for the daytime performance. Widodo told

me that he often took the daytime slot when Hali, his older brother, would perform in the evening. The first time Widodo performed like this, his father was angry and accused him, a dhalang's son, of holding a wayang puppet like a serving spoon (Widodo, interview, 15 March 2014). The expectation was that a dhalang's son should be better than that (despite not having been given any guidance on how to be better). He also used a *pélog sulukan* when there was only a *sléndro* gamelan (meaning he was in the wrong musical scale) and his friends laughed at him. As in Suparno's story above, many of my interviewees described this kind of situation, where a young student gets humiliated for making a mistake during their first performances. It seems that this is considered part of the learning process, possibly including the development of a thick skin. All my interviewees got over their initial embarrassment quickly without holding a grudge.

In addition to the daytime performances providing a forum for less experienced dhalang to perform, they were also the place for beginner gamelan musicians to try playing. Joko Sabeyan describes how there was even a relaxed attitude towards who played the gamelan at some night performances:

At performances in the past it wasn't like it is now, now it is quite strict. For example, if someone is the dhalang, the gamelan musicians are from [the leader] Wito, for example, one club. If another person from outside the club wants to swap, perhaps they are shy or not allowed to, it's like that. In the past whoever wanted to could play, while learning.... In the past children could play the gamelan. Before,

when Father was performing, it was children who played the gamelan, his grandchildren usually, and this wasn't considered an issue back then. Even the host of the event didn't consider it a problem.

Nowadays it is made into a problem. 'Why are children learning at this performance!?' Some people are like that. (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014)

He told me that nowadays there are far fewer opportunities for beginners to join performances like this. Nonetheless, within these constraints, learning while performing is still an important way in which young artists acquire knowledge and skills.



Figure 5.7 Now a rare occurrence, children join in playing the gamelan at a wayang performance in Manjungan village, Klaten. Here, Sukaeni is showing her niece, Nining, how to play *saron*, and her nephew, Nanang, is playing *saron* in front. (9 August 2013)

While many of my interviewees began performing at a very young age,

with experiences on stage that formed an important element of their arts education, musician Bambang Siswanto began performing when he was already a teenager in class one at SMKN 8:

I couldn't play anything yet. At that time Dr. Oen Hospital was opening a new building, and someone who was boarding at Tris's house was a cook at Dr. Oen. He requested performing arts and it was given over to Sumiyati to arrange. I was asked to play and at that time I played *bonang panerus*. There [at the performance] we only played *Lancaran Manyar Sewu* over and over again.... That time I got paid Rp. 5000. It was 1986, amazing! And then I was motivated. Oh, by playing gamelan I can get money, and so I liked it.... I was given 10kg of rice [to take home] as well as Rp. 5000, for one month. That was one performance and it finished by *maghreb* (the Muslim sunset prayer), by *isyah* (the prayer that falls around 7pm) we weren't allowed to play any more because after that there would be an event. A very short time.... Only *Manyar Sewu*, *Manyar Sewu* again, *Manyar Sewu* again.... I remember, that money, oh wow, so amazing! Imagine, at that time taking the city bus cost Rp. 75, I got Rp. 5000. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

Despite being musically very simple, this performance taught Bambang that he could make a living from playing gamelan, and in this way helped him on his journey to becoming a professional musician.

Clearly, performing is absolutely crucial to the learning process, and

importantly, performing comes at an early stage in the learning process, when an artist may have mastered very little. As soon as he or she knows barely enough to perform, perhaps knowing how to play only one or two instruments and not even a whole gamelan piece, or perform a single wayang scene or a few dance steps, a young artist is pushed into their first performance, often by older relatives. While gamelan and dance students certainly learn through rehearsing as well, it is these initial, often unplanned, performances that they remember. For young dhalang, there is often no rehearsal before their first performance, which may be preceded by learning through exposure and absorption alone.

Exposure and Absorption

While the learning processes described in the preceding sections involved intention on the part of the learner, some performing arts knowledge is gained through exposure and absorption, a process of osmosis that takes place without any effort on the part of a learner or a teacher. This unintentional learning occurs in many places, including performances and rehearsals, and is likely to be a particularly strong factor in the learning of those artists growing up with performing arts at home. Since a person's learning capacity is greatest during childhood, being surrounded by performing arts activities at home can make a significant contribution to a person's knowledge and skill at a subconscious level, without requiring any intention or effort. Levitin (2006) compares acquisition of a music culture to

language acquisition and explains that “our ability to make sense of music depends on experience” (106). Children growing up with music have a head-start in terms of the amount of music they experience compared to those growing up in non-musical households.

A dissertation about dance teacher S. Maridi describes a process of natural absorption of knowledge:

For S. Maridi, learning to dance occurred naturally; as a child there is an automatic desire to play. He often played imitating the movements of his father when he was dancing from behind him.... S. Maridi’s behaviour caught the attention of his father. His father then started to teach him the techniques of good dancing. (Kusumawati 2002: 25-26)

From this we can see that as a child, S. Maridi was never forced into learning dance, but when he showed interest of his own accord, this was noticed and encouraged by his father who was himself a dancer. Such exposure and absorption during childhood is key for many artists whose initial interest in performing arts begins as a result of this. Hali defined wayang as his hobby when he was a child and told me how he loved to watch performances whenever possible (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014). Sujarwo described how, when his cousin Surono had set up a small wayang screen at home to practise wayang, “I indirectly joined in with learning even though no one was teaching me. I just held the wayang puppets and played in the style of a person performing wayang” (Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, interview, 31 January 2014).

For some children of performing artists, the assumption was that they would be able to do performing arts anyway, without any direct instruction. Beja described his father Tukas Gondo Sukasno as being very harsh on him, expecting him to learn without any direct tuition. He was required to make full use of any exposure to wayang by watching performances with maximum attention:

If he performed I really learnt. When Father performed wayang, when my older brother performed, when my uncle performed, then I learnt...[through] watching. I didn't even want to play gamelan.... I was told to make the *balungan* (schema) for the *lakon*.... My father, if he educated me, he was very strict.... If I was confused about the *lakon*, I was scolded. 'If you are watching wayang, what are you looking at?' Like that, I was told off. (Beja Nugraha, interview, 23 February 2014)

In this way, unintentional absorption of performing arts is transformed into intentional learning, though the forum of a performance remains the same. Watching performances and intentionally learning is common among performing artists. Bambang described how he was able to learn a great deal from watching specifically at a time when his ear was not yet fully trained to learn by listening alone:

How do Wakidjo's hands move when he plays *gendèr* or *rebab* or *kendhang*? It's his hands that move, because I couldn't catch the idea

of sound from the *kendhang*. I just knew, I was told, it's good, that's all. So how does he make that sound? When I was close to him I could ask him. If not I could only watch.... Then later there was a different *kendhang* player, it was different, even the sound was different. And then I asked, which one was better? I didn't actually know which one was better. Only at that time, since it wasn't a problem for the other *kendhang* player, it must have meant that it was good, that was all. My thinking was like that. That drumming was good. There were people back then who were sensitive. If it wasn't nice sometimes they would move, look over or whatever..., basically they moved as an effect of him playing something. That meant I could get it, oh whoever made that less nice, it could be felt, even though I didn't know the detail of it. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

We can see from this that through watching, Bambang began to learn about what makes a performance considered good by the musicians, knowledge which he could then use when playing gamelan himself. Exposure to live performances or rehearsals is essential to building up this kind of knowledge; media such as notation and recordings simply cannot convey such details, and even learning from a teacher in a classroom or individual setting does not provide this kind of interactional information, which is crucial to becoming a good gamelan musician.

Wulan grew up in a village in Wonogiri and, as a child, was only exposed to her father's wayang performances. She explained that when she started to watch wayang by other dhalang, in particular in Surakarta, she

would often ask questions about what she was seeing:

Before I didn't know any Surakarta dhalang, I was just with my father. Then, afterwards, I got to know senior Surakarta dhalang. If I watched a wayang, coincidentally there would be one who would sit next to me. If there was a scene that I didn't know I would often ask. And the dhalang who sat next to me would explain.... So I learnt, before going to ISI, I learnt through watching wayang, whoever the dhalang was I would watch. And sometimes there was a dhalang who would tell me, this *lakon* is like this, like that. (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014)

For Wulan, unintentional exposure to performing arts as a child led to her intentionally learning from exposure to different dhalang as an adult, and therefore greatly widening her knowledge. The musician Wakidi too, having been exposed to gamelan in his local community from a young age, began to take advantage of this, learning for himself when he saw others play gamelan.

For example, back then there was Dalimin's *bonang* playing, Cipto Suwarso's *bonang* playing, which I paid attention to, watched. For example, if I wanted to learn *bonang*, I would watch that *bonang* player. Wow, he is so good, and then wow, his *bonang* playing is like this. For example, if I wanted to learn *gendèr*. That's Sabdo, who was famous at RRI, Sabdo, his *gendèr*-playing was really good. And then Wahyu who passed away. At that time I couldn't play *gendèr* at all.

(Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014)

He describes his learning process as some kind of inexplicable transformation:

I asked myself, how am I suddenly able to play a bit, play *gendèr*, play *rebab*? I didn't take lessons with anyone, didn't study, you can ask Wakidjo. Did Wakidjo teach me *rebab*? No. Teach me *gendèr*? No. I was just left as I was. But suddenly, alone, yes that. Perhaps there was already a talent or a gift from there..., a heavenly gift. (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 7 March 2014)

This was the same response I received when I asked my *rebab* teacher, Darsono Hadi Raharjo, how he was able to remember the whole of the lengthy piece *Gendhing Krawitan* off by heart. He told me he had just got up one day and been able to play it, which he also referred to as a heavenly gift (*anugerah*).

Clearly these kinds of seemingly instant acquisitions of knowledge are in fact the result of years of exposure and absorption, usually beginning from birth or in early childhood. Rini, who told me how she learnt masked dance by watching alone, believes that for performing artist families, it is in their blood to be able to do arts:

I support my children, but nobody teaches them. Like [my son] Budi there is no one who teaches him, he just listens to *kendhang*-playing,

joins in, listens to music, drumming, he can do it.... He has arts blood, the point is that he can do it, no one trains him, for Budi it is his own desire to play *kendhang*. (Sri Ajeng Sulistyorini, interview, 8 March 2014)

Umi supported this when she described her son when he was in kindergarten, being able to dance without having been taught. While joining dance rehearsals at the Mangkunegaran Palace over the years I have seen musicians and dancers bring their young toddlers to the rehearsals and have seen them imitate the dancers' movements. Even at five months old, my daughter Emma, would watch the dancers with delight while lying on the floor and making movements with her hands. Dewang, the one-year-old son of dancers Dewi Galuh Sinta Sari and Danang Pamungkas, can already imitate his father's dance movements.



Figure 5.8 Emma Therese Handayani Sujarwo, aged 11 months, sitting with her grandmother and watching her father, Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, perform wayang in Turus village, Klaten. (14 October 2015)

This kind of exposure from a very young age sets the stage for being able to do performing arts. However, exposure alone is clearly inadequate for becoming a performing artist. Practitioners must make use of this exposure in some way if they wish to excel in performing arts. Those people who only acquired knowledge unintentionally through exposure and absorption without supporting this with other forms of learning were able to do arts to some extent but would not become professional performing artists.

Learning by Association

One of the key traits that unites almost all professional Javanese performing artists is that they tend to be multi-skilled. It is well known that most gamelan musicians are proficient on many instruments of the gamelan and can often sing vocal parts. Many *pesindhèn* can also play gamelan to some extent. However, it is less commonly acknowledged that many artists can do more than one art form. For example, many dhalang can play gamelan, and indeed it is often considered necessary to be a good dhalang. Some dhalang can also dance and they make use of this knowledge when making puppets dance on the screen. Professional dancers understand the cues given to them from the *keprak* and often know some of the *kendhang* patterns that accompany the dances, being able to vocalise them if they don't have *kendhang* playing technique. Gamelan musicians who play for dance or wayang (and I would argue that this is most professional musicians nowadays since *klenengan* are comparatively rare) must understand a great deal of what

is happening on stage or on screen and many gamelan musicians can also dance or perform wayang a bit, although they may have never performed professionally. With all these overlaps in knowledge between the different art forms, learning one art form can help a performer to acquire knowledge in another art form, through learning by association, and according to my research, this is frequently what happens.

Many of my interviewees were capable of performing more than one art form, or at least had some specialised knowledge in multiple art forms. Hali is not only a dhalang but is also an expert musician who plays with the Mangkunegaran ensemble, *Langen Praja*. He explained:

It's like this, for the dhalang's art one must be able to play gamelan. If a dhalang can play gamelan that is really good and they will be respected by the gamelan musicians.... This is different to a dhalang who can't play gamelan. If he wants to signal to end a piece, he can't. I don't like that. I learnt to perform wayang and also to play gamelan.
(Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

Similarly, in order to play gamelan for wayang accompaniment, it is advisable to know some wayang-specific repertoire: “The *rebab* has to be able to play *sulukan*, right? Because it guides the *sulukan*. The *rebab* player must know. Same for the *gendèr* player—*ada-ada*, *sulukan*, they must be memorised” (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014).

Surono described how knowing dance can help with wayang: “For us, because we already know about dance, for performing wayang, one example,

the *kiprah* dance. I know the *kiprah* movements, the original movements, and afterwards I can transfer that to wayang movements, so it is much better” (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014). And vice-versa, how wayang can help with dance: “For example, in masked dance it isn’t just about dancing but there is also dialogue. That also helps. Because I can already perform wayang, I am able to use it in masked dance” (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014).

Bambang works as a musical accompanist in the *pedhalangan* department at ISI, playing the gamelan for *pedhalangan* students to practise wayang. He actually enrolled at PDMN to learn *pedhalangan* so that he would be better at his job. “I thought I should know how it felt to perform wayang so that if I am playing gamelan I can make the connection, like that, make the link. If the dhalang wants this, that, oh these notes like this means it will finish..., this code means he wants a *gendhing*, this code is for a *pathetan* and so on” (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014).

As a child, Wakidi learnt *kendhang* from a dance teacher, although he wasn’t actually learning dance himself.

There were dance rehearsals, there were never *karawitan* rehearsals, no *klenengan*, it was all dance. The children were around 10 years old, 15 years old. We—I joined the gamelan—we accompanied on the gamelan, and I learnt a little *kendhang*, and I was told, ‘That’s wrong, it should be like this,’ and I was given examples by the teacher, like that. (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014)

It is usual for dance teachers to be very familiar with *kendhang*

patterns. When teaching dance during *Pakarti* rehearsals at the Mangkunegaran, Umi sometimes corrects the *kendhang* player by vocalising the *kendhang* part for particular dance steps. Sujarwo learnt to dance the Klana character by first playing *kendhang* for his uncle and his cousin to dance over the years. Due to the *kendhang* part being closely linked to the dance movements, by playing *kendhang*, Sujarwo learnt the dance for himself.



Figure 5.9 Sujarwo Joko Prehatin dancing the Klana character in Klaten village style at the Prangwedanan, Mangkunegaran Palace *Setu Pon* monthly event. (19 April 2014)

The links between different art forms are also shown in people's choice of department at arts schools. Many aspiring young dhalang choose to enter the *karawitan* department instead of *pedhalangan* as they believe this will set them up well as a dhalang. They can learn *karawitan* in school and *pedhalangan* outside school. The dhalang Wulan Sri Panjang Mas studied in the *karawitan* department at SMKN 8, and advised her son to do so too. She explained:

It is much better if we go into the *karawitan* department at SMKN 8, so that we know about *gendhing* or the musical scales (*titilaras*). After that at ISI or higher education, we can enter the *pedhalangan* department. So when we enter *pedhalangan* we already know about *karawitan*.... I also advised my own child, you go into *karawitan*, so you have the musical scales, you can play *gendhing*, can play *gendèr* or *kendhang* or *rebab*. So later, when you study at ISI, you take *pedhalangan*, you won't feel awkward, like that. Because perhaps, yes it's true, studying *pedhalangan* is difficult. But if we already know *gendhing* it will be easier when we learn to perform wayang. (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014)

Many dhalang agree that their knowledge of *karawitan* makes them better at performing wayang. Much of the vocabulary of the different art forms is the same; many *kendhang* patterns are named after dance movements, while *gendèr* patterns take their names from vocal texts. For someone who has already learnt one art form, it will be much easier for them to learn another, due to the musical and extra-musical links between them. As we have seen, these links between art forms are utilised by the majority of performing artists to aid their learning.

In this chapter we have examined some of the ways in which the Javanese learn their performing arts. These methods have in common their use of a direct encounter between the learner and the performing arts, with

learning taking place at the time when the art is being performed. This temporal nature of learning is significant for several reasons. Firstly, in order to learn in this way, artists must be fully open to receiving knowledge as the performance is taking place, and often while they are actually performing themselves. Brinner (1999) describes a type of performing that involves “heightened listening that is both broad, scanning all the lines of sound for useful information, and focused, searching for particular types of information that will be most helpful” (32). For dancers, as well as listening to the gamelan, they must be fully aware of their co-dancers’ positions and movements, without actually turning to look at them. As well as being a way to perform, I would argue that this type of heightened awareness, whether aural, visual or kinetic, is also a way to learn performing arts, and is utilised in the learning processes described in this chapter.

The second point of importance related to these methods is that they can only work for artists who have the opportunity to be exposed to and engage in performing arts on a very regular basis. It is therefore no coincidence that the methods covered in this chapter tend to be utilised more by Javanese arts students, while those in Chapter Six may seem very familiar to foreign students of Javanese performing arts. Attending a weekly *latihan* where the focus is on playing gamelan correctly (and usually with notation), as is often the case for those learning gamelan overseas, cannot offer the same learning experience as being almost constantly exposed to performing arts, which in Java rarely means just gamelan music without wayang or dance. While it cannot make up for a childhood immersed in gamelan music, foreign students who study in Java can benefit from increased exposure to Javanese

performing arts and perhaps acquire some of the skills for using the learning methods discussed in this chapter.

Having examined learning processes that depend on a direct unmediated encounter between the learner and the performing arts, Chapter Six will investigate some methods that utilise some form of mediation as part of the learning process.

Chapter Six

Arts Learning Processes Examined - Part Two

This chapter continues with the examination of arts learning processes that began in Chapter Five. The learning methods that are the focus here are those where there is an encounter between the learner and some kind of mediator, and this encounter enables or encourages learning to take place. The mediator might be a teacher, an older relative, or a form of media such as a recording or book. In any case the learner uses this as a tool for learning, rather than acquiring knowledge through a direct encounter with arts being performed live. The approach taken in this chapter, as in Chapter Five, is to let the performing artists speak, so the reader can hear about their learning processes in their own words.

Learning from books and notation and from recordings and broadcasts use specific media as tools for study. Although some of the historical background of notation was already discussed in Chapter Two, here we shall see how practitioners make use of notation as part of their learning, not only in a classroom context. Private tuition and apprenticing usually take place away from a performance, as can casual advice and instruction, all of which rely on a person, usually a more senior artist, to guide the learning process in some way. We shall hear from both teachers and students in these relationships. As we have seen, the tradition of Javanese performing arts is not one where a student has a single teacher, and while lineages exist, they are family-based,

rather than lineages of knowledge as can be found in Thai or Indian music.

Finally, we look at the issues surrounding processes of memorisation and individual practice as learning methods. While these processes may not involve a mediator, the immediacy of learning directly through an encounter with arts as they are being performed equally does not apply. Memorisation and individual practice frequently take place away from performances.

The five learning processes examined in this chapter complete our survey of performing arts learning as it is carried out by today's practitioners of all ages.

Learning from Books and Notation

Although Javanese performing arts are usually referred to as an oral tradition, books and notation are often used as part of the learning process. As we saw in Chapter Two, musical notation for gamelan is a relatively recent concept and is not used universally; dhalang rarely use scripts for their storytelling. Nonetheless, manuals and treatises on performing arts have a history going back hundreds of years. More recently, at formal education institutions, texts aimed at students are written and published.

The earliest known text that aims to teach people about wayang is *Serat Sastramiruda*. It was designed as a guide for dhalang at the Kraton and Mangkunegaran Palaces, based on information learnt by a man named Sastramiruda who was an *abdi dalem* at the Surakarta Kraton. In 1808 Raden Mas Panji Kusumawardaya told Sastramiruda about *lakon*, the dhalang's

equipment, musical accompaniment for wayang and gamelan musicians.

Kanjeng Pangeran Arya Kusumadilaga then told him about the history of wayang and the physical forms of the puppets. These accounts were turned into *Serat Sastramiruda* (Kamajaya 1981). It is impossible to say how much *Serat Sastramiruda* was actually used by dhalang around the time it was written.

A century later, the rise of court dhalang schools was accompanied by the publication of numerous books of *lakon* and texts for *sulukan* with musical notation. “The subjects of these stories were as a rule borrowed from, or at any rate inspired by, the *Pustaka Raja* (Books of Kings), written by R. Ng. Ranggawarsita (1802–1874). He was a court poet of the Kraton of Solo, but entertained close relations with Mangku Nagara IV (1853–1881)” (Clara van Groenendael 1985: 32). These publications were used as a basis for teaching at the court dhalang schools and were also used by dhalang for private study. As early as the 1930s, there were Javanese-script publications aimed at dhalang or aspiring dhalang, such as the magazine *Padhalangan* (1937) where synopses of wayang stories were published, along with notation for accompanying gamelan music and *sulukan*.

Both the Kraton and Mangkunegaran dhalang schools have produced books of *sulukan* with text and musical notation, in their respective styles. The Mangkunegaran Palace library holds many books about how to perform wayang. For example, a Javanese-language manual for the *lakon* *Makutharama* contains examples of scripts for individual scenes, background information on the story, examples of which musical pieces accompany specific characters, and mantras that the dhalang can use (Sayid n.d.). There

are numerous similar guides such as Murtiyoso (1982/82) who was writing for ASKI students and Mudjanattistomo et al. (1977) who wrote for students of the Habirandha *pedhalangan* school in Yogyakarta.



Figure 6.1 The library of the Mangkunegaran Palace holds many books about performing arts. (18 June 2013)

Publication of texts about wayang continues today, with commercial publishers putting out books of synopses of wayang plots, alongside pamphlets on Javanese mysticism and ethics. These are sold in bookstores and sometimes at temporary stalls at wayang performances. Educational institutions also publish texts and notation. ISI Surakarta has published a book, *Petunjuk Praktikum Pakeliran Gaya Surakarta* (Instructions for the Practice of

Surakarta-style Wayang), written by a team of professors and staff from the *pedhalangan* department which offers detailed step-by-step instructions on how to manipulate puppets, signal musical cues and many other elements of wayang. It even comes with a CD of videos showing examples of movements (Nugroho 2006).

As well as for wayang, texts have been produced about gamelan music. *Serat Gulang Yarya* (Joy of Learning) is described by Sumarsam (1995) as the earliest text focusing on gamelan, written in 1870 by Raden Harya Tondhokusuma of the Mangkunegaran Palace. Sumarsam (1995) quotes two verses where the author discusses the notes of the gamelan and their functions, such as “*enam*, means *pangumpul* (that which brings together) and *panata* (arranger)”, and later uses the metaphor of a seed (105). The publication of this text coincided with a period of change, where Javanese aristocrats working at the courts engaged in academic dialogue with their Dutch counterparts, resulting in numerous publications including those about performing arts, as well as the development of gamelan notation, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Many years later, probably the most well-known of texts about gamelan was produced. *Wedha Pradangga* (Knowledge of Gamelan) was compiled by R. Ng. Prajapangrawit, also known as Warsadiningrat, a court musician at the Surakarta Kraton, in 1943. The text has been published a number of times, including by KOKAR in 1972, SMKI in 1979, and in an English translation by Susan Pratt Walton (Becker et al. 1984). The six volumes of *Wedha Pradangga*, described as “a book of history based on oral knowledge” (Becker et al. 1984, Vol 2: 67), cover the history of gamelan

instruments and music, and the origins of gamelan pieces and dances, from 245 AD through to the time of writing in the mid-twentieth century. This work, which combines myth with history, is probably the most complete text of its type. It was followed by *Wedha Pradangga Kawedhar* (Knowledge of Gamelan Revealed), by Sastrapustaka (1953) and translated into English by Sutton in 1978. This shorter text, gathered from the opinions of elderly musicians, sought to “broaden the scope of our outlook on the art of *karawitan* and the science of this art” (Becker et al. 1984, Vol 1: 307) and includes information about the origins of gamelan pitch names, the character of *pathet* (modes), and the musical accompaniment to wayang performances.

While these texts seek to pass on knowledge to the younger generations, they do not describe how to play gamelan, but rather offer background information. Other works, however, describe musical structure and include instruction on playing technique. Martopangrawit’s *Catatan-catatan Pengetahuan Gamelan* (Notes on Knowledge of Gamelan Music, 1972), translated into English by Hatch, starts from the basics of gamelan music theory. He then describes the instruments of the gamelan and their functions, types of pieces, pitch intervals, vocal parts, and how to play the instruments (Becker et al. 1984, Vol 1: 1-244). Books of gamelan notation are also published; Sutton (2001) provides an inventory of these publications along with brief descriptions.

There are many manuals and guides relating to dance, particularly dance for children and palace-style dances.¹⁰³ In the library of the

¹⁰³ Brakel-Papenhuyzen (1992) offers detailed information about early
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Mangkunegaran Palace I found many handwritten and typewritten examples of written notation for court dances, with each dance movement described. Some books begin by giving step-by-step instructions of how to perform basic dance movements, such as “return to sitting cross-legged from a crouched position” (*Buku waton-waton* 1956/2007), while others provide prescriptive notation for particular dances from start to finish, showing how the movements fit musically with the gamelan accompaniment (for example, *Pratelan Beksanipun Klana Topeng* n.d.). Brakel-Papenhuyzen (1992) describes the history of dance notation and explains how such detailed notation “contain[s] information necessary to support the regular practice of dancing, singing, acting and music-making at these courts” (4). Despite the descriptions of the dance movements, however, it is clear that these manuscripts would be inadequate as a sole resource for learning how to dance. Regarding an example from the nineteenth century, Brakel-Papenhuyzen (1992) notes that “the purpose of this score book cannot have been to serve as a means of instruction—we may well assume that in the nineteenth century dances were taught and practised through direct imitation, as in fact still is the custom nowadays. The arrangement of the notation suggests that, rather than being destined for the use of students, these scores served as a ‘reminder’” (6).

Whereas older books rely on text-based description of dance moves, newer publications such as *Pengantar Seni Tari Jawa* (Wartono 1989) include photographs and illustrations of movements and costumes. With dance on the

dance notation, including descriptions of dances found in *Serat Centhini*, and what is possibly the earliest dance score, *Serat Citramataya*, which dates from the nineteenth century.

school curriculum for primary and lower secondary school, there are also textbooks aimed at school pupils, such as *Pendidikan Seni Tari untuk SLTP Kelas 1* (Sugiarto 1992). However, despite the use of images to notate dance movements and positions, it is unlikely that anyone would try to learn to dance without some kind of guidance from a teacher or another dancer.

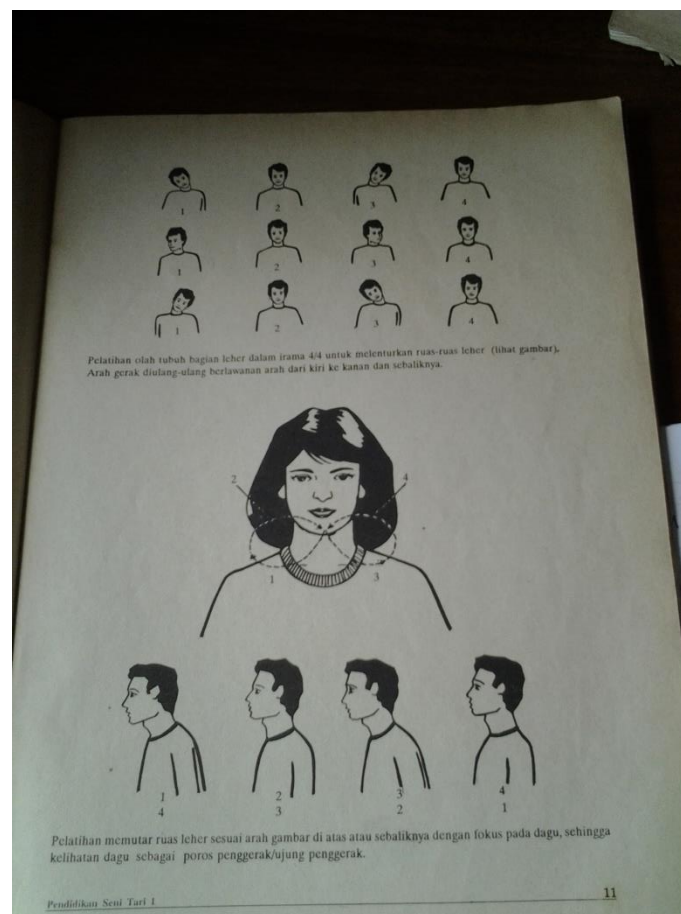


Figure 6.2 Image from a dance textbook for school students (Sugiarto 1992)

With all these examples of published information and guidance across the three types of performing arts, it is interesting to see to what extent these resources are utilised by practitioners, and to look at their motives for using written guides in an otherwise oral tradition. Brinner (1995) noted that,

referring to gamelan notation specifically, usage increased between 1983 and 1993, when he described it as being used significantly as a reminder for pieces played less frequently, in addition to its extensive use in formal instruction (49). Pringgo explained that in his circles, which included SMKN 8 (then KOKAR), gamelan notation was used routinely as early as the 1950s (Pringgo Hadi Wiyono, interview, 28 January 2014).

Suparno differentiates between the role of notation for professional and amateur gamelan musicians, himself having learnt how to read and write gamelan notation in order to teach amateur groups: “Notation, like rehearsing for a performance, is like a safeguard, because the people I train are not playing gamelan for their livelihoods, but just for [their own] entertainment. Not as a livelihood, different to those who play for a livelihood, [for them] it has to go in here (indicates his head)” (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014). Hali, Wakidi and other musicians also agreed that notation was important for them to teach gamelan music and *pedhalangan*.

Many professional musicians do, however, use notation for playing rather than just for teaching. Sumiyati described how she didn’t always use it, but began more recently.

I am scared of getting it wrong, because my understanding is different. In the past I wanted to [play gamelan]. I liked it a lot. I could listen and imitate. Now what I want is different. I have to be more careful. Later after I have memorised it, I can elaborate on it. (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014).

Having never attended arts school (and being illiterate until she learnt to read and write as an adult), Sumiyati learnt to read notation at performances. Joko Sabeyan echoed Sumiyati's view, when he said that for long gamelan pieces, "I'd rather use notation than be wrong" (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014).

During a performance there are different ways for a musician to utilise gamelan notation. While some musicians can be seen obviously reading every note of the *balungan* as they play, others use the notation as a reminder prior to playing or take a quick glance from time to time while playing a piece.

Bambang Siswanto explains:

If I am using notation, I look at it for a moment and I can remember it. Apart from pieces that are popular, often come up or whatever, [for those] *kupingan* is effective. This will go here, oh that piece goes like that, because it often comes up. For example, as long as I have been studying gamelan, I have listened to [the piece] *Ladrang Wilujeng* perhaps 300,000 times, so it is a reflex, from *kupingan* I can do it. But for *Ela-ela Kali Beber*, I've heard it around 2000 times. So if now I want to play (vocalising) *lo-le-lo-let*, I have to think first.... Oh I still remember the next bit, but this *kenong*, umm. Read the notation for a moment, later from listening to it I can remember. But without that I would certainly have to fake it. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

Ninuk, currently in her early twenties and so among my younger

interviewees, uses notation in a different way to other people I interviewed. She learns by ear and then writes out the notation as a way to help her remember what she has learnt. She shows her written notation to her father and he checks whether it is correct (Ninuk Subandiyah, interview, 23 February 2014).

As mentioned above, the arts institutions have published books of gamelan notation, aimed at their own students. Bambang told me that he had used a book of *rebab* notation written by Djumadi (1983), and a book of *gendèr* notation written by Martopangrawit. He first got access to these books while he was a student at SMKN 8. He explained in detail how he used written works to analyse gamelan music for himself:

If I was in the library...I would note down all the data, and then I made [a notebook]. At ISI I made a summary of Martopangrawit's *gendèr* style.... So the [melodic pattern called] KKG from low to high moves like this, in the end I concluded again that the left hand could probably move like this, this, this. For example, there are five movements, and the right hand has four. These can be combined. And later I said, except this, C and D cannot be combined, that's impossible, for example like that. From this *sèlèh* (cadential pitch) how can the hands move so that they don't pile up? I wrote that. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

For Bambang, this kind of detailed analytical work enabled him to understand the possibilities of melodic variation and as a result, his *gendèr*

playing in particular is known for its flexibility and unique melodic variations which work well together with other instruments of the gamelan.

While students of gamelan and dance can choose whether notation is important to their own learning experience, for many student dhalang, written works form a more significant part of the learning process. Dhalang sometimes keep books of handwritten wayang stories for their own use, which may come to be valued by the younger generations of the family. Such books are referred to as *pakem*. Hali's father, Jarwo Yoso had written a book of synopses for his *lakon*. However, as a young child, Hali couldn't read the Javanese script. Jarwo Yoso wrote them out in Latin script for Hali and told him to memorise them. This is one of the main ways in which Hali acquired vital knowledge of wayang stories, which he uses in performance to this day.

Beja is another dhalang who learnt from a handwritten book of wayang stories written by his father:

If I don't know the *lakon*, Father left a book of wayang *lakon* in Javanese script. I can write it out in Latin script, I can read it. If I don't know [the *lakon*] I open that book.... The *balungan* (schema) is like that, like my father's style. This scene, this scene, this story, this conversation, that is what is addressed. (Beja Nugraha, interview, 23 February 2014)

Whereas most of the dhalang I interviewed memorised the basic plot of a story and then extemporised on it, some dhalang use a *naskah* (script) while performing. Wulan is one of these dhalang who uses a script every time she

performs, often creating a new script for a given performance. She explains: “I memorise it, if I am told to memorise it I can do it. But later if I forget, that’s what I’m afraid of, for lots of audiences if I forget they will laugh at me. So it is better if I use a script” (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014). Some dhalang become known as scriptwriters, and are hired to write scripts and synopses for other dhalang to perform.

We have seen that an abundance of notation, scripts and other written works are available to students of performing arts. Interestingly, these resources are not utilised in the same way by everyone, but rather multiple ways to learn using written works exist. Written works are used most heavily by students at arts institutes and by amateur groups and their teachers. There are still professional artists who do not use notation and some of the oldest generation cannot read it. For dance, notation clearly cannot be used during a performance and exists solely for learning and preservation. While notation of various kinds is used by gamelan musicians, dancers and dhalang, it tends to be used as an accompaniment to other forms of learning, rather than the main component of a person’s knowledge acquisition.

Learning from Recordings and Broadcasts

The way people learn performing arts has been affected by the development and pervasiveness of recording technologies. Although recording technology has existed for around a hundred years, the use of this technology for knowledge transmission in Javanese performing arts is more recent.

Lokananta, the first music record label in Indonesia, was created in 1956 and has since released many recordings of Javanese gamelan music, among other music genres. Javanese performing arts are frequently recorded and broadcast, both on radio and television and more recently uploaded or streamed online. Recordings are available as cassette tapes,¹⁰⁴ compact discs and mp3s.

Commercial recordings have had many effects on Javanese gamelan music, such as rearranging music or prioritising shorter pieces that fit on to a single record or cassette, and preserving the voices and playing of musicians from the past.¹⁰⁵ More recently, with the advent of affordable recording technology available to young Javanese, students use their mobile phones or bring small mp3 players to record their teachers' demonstrations, sometimes at the teacher's request. Dance students use their phones to make video recordings of their teachers dancing. Wayang shows are broadcast on television, as well as on the radio, enabling performing arts practitioners to learn from these performances at home.¹⁰⁶ To what extent, then, do practitioners utilise these technologies to learn performing arts?

Suparno explained how he used cassette recordings as a kind of *kupingan*: "So I listened to tapes, for example, Nartosabdho's *Semarangan* style, in the *ompak* [section] the *kendhang*-playing is like that. Oh, in the *lagu*

¹⁰⁴ At the time of writing in 2016 Surakarta still has cassette shops.

¹⁰⁵ A detailed discussion of the effect of the record industry on traditional music is beyond the scope of this work. For discussion of the impact of the commercial record industry on aural traditions see Seeger (1950). See Gronow (1983) on the development of the record industry, and Gronow (1981) on the beginnings of the record industry in Asia. Yampolsky (1987) has produced a discography of *Lokananta*'s output.

¹⁰⁶ Mrázek (2008) has examined the limits of experiencing wayang through television.

the *kendhang*-playing is funny like this. This is called *kupingan*. And then I imitated it” (Suparno, interview, 21 January 2014). In his example, he was able to learn a new style, *Semarangan*, thanks to the availability of recordings. Sutarmi preferred to learn from cassette tapes rather than the radio because she could listen over and over again to the same recording. She explains her learning process: “Sometimes I would put on a cassette tape and memorise a *gendhing* or *langgam*.... I used to buy *Condong Raos*. I liked Ngatirah, Tantinah (two famous *pesindhèn*), I would buy that and later if there was a *klenèngan*, try the *langgam* or *gendhing*” (Sutarmi, interview, 23 February 2014). She would choose tapes based on pieces that she liked, until she had amassed quite a collection.

Her older sister Sukaeni made a distinction between different types of pieces:

For *gendhing* I don’t listen to cassettes, or broadcasts, no. But for *lagu* and *palaran*, I listen to cassettes. When Panggah CS was having his exam I was asked to sing. I got a cassette and practised at home. The *pesindhèn* was Darti.... So I had to [listen to] her lyrics (*wangsalan*) over and over. For example *Palaran Pangkur Yogya* is different to Solo style. I practised that.... And then for *langgam* I wanted to learn, if I liked them I was quickly able to sing them, if I didn’t like them it was difficult. (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014)

In a *palaran*, the melody is performed by the *pesindhèn* alone; she cannot follow other instruments, but rather they are following her. Because of

this, Sukaeni found recordings useful as a way to learn *palaran* without written notation. Light songs such as *langgam*, which tend to have predictable melodies, would have been easy for her to pick up from listening to a recording.



Figure 6.3 The iconic *Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI)* Surakarta building (Photo credit: Wikimapia)

For student dhalang, listening to a radio broadcast of a wayang performance can give them ideas of material for their own performances, which is similar to learning by attending a live performance but without the visual elements. Cassette recordings allow a student dhalang to listen repeatedly, and some dhalang use this to learn. Surono explained:

In the end I made myself brave enough to perform wayang. Then to prepare for it I just focused on one cassette of [the dhalang] Gondo Darman. I had that cassette, I studied it. So I studied the dialogue, I

copied it exactly from that cassette. Now, like that I performed, people said, ‘Wow, you can perform wayang?’ It was like that. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

Surono did not, however, simply listen and learn; he made a transcription of the dhalang’s spoken parts from the cassette, and then memorised it.

Importantly, recordings do not only allow people to watch or hear performances or renditions that they cannot see live, but also act to preserve performances from the past. Many student dhalang and musicians have learnt from historic recordings of performers who have since stopped performing or passed away. For the large family of performing artists described in this work, recordings are a way to preserve the performances of the older generations. Surono explained that when he learnt masked dance from his grandfather, his grandfather was already very old and unable to physically dance as he had done when he was younger:

He was sitting down, so he taught me while sitting down, and in fact at that time I was hunting for documentation of my grandfather dancing when he was still strong in 1991 at a performance at ISI.... I had that documentation and from it I saw, for example, my grandfather dancing this dance..., I watched the CD. In the end I could do it. Then when it was my grandfather’s eightieth birthday, his grandchildren performed, I was Klana. Everyone said that my dancing was exactly like my grandfather’s, like that, so eventually I was able to inherit his masked

dance. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)



Figure 6.4 A still from the video of Surono and his cousins dancing Klana for their grandfather, Tukas Gondo Sukasno's eightieth birthday. (Reproduced with permission of Sujarwo Joko Prehadin)

Recordings allow people to learn performing arts in their own time and on their own. They can be passed between people and are often discussed at length among artists. Broadcasts also provide an opportunity to learn, though in a more limited way because they cannot be controlled by the listener. There are different ways to learn from recordings, including transcribing and then memorising, and using *kupingan* to pick up something by ear. The availability of affordable recording technology—usually the mobile phone—means that almost anyone (and particularly the younger generations who are more likely to have a smartphone) can make recordings and share them via the internet. Video recordings are often uploaded to websites like YouTube and sometimes streamed live from performances. However, for most people in Java, the internet speed is not optimal for using online videos as a primary source of

information for learning. As cassette tapes have become less popular, with few people owning a cassette player, it seems that recordings are no longer used for learning as much as in the heyday of the cassette era. Students of ISI do use recordings to study the given pieces for a particular semester, but outside the arts institutes, it appears the use of recordings and broadcasts for active learning is no longer of huge significance. This may be set to change when faster, cheaper internet reaches the Central Javanese performing arts community.

Private Tuition and Apprenticing

Private tuition refers to scheduled lessons with a teacher outside an educational institution. These lessons most often take place in a one-to-one setting where the teacher is paid in cash. It is somewhat unusual for Javanese performing artists to study in this way, however, a few of my interviewees had taught Javanese students through private lessons.

Private tuition is one of the ways in which arts learning processes differ between Javanese and foreign students of traditional Javanese performing arts. For foreign students, private tuition is one of the main methods by which they learn in Solo. When foreigners enrol at ISI, they largely take the same classes as their Javanese cohort, and similarly a foreign student can learn at a *sanggar* in the same way as a Javanese student. However, with a shorter period of study available and less background experience of Javanese arts, foreign students supplement their classes with

private lessons. Similarly, some foreign students take study holidays in Solo, having private lessons nearly every day for a short period. Teaching foreigners in this way can be a lucrative, though somewhat seasonal, business for a small number of teachers.

The first time I visited Java in 2006, I had been given contact details of various potential teachers, with whom I proceeded to study. For me, a professional UK-based music teacher on a short trip to Indonesia, paying IDR 100,000¹⁰⁷ for a two-hour lesson with an expert was very good value and I was able to take lessons almost every day.¹⁰⁸ For my teachers, meanwhile, many of whom might have earned IDR 1,000,000 to IDR 2,000,000 per month,¹⁰⁹ it made a significant contribution to their income during my period of study. During the next six years of visiting and then living in Solo, I studied with a range of teachers on various instruments; most teachers have a specialisation that they prefer to teach. I had by far the most lessons with Bambang Siswanto on *gendèr* and various other instruments. I also took *rebab* lessons with Darsono Hadi Raharjo, *gambang* and *suling* lessons with Prasadiyanto, a few *gendèr* lessons with Sukamso, *bonang* lessons with Raden Tumenggung Sri Hartono, and several *kendhang* lessons with Wakidi Dwidjomartono. The following examples of teaching in individual lessons for foreigners are based upon my own experience.

¹⁰⁷ This was around SGD 17.37 at that time (XE).

¹⁰⁸ The situation does not apply to long-term foreigners in Solo, living on an Indonesian salary.

¹⁰⁹ This figure is based on the salary of a public sector employee, such as a teacher at ISI or SMKN 8, as described in the relevant Presidential Ruling (Presiden Republik Indonesia 2006), plus additional income from performances.

A small number of musicians have become the regular tutors of foreigners, often in demand by foreign gamelan students. In some cases this is due to the language abilities of these teachers, whose English proficiency enables them to communicate with new students who may not speak Indonesian. Some of them have performed or studied overseas, and I believe that, much of the time, recommendations from past students go a long way to helping them secure new students. Each of these teachers has their own teaching style. Some teachers write notation for the student, while others expect the student to write their own. In my lessons with Hartono, he would write notation on the whiteboard, as if there was a class of students present, for me to write in my notebook. There are also teachers who do not use notation at all, but expect the student to memorise in the course of the lesson or make a recording of the teacher playing. Wakidi suggested I record his *kendhang* playing and also him reciting the notation orally (*tak tak dhung dah*, and so on). Some teachers test a student to see what they can remember from the previous lesson, while others move straight on to new material. While some of my teachers, such as Bambang, taught in a relaxed manner, taking cigarette breaks, sipping tea, and often telling stories about Javanese culture and his experiences, my lessons with other teachers, such as Darsono, were more intense and music-focused, without any breaks or diversions. In many of my lessons I was expected to repeat small segments over and over again until I had mastered them, gradually splicing them together to play a whole piece. This idea of breaking down the whole does not feature in the learning methods discussed previously, where whole pieces are played at *latihan* and performances, and Javanese learners listen to whole recordings rather than

stopping and starting them every few seconds.

Private tuition for foreigners makes up a small but significant part of the teaching processes that take place in traditional Javanese performing arts. Teachers combine elements from numerous places to form their own unique teaching styles. Encounters with foreigners and endeavouring to understand how and what their students would like to learn also play a role creating such teaching styles. For SMKN 8- or ISI-educated teachers, the use of notation will have been a part of their own education, albeit in a different environment. Some of these teachers are learning how to combine their institutional education with their own family-educated background and the needs of their foreign students, into a new skill-set. Through this culture contact with foreign students, many of whom have backgrounds in Western classical music, it is possible that the teachers' own ways of conceptualising their music are affected. Perlman (2004) discusses three implicit melody theories created by Javanese musicians who had a great deal of contact with foreign students and Western ways of thinking. It is likely that, to some extent, these new conceptualisations of melody came about as a result of such interactions, and thus, in the same way that early gamelan notation developed as a result of culture contact, more recent ways of thinking about performing arts based on Western academic or artistic methods have also developed.

For *pedhalangan* students specifically, there is a traditional form of private tuition. Less common in the present, but still significant, is a process called *nyantrik* or *ngéngér* whereby a young dhalang becomes an apprentice student, learning from a more senior dhalang, whom he considers a highly respected parent figure and a teacher. The student essentially works for the

teacher, assisting in preparations for performances, and also undertaking other tasks like driving the teacher around and running errands for him. He hopes to become considered the pupil of his teacher and to receive some tuition or guidance. The arrangement is not a simple teacher–pupil one; money rarely changes hands. Clara van Groenendael (1985) states: “In exchange for all this [work] he is given an opportunity of educating himself and exercising his skills at his future profession” (24). She notes that transmission of knowledge in this case “is rather unsystematic and dependent to a large extent on the pupil’s initiative and the master’s interest in him” (Clara van Groenendael 1985: 24). It is interesting to note that the emphasis lies on the student educating himself, rather than the senior dhalang teaching him.

Aspiring dhalang apprentice for various reasons. When people had many children, a child might be sent to live with a relative who had fewer children in order to lessen the burden on their immediate family.¹¹⁰ While living there, the child was incorporated into the new household and was therefore a part of performing arts activities including rehearsals and performances. Although he was not one of many siblings, Sujarwo moved to live with his uncle in order to be nearer to SMKN 8.

I apprenticed with my uncle, Joko Santosa. At that time I was at school at SMKN 8, but I also learnt indirectly from Joko Santosa. I stayed there for three years and was often given advice (*wejangan*) by Joko Santosa. Apart from learning about *karawitan* and wayang, I also

¹¹⁰ See Geertz (1961: 37) for an example of this.

learnt about life, how to understand people's characters. I also helped around the house. (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, p.c., 12 March 2013)

He also describes another example of apprenticing, this time back when his grandfather, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, was young.

My grandfather apprenticed with a dhalang in Manjungan village. He moved there and because this dhalang did not have any boys of his own, my grandfather was considered like his own child. At this time my grandfather was already an adult; he often performed wayang but was not married. My grandfather agreed to become this dhalang's adoptive child as long as he was granted the house as inheritance. In the end he got it. (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, p.c., 12 March 2013)

The house described became Tukas Gondo Sukasno's family home, where Subini still lives, as described in Chapter One.

A biographical report about well-known dhalang Naryocarito describes how he apprenticed with various teachers. The emphasis on the student's search for knowledge is made clear in this account: "Once when he was interested and wanted to ask his teacher Ki Kondhodisono to write out a section of the dhalang's narration (*janturan kayangan*) for him, he was not given it, but instead it made his teacher angry, because the student would become reliant on his writing. His teacher would not allow this kind of thing, because he believed it would lessen the student's enthusiasm to learn" (Subandi et al. 1997: 89). Therefore in this case, the student was not allowed

to become reliant on written notation, but was expected to memorise and absorb the information directly. There are many examples similar to this in the report, which uses primary sources to detail Naryocarito's journey learning *pedhalangan*.

Sulistiyana (1996) describes how dhalang Ganda Darsana apprenticed at the homes of various well-known dhalang over a period of six years and notes that as well as joining performances, “dhalang who Ganda Darsana followed, in general, always taught him to diligently carry out ascetic practices like reducing his eating and sleeping” (127). Therefore a holistic angle to the dhalang lifestyle, linked to the practice of *kejawèn* discussed in Chapter Four, was gained through this process. Suratno describes how female dhalang Njatatjarita apprenticed at the homes of several dhalang, before becoming a dhalang at the Kraton. Initially she apprenticed at the home of her step-grandmother, where she had to sweep, cook and clean. “If she was involved in a wayang performance, Sudyem (Njatatjarita) had to help pack the gamelan prior to departure and bring it back home, prepare the stage and help to set up the gamelan for the performance, prepare the banana trunk and *simpingan*,¹¹¹ and prepare the appropriate wayang puppets for the story to be performed, as well as sometimes bringing the offerings” (Suratno et al. 1993: 17). During the performance she would play gamelan while paying full attention to the wayang show, as part of her training to become a dhalang. Her first apprenticeship enabled her to get to know other dhalang, some of whom she

¹¹¹ Wayang puppets that are displayed on either side of the screen for a performance.

would later apprentice with, until her own career took off.

Hali believes that today's schooling is more effective than the traditional apprenticeship system, though before school was widely available, apprenticing made a good alternative. He said: "I have a friend, a dhalang from Purwodadi. He isn't an artist. He wanted to be able to perform wayang so he apprenticed with a dhalang, joined in helping his family, yes, joined in looking after the buffalo, like that, because there wasn't a school yet. He became a good dhalang, because his mentor dhalang gave him his knowledge" (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014).

Some of my interviewees described a system of private tuition that they referred to as apprenticing. Surono and his uncle, Beja, both studied with the dhalang Sri Joko Raharjo, a process that they called apprenticing, even though they never lived at his house or did any menial work for him. Surono described how Sri Joko Raharjo's system was highly timetabled, an issue that ultimately led to Surono stopping studying with him:

I was held back by culture. Joko (Sri Joko Raharjo) was often with foreigners, so his thinking was more like Western thinking. Now, sometimes that crossed with me, as a Javanese, sometimes prioritising positive and negative feelings, that is sometimes more dominant in me.... The time was divided up, for example I was given a consultation slot, it was per person..., for example, you get the daytime, you get the night, like that. I got the morning slot, 5.30am, 6am.... Yes, 6 until 8am. I often went there. As it happened many of Joko's activities took place at night, and he would have just gone to sleep at dawn, when I

arrived. His wife would say that he'd only just gone to sleep. I was left feeling awkward, uncomfortable. And then he would be woken up. He was still very sleepy, and he would say, 'You don't need to think about that because I have already promised you. You have to come at 6am and I value that you are already here at 6am.' But it was like that every time and I felt uncomfortable. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

We can see from this account that Surono put Sri Joko's strict scheduling down to foreign influence, and therefore the way foreigners learn through private tuition can affect the way in which Javanese students learn from the same teachers. Despite his issues with Sri Joko's system, Surono still values the time he spent learning from him. He believes the apprenticeship system is good from the perspective of the high quality of the arts, but less effective in terms of the time it takes to learn in this way.

These examples of the apprenticeship system have shown that knowledge can be passed on through a type of teacher–pupil relationship which can take place inside or outside the extended family. Traditionally, what separated this type of learning from others was that the student moved away from his or her family home to the teacher's home, was treated as part of the teacher's family and learnt something as a result of being surrounded by the arts activities there. Direct instruction was rarely given, and the student was expected to immerse him or herself in the dhalang lifestyle. In more modern versions, the apprenticeship system has come to resemble timetabled lessons, very similar to those taken by foreign students of Javanese performing arts in Solo.

Casual Advice and Instruction

Whereas private tuition, discussed in the previous section, is a scheduled arrangement, casual advice and instruction refers to knowledge or skills being passed intentionally from one person to another without a pre-planned lesson taking place. This kind of casual teaching and learning often takes place within families, where older family members instruct their younger relatives. It also takes place within community gamelan groups and in other settings including performances. In a traditional-style apprenticeship situation, knowledge may well be passed on through such casual advice. The learner often takes the lead in seeking advice or instruction rather than being offered it first.

Wakidi learnt to play *kendhang* in this way, being given advice from various musicians:

Sometimes in the afternoon [I would get] advice from...the drummer at Sriwedari, his name was Harjo Kuthuk.... Yes, wow, he was very good. He told me...how to play *kendhang*, and I learnt little by little. I was also at PMS (*Paguyuban Masyarakat Surakarta*, Surakarta Community Group) and I played *kendhang* at PMS too. And after a while I was taken by Rusman, Surono, [who played] *Gathutkaca*, to performances wherever. After playing for *wayang orang* I then began to learn how to play *kendhang* for *wayang kulit*. (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014)

Rather than being actively taught by a single teacher, Wakidi was given bits and pieces of knowledge by a range of people. Subini describes how she taught some of her grandchildren to play *gendèr* in a casual manner:

For my grandchildren, they also inherit from me. I taught them firstly to like [gamelan] and afterwards they could play, like Gogot, like Gandung too. It was a coincidence that I was there. ‘Children, your grandmother is here, please learn *gendèr*.’ ‘My *gendèr* style is difficult,’ I said. ‘Please, just teach them.’ Like that. Yes, I taught [the melodic pattern called] *puthut gelut* first, *puthut gelut* yes only (vocalising) *na na na na*, like that, please memorise it, and then after a while their hands got looser and they could play any piece. Until now, they can still play. Gandung’s *gendèr*-playing is good. Gogot is an unrefined person who shouldn’t be able to play *gendèr*, but it appears he can also play well. (Subini, interview, 20 January 2014)

She taught them just one melodic pattern, *puthut gelut*, and felt that this would be a good start for them to then be able to play other things. Similarly, her sister, Sumiyati, who was taught by their father, described how she was only taught the basics, and was expected to elaborate the melodic patterns herself. This idea of being taught only part of something or taught very little and being expected to fill in the gaps oneself was a theme that came up repeatedly during my interviews.

Despite family members often passing on knowledge to their relatives, Hali noted that it wasn’t always the case that parents taught their children

directly. He explained:

Perhaps sometimes it's as if they're not allowed to, if a parent passes on knowledge to their child, perhaps it's forbidden. So they look for someone else. That is why for me, if there is a wayang I have to go and watch because I wasn't given knowledge by my father. After I could perform wayang, then I was given direction and given mantras. Oh, for performing wayang, that should be like this. Before performing you should fast, I was only then given direction. If I had only just started learning, he didn't want to give it to me. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

The idea that knowledge may be intentionally withheld until a suitable time often arose and can be linked to the idea that a student is expected to seek out information for him- or herself. However, while numerous people described facing these barriers during their own learning processes, none of my interviewees admitted to actually withholding knowledge from others. Perhaps this phenomenon is a feature of teaching and learning which has become rare or no longer exists in a society where young arts students can get the answers they seek at formal educational institutions.

Many of the Manjungan family learnt from each other at their home. Joko Sabeyan learnt *gendèr* from his mother, Subini, and *pedhalangan* and masked dance from his father, Tukas Gondo Sukasno. They taught him directly by providing examples and correcting his errors. His father taught him *pedhalangan* “directly at home, I was taught how to hold the puppets, and then

using a small wayang screen (*kelir*), there was a banana trunk (*debog*), I was taught directly like that back then” (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014). Years later, Joko Sabeyan taught his own children and his nephew Sujarwo, then a toddler, to play *kendhang* in the same house, passing on the knowledge he had acquired from his parents. Surono, another of Joko Sabeyan’s nephews, also lived in Manjungan for part of his childhood and young adulthood. He took the initiative to learn *pedhalangan* while he was there.

Sometimes I put up a wayang screen...and sometimes I played with wayang puppets. Sometimes at one moment my grandfather was...in the right mood, saw what was wrong, and corrected it. ‘Not like that, like this.’ For example, I wanted to enact Gathutkaca flying, that has its own technique. Then he would say, ‘Like this, this this.’ Just quickly, this this this. Afterwards, *keprak*. I arranged the *keprak*, perhaps my grandfather knew I was playing *keprak* but it wasn’t right. Eventually he would [come and] see. ‘The *keprak* position isn’t like that, arrange it, this this this, done.’ Yes, just that. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

Surono learnt *gendèr* from his mother, Sarju Sri Prihatin, who had in turn learnt from her mother, Subini, who also learnt from her mother, a process which has been ongoing for an unknown number of generations. This learning would have all taken the form of casual instruction, taking place whenever both people were in the right place, at the right time and in the right

mood.



Figure 6.5 Subini playing *gendèr* for a masked dance performance in Klaten. (1 July 2009)

Bambang Siswanto learnt *gendèr* from his aunt, Sumiyati, when he stayed at her house during his studies at SMKN 8. Again the tuition took the form of casual instruction:

Yes, by showing me, this is the *céngkok*, one *céngkok*, and she'd go. Later if I imitated her wrongly, she'd scream, 'Your left hand is wrong!' Like that from over there. 'How is it?'... If I kept getting it wrong, she'd come, sit behind me, play it. 'Look, use your eyes and look!' Then, finally, 'Have you got it?' 'Got it!' I said that, though in fact I hadn't. I was afraid. She'd run back there, to her cooking or whatever. Wrong again. If I was wrong three times I stopped. Ah, I still

couldn't play it, I'd try again whenever. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

For Wulan, learning *pedhalangan* from her dhalang father was more focused, as her father was very keen for someone to inherit his skills and wayang-related possessions.

Back then with my father, it was just the two of us. So I would practise wayang, while my father played *gendèr* and *kendhang*. If the scene had a *sulukan*, my father would play *gendèr*. If the scene involved a battle or moving the puppets, my father would play *kendhang*. (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014)

After she had learnt in this way, Wulan graduated to learning on stage, by performing *mucuki* before her father's performances.

Casual advice and instruction is a highly important way in which performing artists learn outside a structured educational context. With no formal teachers and no schedule, knowledge and skills are transferred in a somewhat haphazard way, whenever the right two people happen to be together with time and in the right mood. In some cases, the learner seeks out knowledge by asking an elder to show them something, while for others, it is the teacher who wishes to pass on knowledge, often to their young relatives. There is no curriculum or syllabus and so the knowledge that is transferred may appear to be incomplete or lacking in some way. However, it is important to remember that the learner will be taking snippets of information from many

sources, and so the provider of casual advice or instruction is contributing to a growing vocabulary of knowledge and skills rather than single-handedly creating a well-rounded artist.

Memorisation and Individual Practice

Memorisation refers to the intentional process of committing something to memory. This is different to the seemingly magical processes described previously where someone inexplicably remembers a piece, and different to the idea of *kupingan* where the information appears to simply seep in and be remembered. Memorisation requires time and concentration, with a pre-defined goal. Individual practice and memorisation can go hand in hand, as someone who is attempting to memorise something may do this through a process of individual practice. It is important to note, however, that these often solitary learning processes are far less significant to Javanese performing arts than to many other traditions including Western music. Individual practice of the intensive kind associated with Western music is not expected in Javanese performing arts, where there is no concept of a parent telling their child to practise for hours every day.

In many cases, a person who uses memorisation as a learning method is starting with written notation, which is then committed to memory. Benamou (1998) explains that when *balungan* notation began to be used, “at first it was relied upon by musicians only as an aid to memorising the melodic outline of a piece” (12). Sujarwo described how, as a student at SMKN 8 and

ISI, he would memorise gamelan pieces by sitting at the *gendèr* with the notation he had jotted down during class. He would play the *balungan* on the *gendèr*, reading his notation, while trying to commit the piece to memory. As a shortcut to memorise pieces he considers less important, he memorises only the *sèlèh* notes (cadential pitches) (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, interview, 31 January 2014). Bambang Siswanto explained a technique he used for memorising long *balungan*. Instead of memorising a lengthy piece in its actual form, he would speed it up in his head, turning its *balungan* into a *lancaran*,¹¹² making it sound more melodic and therefore easier to remember (Bambang Siswanto, p.c.).

Brinner (1995) describes how gamelan musicians use prototypical pieces to build up a vocabulary of memorised repertoire (72). By learning a small selection of pieces which display a range of musical themes, a musician can apply this knowledge to other pieces which exhibit the same themes. This is similar to Subini's idea, in the section on casual advice and instruction above, that teaching her grandchildren the single *gendèr* pattern *puthut gelut* would set them up well for playing all sorts of repertoire. Brinner (1995) explains that not only does learning prototypical pieces, which he refers to as "nodes in the webs or networks of association that a musician builds up" assist with playing new repertoire, it also continually reinforces the knowledge as more pieces are played: "When a new piece is taught or perceived in terms of one already known, a new network is established or an old one strengthened"

¹¹² This is one of the shortest forms of gamelan piece, played at a relatively fast tempo.

(155). In essence, a gamelan musician only needs to have memorised a few pieces in order to play a much larger repertoire. These may be pieces that are played repeatedly during a musician's career and do not require an explicit process of memorisation. Therefore, a learning process whereby each piece is explicitly committed to memory is unnecessary. In his work on music and the brain, Levitin (2006) also describes prototype theory and notes that there are weaknesses in it, because an obvious prototype is not always available for every category (156-7). Indeed, there is no universally agreed upon list of gamelan pieces which everyone should memorise in order to unlock the full repertoire. The gamelan musicians I interviewed did not describe using this technique. Opinions differ about what is important to learn. Kathryn Emerson once shared that her husband Wakidi's *kendhang* playing had different features for every piece, such that learning a single schema to apply to many pieces would not be effective if she wanted to learn his playing style (Kathryn Emerson p.c.). Therefore, while it may have its uses, selecting and learning prototypical pieces is not a complete solution for how to learn gamelan.

For a dhalang, written notation is likely to be a script (*naskah*) of the narration and dialogue for a performance. Surono, a *karawitan* teacher who is not very experienced as a dhalang, described how he had to memorise part of the *naskah* "in particular for the narration..., that I memorise, but for the dialogue, I only take the main points..., then I arrange it myself, like that" (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014). Few dhalang memorise a whole script as this inhibits them from creating their own interpretation in the moment during a performance.

As a child learning to play *kendhang*, Wakidi used a process of

memorisation without written notation. Every time he was out walking he would vocalise the *kendhang* part for whichever piece he was learning, while making appropriate movements with his hands. “For example, I would learn something, while walking, I would memorise a dance. For example, *Gambir Anom*, (vocalising) *den dang tak den*, this (points to his mouth) also sounds, it must match with this (points to his head)” (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014). Having the music in one’s head, without intentionally trying to commit it to memory, is an important way in which musicians remember. Since Wakidi could produce the drumming patterns without any external aids, he was merely reinforcing what was already in his memory.



Figure 6.6 Wakidi Dwidjomartono playing *kendhang*. (7 September 2008)

Individual practice may take the form used by Wakidi above, without actually sitting down at an instrument. This kind of practice is clearly valuable for mentally running through repertoire but less so for learning technique.

Artists who did not study at an institution (where there are opportunities to practise and a culture that encourages it), may only try out repertoire in the context of a group session, whether that is a class at a *sanggar* or a community group rehearsal. For artists with access to instruments and equipment at home, it is clear that they could practise individually. Nonetheless, in reality, few of my interviewees had engaged in intensive solitary practice. Rather, they might play a bit of gamelan at home, sometimes in the hopes of receiving some casual advice or instruction from an older relative. Such a relaxed attitude towards individual practice suggests that it is not considered a significant part of the learning process, and that the other forms of learning discussed in previous sections are seen as more important by Javanese artists. This contrasts greatly with the situation in Thai classical music, where practice is supposed to be exhausting and painful.¹¹³ For Javanese musicians, most of their practice takes place in a social rather than a solitary setting, at rehearsals and performances as well as in class.

There was another theme linked to individual practice which came up several times during my research. Older children and teenagers were often shy to practise where they might be seen or heard by their older relatives. Hali described that “when Father performed wayang I watched. Later when Father went out I would practise, but if Father was at home I wasn’t brave enough [to practise]” (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014). Sujarwo also expressed this feeling; as a teenager he felt awkward practising wayang in

¹¹³ See Mrázek (2008) and the film *Homrong: The Overture* (Vichailak 2004) where such practice is depicted.

front of his grandfather. He felt shy because his grandfather was a professional dhalang while Sujarwo was still learning. His grandfather would never teach him directly how to manipulate puppets, so he was not practising with the aim of receiving feedback (Sujarwo Joko Prehadin, p.c.). This sense of shyness around older professional artists clearly affects the way older children and teenagers learn performing arts in their home, if they come from a family of artists. Yet, even when they move away from home, individual practice is rarely a key feature of the learning process.

Memorisation is not often discussed by performing artists, and I believe this is because many artists learn without a solitary process of memorisation. They remember because of the repetition that occurs during performances, rehearsals and classes, rather than by struggling to commit something to memory. If they forget part of a piece or a dance, they are quickly reminded by aural or visual cues, or by their peers and teachers the next time that repertoire comes up. Their focus, therefore, is not on memorising, but simply on learning, without considering whether they will remember the material off by heart in the future.

In this chapter and the preceding one, we have examined ten different methods for learning performing arts that are used by Javanese artists. Some methods may be tied to particular places or times, such as apprenticeships which were used more heavily by the older generations when they were young. There are some possible overlaps between the methods discussed. For example, one could use *kupingan* to learn from a radio broadcast, or make a recording of one's own private lesson. As we have seen, memorisation is

often, but not always, linked to written notation. However, notation can be used without any intentional process of memorisation and one can memorise without using written notation.

One of the most striking points that can be gleaned through looking at all these learning processes is that one person tends to make use of multiple methods of learning. It would be highly unusual, perhaps impossible, for a professional musician, dhalang or dancer to have learnt using only one of the methods discussed. It is a combination of learning methods that seems to lead to the successful acquisition of knowledge. Indeed, many interviewees described acquiring very small snippets of information from numerous people, performances, books and recordings, which somehow led to them being able to play music, perform wayang or dance, beyond the little that they had been taught. Even within a single family, Sujarwo learnt to play *gendèr* by learning the *puthut gelut* melodic pattern from his grandmother, *buka Ladrang Wilujeng* from his uncle Joko Sabeyan, *grimmingan* from his cousin Surono, and so on. With these morsels of material, he was then able to play much more than the sum of their parts. As well as learning repertoire, artists also learn technique, style and variation from this combination of many sources.

Learning arts is often a social activity, taking place surrounded by other people, with learning through performing being one of the most popular methods of learning among those I interviewed. Solitary practice is rare; if a student practises, they may be hoping for some casual advice from an elder rather than progress as a result of the practice itself, and for teenagers a feeling of shyness inhibits them from practising in this way. Even a child practising manipulating wayang puppets is likely to be doing it in a place where other

people are around. This also links to the way people live, where private individual space is not prioritised. Traditional Javanese architecture is based around a large communal space, and this supports social learning.

Heredity, being in a family of performing artists, offers an advantage in access to some of these learning methods. Casual advice and instruction very often take place in a family home, and the availability of notation, recordings and access to performances is likely to be higher than in a family without performing artists. Brinner (1995) states that, “musicians’ attributions of knowledge to several sources rather than a single teacher...also manifest a tension between independence and lineal association” (297). I disagree with this, however, because amongst those I interviewed there was no pressure on musicians to follow a particular musical style based on their lineage. Unlike hereditary dhalang (who arguably reap the benefits of coming from a dhalang lineage), hereditary musicians tend not to be known as the child of a musician, but are encouraged or expected to be artistically independent. According to my research, there is no question of a Javanese musician learning from a single teacher; all have gained knowledge from numerous sources. Musicians, dhalang and dancers are able to separate and differentiate between what they have learnt from different people and there is no reason to assume that this creates tension. As we shall see in the following chapter, this ability to learn from multiple sources, without creating conflicts in the knowledge gained, is an important feature that supports continuity in Javanese performing arts.

Chapter Seven

Change and Continuity in Performing Arts

Learning

From the beginnings of palace arts schools during the 1920s to the present, there has been a great deal of change in the way arts knowledge is passed on.¹¹⁴ This chapter will investigate such change by situating performing arts learning in a historical perspective and highlighting several key issues where change is to be found. Through examining these changes, we shall see the continuity that allows traditional performing arts to retain a prominent place in today's Javanese society.

Some important changes have occurred through the foundation of palace and state-sponsored performing arts schools in Solo. The first section of this chapter will once again consider these schools, but this time by looking at the differences between learning performing arts in and out of school. Different schools teach their own styles and students are expected to learn these styles. In order to be successful, artists must be flexible and able to perform in different contexts, making appropriate artistic adjustments and adaptations. The second part of this chapter investigates how artists learn and

¹¹⁴ This has run alongside more general changes in lifestyle. Such change has not necessarily followed an even path, but may have occurred in bursts. Feith (2007) describes how, even during the short period from 1950 to 1957, "the number of motorcycles and scooters [in Indonesia rose] from 5,546 to 99,079" (561).

then perform a variety of styles, thus demonstrating how continuity is possible in the midst of great change.

Apart from the establishment of formal education, other political events have affected performing arts learning. Looking at the impact of such events on performing arts is challenging as we have no way of knowing what the arts scene would have been like if an event had not taken place. The mass violence during the 1960s had a long-term effect on the performing arts community, and this will be reviewed in the third part of this chapter.

While these events arguably caused a sudden change to the arts community, more gradual change has also taken place, such as in the size and make-up of Javanese families and how people spend their time. Money and domestic financial systems, which are linked to change in families, have also had an impact on arts performances and therefore on how arts are learnt.

Alan Lomax alluded to continuity as a strong factor in musical style, when he said that “an art so deeply rooted in the security patterns of the community should not, in theory, be subject to rapid change.... Religion, language, even many aspects of social structure may change; an entirely new set of tunes or rhythms or harmonic patterns may be introduced; but, in its overall character, a musical style will remain intact” (Lomax in Cohen 2003: 143). Through examining these points of change and continuity in performing arts learning, it will be possible to see to what extent this applies to Javanese performing arts.

Learning in or out of School

The majority of performing artists have not had much choice in whether or not they learn in school. For the older generations, school may not have been an option and nor was it necessary in order to embark on a performing arts career. Meanwhile, the younger generations have had to attend school, so choosing between regular school or a specialist arts school has been key. Even if attending arts school, students can also learn outside school. The option of only learning outside school, however, is no longer available to aspiring young professionals.

I asked performing artists their opinion about what was more useful—knowledge gained in or out of school. For numerous artists, school-based learning had opened a wider range of styles and genres than they could have easily accessed in their communities outside school. For example, the dhalang Wulan explained how studying *pedhalangan* as a mature student at ISI is enabling her to learn about many dhalangs' individual styles that she would never have had access to in her village in Wonogiri (Wulan Sri Panjang Mas, interview, 7 March 2014). *Karawitan* students at ISI also learn some non-Javanese music including Balinese and Sundanese gamelan. Bambang, who attended SMKN 8 and ISI, believes that higher education opens students' minds to more concerted thought processes about their arts while also making them more appreciative of different genres. Wakidi, who did not attend arts school, believes that learning in school should be combined with learning outside school. He explained that musicians who learnt only in school did not

play with the same *rasa* as those who learnt outside school.

The difference between artists who went to school, from nothing went to school, they are indeed clever, yes, but in terms of feeling they are still lacking.... The problem is the theory is like one thing, the practice is another. But if they [did not learn in school] the difference is that they can feel it, they don't have to use notation. They memorise it without using notation. They have found the right feeling.... [If] they learnt in school..., they have the feeling but it's different. Between those who learnt outside and inside school there is a difference.... The young kids now are competent. But for the majority, the feeling isn't relaxing (*semèlèh*).... Not relaxing means they cannot control it, for example, like guiding the instruments with two mallets, the rhythmic density (*irama*) is fast all day, such that the instruments with two mallets can't keep up. (Wakidi Dwidjomartono, interview, 10 May 2014)

For Wakidi, the actual quality of music was affected as the overall ensemble would not be compact if the musicians had learnt only in school. He believed that not all the knowledge necessary to be a good musician was available through formal education and that learning outside school was necessary in order to be considered a good musician.

The idea that learning in school did not lead to a good sense of *rasa* was also discussed by Sukaeni, who explained: "For me, an old person, the old style is nicer.... Nicer to hear. People used to say that performing arts should

be loud but not noisy, quiet but audible” (Sukaeni, interview, 23 March 2014). She believes that the old-timers could play loudly while still retaining that all-important *rasa*, and moreover that young schooled musicians do not tend to play like this.

The view that knowledge gained outside school was necessary for creating good musicians was echoed by Sumiyati:

For me, my view, arts are better if someone hasn't been to school. It's better [to learn] at performances. Comparing one year like that a person will definitely be better more quickly learning at performances rather than in school. Because every day they will see, hear, practise, they will definitely be able to do it more quickly. That's just my own understanding though, because I experienced it myself. Well, those who go to school aren't the same as those who don't go to school. I didn't go to school. Not that I am showing off about that, but doesn't my playing win? The way that arts are put into practice at school isn't good. (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014)

She added that expertise gained outside school was different and better because “it's normal, like a friend, you become closer if you meet every day” (Sumiyati, interview, 28 January 2014). Constant exposure to arts through performing was, in her view, more effective than school-based learning. However, this kind of frequent exposure may be less available for young artists today, who are forced to spend hours every day in school, whether or not they are learning arts there.



Figure 7.1 Sumiyati playing for a wayang performance in Manjungan, Klaten, where her younger brother, Suparno, is the dhalang. (26 October 2010)

While Sumiyati, Sukaeni and Wakidi did not attend arts school, Bambang did, and that was shown in his viewpoint which highlighted various positive aspects of formal arts education. It is interesting that this is an issue where everyone has an opinion, regardless of their own educational experiences. While they can see the value of formal education in terms of qualifications, non-schooled artists are keen to emphasise those elements that they consider superior in their own non-schooled styles.

In considering arts education, Bourdieu (1993) states, “the educational system plays a decisive role in the generalized imposition of the legitimate mode of consumption” (37). In the Javanese case it seems unlikely that changes in performances, which are a mode of consumption for performing arts, have been so heavily affected by the educational system. In terms of learning performing arts, however, where students are the consumers, it is

clear that formal arts institutes have changed the way performing arts knowledge is consumed. The knowledge must be consumed primarily in the classroom, as there is little time left for consuming it elsewhere. Despite this and the degree of institutionalisation at the arts schools discussed in Chapter Two, most artists, whether schooled or not, do persevere in engaging in multiple learning methods in different situations. The distinction between schooled and non-schooled artists may therefore merely be one of discussion; in practice these artists perform together regularly and their artistic styles are surely influenced by such encounters.

While many artists I spoke to concurred that learning through performing was more effective than learning in school in terms of learning to produce high quality arts, they also pointed out that the usefulness of formal education lay elsewhere. At school, students gain knowledge which enables them to teach performing arts, through being able to explain the theory of their arts and communicate this to others. Additionally, graduating from formal education provides a certificate which is useful for moving on to work in the performing arts sector as a teacher or other employee. Without this schooling it would be very difficult to work in performing arts as anything other than a performer, and even this would be challenging, as students become known to the wider community during their years of study.¹¹⁵ Mora (2011) notes that in Bali, “the institutionally trained artists, particularly those who get jobs in institutions, also have opportunities to participate in overseas performance

¹¹⁵ In a comparable situation, Myers-Moro (1993) explains that in Thailand, the most recent generation of musicians at her time of writing was entirely institutionally trained (103).

tours or acquire project funding.... Thus, the cultural capital gained from formal educational credentials has the potential for conversion into economic capital” (53). This is clearly the case for artists in Java as well.



Figure 7.2 Adya Satria Handoko Warih graduates from ISI with a Bachelor’s degree in *karawitan*. (Reproduced with permission of Adya Satria Handoko Warih)

For *pedhalangan*, which more often tends to run in families than gamelan music or dance, Hali felt that while schooling was useful, there were elements of *pedhalangan* that were not typically learnt in school.

It’s best when *pedhalangan* learning comes from our ancestors. That’s already good. With school-based learning there is no guarantee. Why? Because of the teachers, not their students. The teachers alone aren’t good. Now among the ISI teachers we can count the good dhalang. But to learn from one’s parents, starting from a young age to already study their knowledge, study *pedhalangan*, that is better. (Hali Jarwo

Sularso, interview, 9 February 2014)

While Hali may be articulating his opinion of the current ISI teachers, this assumes that one's parents will always be better than the ISI teachers, which may not be the case. Apart from the quality of the parent's *pedhalangan*, we have already seen some of the difficulties inherent in learning from one's own parent. There may well be cases where students are able to learn more from ISI teachers simply because it is easier to get information from them, without having to negotiate the complexities of a familial relationship. Alongside the importance of family in Hali's opinion is the significance of learning from a very young age. Since formal specialist arts schools only cover upper secondary and higher education, it is impossible for children to learn arts at a specialist school from primary or even lower secondary school age. If a student was to enter the *pedhalangan* department at SMKN 8 without a background in performing arts, it would be extremely difficult for them to catch up with their peers who have been immersed in *pedhalangan* since birth through their families. Therefore, in the case of *pedhalangan*, schooling alone may be insufficient and cannot replace a home or family background.

Hali's point about teachers at arts schools is also important. In some cases the teachers themselves are from hereditary arts backgrounds, but at any rate it is likely that teaching quality will vary, and students do not choose their teachers in school. Surono, who is both a *karawitan* teacher at SMKN 8 and a hereditary performer, adept at masked dance and wayang as well as gamelan music, explained that even for him as an arts school teacher, schooling alone

was insufficient to produce good musicians. In addition to the variable teaching quality, Surono felt that time was a factor in the effectiveness of schooling, with three years at SMKN 8 being too short a period to create a well-rounded musician (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014). This is similar to Sumiyati's view above, that the time would be better spent performing every night rather than in school every day. However, Surono, as a teacher, clearly supports the system of schooling through his participation in it. He believes that the best path is a combination of knowledge from in school and outside.

There are many advantages and disadvantages to school-based learning. While a certificate is almost always necessary for young people to advance to a performing arts career nowadays, the consensus among performing artists who spoke to me was that school-based learning is inadequate as the sole foundation for a performing arts career. The educational system has therefore failed to replicate or replace the role of family and non-school-based learning in performing arts, but this failure in itself has allowed a great variety of artistic styles and opinions to flourish, and has stimulated debate around arts learning, such as that covered in this section. The separation that is frequently verbalised between the schools and the arts community outside school seems to echo the older relationship between the courts and the villages. Despite the constant flow of artists between the villages and the courts, between the arts community and the schools, in discussion, artists feel a marked distinction between the two.

The development of this formal arts education, which is a dominant feature of arts learning in Solo, is a massive change that has taken place during the lives of my oldest informants, most of whom were professional non-

schooled performing artists. They were able to progress in their careers without requiring any institution to certify their capabilities. This type of career progression, however, is now all but extinct, as young artists today become part of the wider performing arts community during and to a certain extent because of their studies in school. Groups such as the young dhalang group AMARTA bring together young people for performances, and such networks are formed through students and alumni of SMKN 8 and ISI.

There are of course exceptions to the rule that every young professional artist has been through specialist arts schooling. Wulan, who was mentioned above, had a good performing career before deciding to study at ISI in her thirties, though she did attend SMKN 8. Wibisana Gunapangrawit is a gamelan musician who, upon not having enough funds to continue his studies at ISI, became an *abdi dalem* at the Kraton in order to continue on his career path as a musician. This reinforces the idea of a certain parallelism between ISI and the Kraton, both offering a future to performing artists. However, Wibisana is highly unusual; I am unaware of any other young musicians who have chosen this path which is often seen as old-fashioned and limiting, as well as not providing a good income.



Figure 7.3 Musician Wibisana Gunapangrawit playing gamelan *sekarèn* (11 February 2011)

It is notable that some of the best artists alive today, those who are most highly respected by the arts community, are those who learnt outside school before schooling was the norm, but that learning purely outside school is rarely an option nowadays. Meanwhile, relying on school-based learning alone seems insufficient to produce the best quality artistry. Learning both in and out of school appears, therefore, to offer the best of both worlds for today's aspiring professional artists.

Style in the Right Place and Time

We have already discussed the way that institutions each teach their own styles. Students choose to enrol at palace schools in order to learn a palace style. For state-sponsored schools like SMKN 8 and ISI, however, the

fact that a specific style may be taught is less clearly defined, with some teachers even denying that such standardisation takes place at all. It would appear that for these arts schools, although there was no original intention to create a school style, the effect of institutionalisation has led to such a style developing, without being driven by a single leader or plan. The mere effect of having so many students learning the same repertoire together from a limited number of teachers has led to standardisation, and the performance and re-performance of this same material each year has further enhanced the effect.¹¹⁶ Many of the teachers are also graduates of the schools and are therefore teaching material that they learnt as students. This phenomenon has, I believe, led to the establishment of artistic material that is considered acceptable by teachers and other staff, and is recognisable to in-the-know outsiders, in other words, an institutionalised style. The remarks of outsiders commenting on such SMKN 8 or ISI styles then further serve to reinforce the existence of such styles. Blacking (1987) defines the creation of a musical style as “the result of conscious decisions about the organisation of musical symbols in the context of real or imagined social interaction” (48). In the case of the ISI and SMKN 8 styles, however, it would appear that conscious decisions about the elements of these styles have not been made, but that musical symbols have become organised through social interaction and repetition.

Sutton believes that, in fact, the key knowledge that creates successful

¹¹⁶ The way *karawitan* students are taught instruments such as *rebab*, *kendhang* and *gendèr* in groups where everyone is playing exactly the same part in unison is a very effective way to ensure standardisation, whether intentional or not.

gamelan musicians is not learnt in school:

It might seem that the institutionalised approaches to teaching seriously threaten to curtail individuality. They would if they were the true source of the next generation of musicians, but they are not. From such classes emerge excellent players who go on to teach or further their education at college-level institutions. But these excellent players have learned somewhere else, through some informal or non-institutional means. (Sutton 2001: 80)

Therefore, even if students at SMKN 8 and ISI are forced to play in a school-based style during classes and performances connected to their school, in Sutton's view this does not necessarily have an effect on their individual style, as they are also learning outside school and are able to differentiate between different knowledge gained from different sources. This differentiation is, I believe, crucial for young performers in their careers.

As discussed in the introduction to this work, style is at once individual and related to milieu. A talented performer may perform in a particular style like Mangkunegaran Palace style, while still showing his or her own individual style. For example, it is easy for a knowledgeable listener to differentiate between Darsono and Hartono playing *kendhang* for the same Mangkunegaran-style dance; their individual styles stand out, though both are playing within an accepted palace style. The same performer may use Mangkunegaran style when performing at the Mangkunegaran Palace and a different style when performing elsewhere.



Figure 7.4 Musicians at the Mangkunegaran Palace (3 January 2014)

When selecting which knowledge to call upon for a particular performance, an artist must refer to various elements, including venue, fellow performers, type of event and so on. While the venue sometimes defines the overall style of performance, the other performers can also influence one's playing. For example, playing in front of one's teachers may restrict a performer to playing what he knows his teachers like.¹¹⁷ An older, more experienced performer may be of an age and distinction where he feels he can ignore the opinions of those around him, instead choosing his own version as the correct one. For any but the most senior performers, however, this is rarely the case. Bambang Siswanto describes how he sees this:

¹¹⁷ In Javanese performing arts there is rarely an absolute right or wrong way that things should be done; different opinions may be equally valid, and the performer must therefore decide whose opinion to follow at a given time.

If I meet [artists who are] all from the academy, I will play in the academy style. I make myself fit in. But among artists who will explore, there is freedom to experiment, I put it out there. If not, then I save it. For example, I am at the academy, I will use academy style, so that I am not considered strange, or look like I want to show off.

(Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

In this way we can see how one gamelan musician is able to balance what could appear to be conflicting knowledge from different sources. His aim is to fit in with the other musicians, wherever they are from, and so he adjusts what he plays accordingly. This has little to do with his status in the ensemble, musical or personal, and more to do with his desire to create a high quality overall performance.

This ability to switch between styles while retaining individual qualities is, I would argue, very important, and one of the key factors in the continuity of traditional Javanese performing arts. Despite changes having taken place in where people learn performing arts, the fact that they can and do learn multiple styles associated with different milieux enables such styles to continue to exist, without being, for example, subsumed into a single overall style. The same people who grew up learning to play gamelan in their village continue their studies at city-based institutions. In order to be successful they must take inspiration, knowledge and skill from what they learn in both places while marking it with their own unique traits in some way.

Stock (1993) notes that musical style consists of physical and cognitive aspects (276). In terms of differentiating between different styles of gamelan

playing, wayang performance or Javanese dance, the physicality of the instruments or equipment appears to have less impact on the difference between styles than the cognitive aspect. Since gamelan musicians do not bring their own instruments but play on whatever is available (and dhalang sometimes perform with puppets that are not their own), their styles can only be affected to a small extent by physicality. The cognitive aspect therefore appears more significant here. A student of Javanese performing arts, if learning at different places, such as at arts school, at a *sanggar*, at home, at a performance and at a palace as well, all on different days of the week, must be able to cognitively sort out the different knowledge acquired from these sources, and then be able to recall it and use it appropriately in the future. Levitin (2006) discusses how the human brain uses “tune recognition” to “extract invariant properties of a song” by ignoring certain features and thereby recognising particular pieces of music, despite differences in pitch, tempo and so on (129). In the same way, Javanese musicians must be able to recognise specific gamelan pieces, which may be played differently depending on style as well as the level of variation innate in gamelan music. In addition to recognising the pieces, they must also imbue each new rendition with an appropriate style according to the performance situation.

Brinner describes how musicians playing together will generally aim for a compact performance, but in some cases disagreements can occur, such as when one musician is given the authority to impose a particular style on a group or a performance. However, any conflict is rarely allowed to affect the musical product, rather the situation is “met with an outward deference and submission that may mask inner opposition and conflict” (Brinner 1995: 298).

A musician must therefore be able to recognise how he should behave musically in each ensemble or performance, as appropriate musical behaviour can make or break the quality of the performance. Very often, one musician may be seen as a teacher in some contexts and as a mere ensemble member or even a pupil in other contexts. Brinner (1995) argues that this is related to the musician's role within the ensemble, that is, the instrument being played, when he says, "the sense of self that a performer projects is a potent force in interaction, but its strength is augmented or diminished by the characteristics of stereotyped roles within the ensemble" (304). I would argue, however, that while the performer's musical role may play some part in this, the performer as an individual known to the other performers is more frequently responsible for his own non-musical role, his "sense of self". This is shown by the teachers who retain their role as a kind of leader while letting students play leading instruments of the gamelan. Their authority is not diminished, and neither is the way others interact with them, when they are playing less musically important instruments. Therefore, artists' roles as individuals within the performing arts community and within specific ensembles are not directly linked to the roles they play when performing. They can perform appropriately according to factors including their instrument and the performance situation, while retaining their usual status. This kind of flexibility in style, which goes beyond one's own individual style, is played out every time there is a performance with artists who are used to playing at different events and situations (which appears to be most artists today).

For dancers the situation is similar. Many dancers in Solo learn a palace style or attend a *sanggar* while also studying at SMKN 8 or ISI. They

learn a variety of styles in this way and must use them correctly, dancing the right style in the right place. Umi explained to me that it was not difficult for dancers trained at ISI to then learn Mangkunegaran style (Umiyati Sri Warsini, interview, 16 May 2014). However, Surono, who does Klaten-style masked dance told me that it was easier for someone without any dance background to learn masked dance. For a dancer to learn his village style of masked dance, they would have to unlearn their pre-existing technique and it would be more difficult for them to access the rougher-edged village style with their muscle memory of dancing the more refined styles of the palaces (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014). It is true that many of the family members who do masked dance do not otherwise dance, but are instead dhalang and musicians. However, there are dancers who have performed in village and palace styles, such as the late Sunarno Purwolelono, a lecturer and choreographer in the dance department at ISI who also danced Klaten-style masked dance.¹¹⁸ The differences between village- and court-style dance, along with the extent to which village dances enter the courts, cities or arts schools and vice-versa is one area of Javanese performing arts where more research would be welcome. It is clear, however, that while few palace-based dancers learn village styles, any young villager looking for a career in dance will aim to study at a city-based arts school and often attend palace dance classes as well. This means that a young dancer from a village tradition may be adept at village, palace and school styles.

¹¹⁸ Sunarno Purwolelono passed away in 2011 not long after fulfilling a promise to perform the *Klana* dance in village style at the grave of Tukas Gondo Sukasno.



Figure 7.5 Umi watching her dance students rehearse at the *Pakarti latihan*, Prangwedanan, Mangkunegaran Palace. (30 June 2013)

With gamelan, performed as an ensemble, and dance, most often performed in a group, it is important that individuals respect the overall effect of the whole and perform accordingly. For wayang, however, the dhalang performs as an individual. In this case, it is not the other performers that dictate the way a dhalang performs but the venue, event and often the sponsor. For example, a sponsor may request a particular style of performance or a particular *lakon*.¹¹⁹ The venue or event may be one that requires a particular

¹¹⁹ A good published example of this is the Lontar Foundation's work with dhalang Purbo Asmoro and translator Kathryn Emerson. Purbo Asmoro was asked to perform two different *lakon* each in three styles (classical, contemporary-interpretive and condensed) which were video-recorded, translated into English and Indonesian, and published as a series of books and subtitled DVDs (Asmoro 2013a, 2013b). The performances are all characteristic of Purbo Asmoro's individual style, while showcasing different external styles according to the sponsor's request.

nuance, such as *campursari* music as an interlude, or an Islamic theme for a performance at a *pasantren* (Islamic boarding school). The dhalang is responsible for creating an appropriate performance within such criteria. Keeler (1987) describes how dhalang “are enjoined to adhere to the standards established in the court and/or state-supported schools, yet they are expected to maintain distinctive family and personal styles. They should be sensitive to the likes and dislikes of their audiences” (185). We can see that a dhalang must balance the pull of these different factors every time he performs.

However, not all dhalang show the same level of flexibility between styles. Some, particularly village-based dhalang who have not studied at any arts school, always perform in the same style. They become known for performing in that style, and in some cases are remembered posthumously for it. The ability to perform in a range of styles comes from being exposed to a range of influences and in practice is often developed through being in the city, studying at institutions and attending performances. As artists increasingly follow an educational route that includes schooling in the city, and therefore are exposed to different influences, more artists are able to perform in multiple styles.

The ability of performers to restrict themselves to an appropriate style for a particular performance has led to the continued existence of palace styles. While the performers themselves change, such styles show continuity, aided by practitioners who are able to split their knowledge accordingly. The flexibility gained by learning to access and utilise different parts of a vocabulary of knowledge in order to produce different styles is an important step on the path to becoming a professional artist, and one that allows new

developments and change to occur to performing arts while still retaining older, more traditional styles.

The Impact of Political Events on Performing Arts Learning

It would be amiss to describe processes of learning in traditional Javanese performing arts during the twentieth century without mentioning the single political event that had arguably the most significant impact on performing artists during that time. My elderly informants felt that neither the end of colonialism nor the Japanese occupation had a large impact on the daily lives of performing artists. The economic crisis and *Reformasi* of the late 1990s also had little lasting effect, according to my informants. However, the anti-communist violence of the 1960s had a massive effect on the performing arts community, that is still felt today.¹²⁰

The *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) had been building a network of supporters during the early 1960s, and some of my informants described playing gamelan for PKI-sponsored events in Solo prior to 1965.¹²¹ Then an alleged coup attempt against the current Indonesian president, Sukarno, took place, claimed by a group who called themselves *Gerakan 30 September* (G30S, the September 30th Movement). Following

¹²⁰ A detailed historical account of the events of 1965 is beyond the scope of this work and can be found elsewhere such as in Kammen and McGregor (2012).

¹²¹ McVey in Hobart and Taylor (1986) and Mrázek (2005) describe the various kinds of wayang performance put on by the PKI.

this, Kammen and McGregor (2012) describe “a tense tug-of-war between President Sukarno and the surviving Army leadership over what had happened, who had the authority to take action, and what that action should be” (2). Suharto was then given control of the Army and ordered troops to “initiate operations against the remnants of the September 30th Movement and the Communist Party’s huge following.... Mass killings of the Communist Party members and sympathisers commenced” (Kammen and McGregor 2012: 2). The killing spree spread and ordinary citizens began to take part, attacking neighbours they suspected of being communists. In 1967 Sukarno lost power and Suharto became the new president. The mass killings, the exact toll of which may never be known, left a mark on Javanese society.

Although academic analysis has been carried out regarding this political violence, and a groundbreaking film, *The Act of Killing*, was released which interviewed some of the senior perpetrators (Oppenheimer 2012), it is in the daily pattern of life that Javanese people remember. Riding my motorcycle through villages and past paddy fields in Klaten, my husband pointed out to me a bridge under which the bodies of those killed were dumped, a location his uncle had shown him. Many performing artists, particularly dhalang, were targeted and the effects of this have arguably left an indelible mark on the performing arts community.¹²²

The dhalang Sayoko Gondosaputra lost his father in a horrific attack during the events of 1965. Suspected of being a communist, his father, the

¹²² See the film *Tumbuh dalam Badai* to hear some artists speak about the stigma they have grown up with (Wiyono, 2 October 2014).

dhalang Sauntung Gondodiyoto (also known as Untung Gondo Dijoto) was viciously attacked and killed and their family home burnt to the ground.

Sayoko was visibly affected as he described these events to me:

My grandfather was a well-known dhalang, my father was also a well-known dhalang, but during the Old Order, my father joined a political party, the Indonesian Communist Party. At the end of 1965 my father was murdered by a mob. The house was burnt down, everything was destroyed including the gamelan instruments, all the wayang puppets were destroyed. I was thirteen years old. After that, after my father had gone, I lived with my mother, from the age of thirteen. (Sayoko Gondosaputra, interview, 8 March 2014)



Figure 7.6 A rock Sayoko took from his father's home that he keeps outside his house in Tegal Susuhan, Manjungan, Klaten. (8 March 2014)

Throughout his interview, at each mention of his father, Sayoko

specified that his father had not died; he had been murdered. After their home and all their possessions had been destroyed, his mother moved with her children into the stable that had not been burnt down, until they were able to rebuild their house, just down the road from Sayoko's current home with his wife. Sayoko had not learnt to perform wayang from his father before he was murdered (and in fact his father had not wanted him to become a dhalang), but was asked to perform anyway. He gave his first performance having learnt from a book:

I studied and then I performed that story. Day and night but I wasn't strong enough. I did the daytime performance until only 3pm. I did the night performance only until 10.30pm. Because at that time I really couldn't perform wayang yet, so I wasn't comfortable being watched. I couldn't do it yet. (Sayoko Gondosaputra, interview, 8 March 2014)

Despite this beginning, Sayoko went on to become a well-respected dhalang, known for his political and comedic banter, and a popular guest during the *limbukan* and *gara-gara* comic scenes of other dhalangs' performances. Sayoko was one of a whole generation of performing artists directly affected by the anti-communist violence, and seemed keen to tell me his account of what had happened. Unlike, Sayoko, however, many of my informants did not specify whether they or their relatives were actually communist sympathisers, let alone members of the PKI; it was understood simply that their relatives who had been imprisoned or killed were suspected communists.

Another dhalang directly affected was Tristuti Rachmadi Suryasaputra (1939–2009), who was imprisoned in 1965, suspecting of having links with the PKI, and held for fourteen years on Buru Island and elsewhere. Hersri describes Tristuti giving wayang performances while in prison at Buru with many other artists and writers (Hersri and Foulcher 1995: 11) and Tristuti also provides an account of his imprisonment (Rachmadi in Zurbuchen 2005). Upon his release, Tristuti was banned from performing for many years. He became a scriptwriter for well-known dhalang such as Anom Soeroto and Manteb Sudharsono (Mrázek 2005: 491) and also left many books of wayang scripts upon his death. Emerson (2016) explains that Tristuti's literary style, which sometimes made poetic use of his experiences in prison, was highly valued (103). In his old age Tristuti was finally permitted to perform publicly again, and he resumed his performing career as a highly respected, elderly dhalang.

Tukas Gondo Sukasno was also affected by the events of 1965. Branded as a suspected communist sympathiser, he was not imprisoned but was banned from performing wayang for a number of years. Since being banned from performing wayang took away his main source of income, Tukas Gondo Sukasno had to temporarily change his career. His son Joko Sabeyan describes:

After being prohibited from performing wayang by the government, in the end the *pélog* gamelan was sold to buy a carriage, a horsedrawn carriage, and Father became its driver. After that the children had no hope of going to school, because of the cost. Back then he had eight

children, it was hard to send us to school, the cost of living made it difficult. (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014)

We can see from this that as well as directly affecting the artistic output of a generation whose activities were severely curtailed, 1965 also had a long-term impact on Javanese performing arts. Joko Sabeyan explained that he and his brothers and sisters were branded as children of communist sympathisers and for years their identity cards were different to those of the general population. This made them ineligible to apply for any jobs in the public sector, which of course included most jobs at the state-sponsored arts schools, the state-run radio station, and other state-run arts facilities that tend to employ a permanent staff of musicians, dancers and dhalang. For Joko Sabeyan this was one of the reasons why he didn't even think about completing high school; there was simply no point as he would not be able to use his graduation certificate to get a good job. Sayoko described this as a "hereditary sin, an inherited sin" (Sayoko Gondosaputra, interview, 8 March 2014).

The ban on children of suspected PKI collaborators becoming public sector workers was only withdrawn after Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) became president in 1999. However, some of the affected generation were able to find ways to circumvent the rules. Many of Sayoko's own brothers and sisters did become public sector employees. He explained: "Because when representatives from Central Special Research (*Penelitian Khusus*) came to the area to investigate who were the children of which parents, it was a coincidence, it was God's wish, my siblings were able to become public sector

employees” (Sayoko Gondosaputra, interview, 8 March 2014). Indonesia is well known for its bureaucratic loopholes, but not everyone can take advantage of them and there was still much bitterness felt among the generation of affected artists who shared their stories with me. Many believed that their future career paths had been forever changed by what had happened.

During his period of being banned from performing, Tukas Gondo Sukasno was able to deputise his jobs out to other dhalang. Eventually, some years later, he was able to resume performing. He was asked by the local government to give a masked dance performance, and he agreed on the condition that he could begin performing wayang again. They agreed to this and he returned to his profession as a dhalang. However, it is arguable that he had lost the continuity from his previous performing career, and could not regain lost time.



Figure 7.7 Tukas Gondo Sukasno (sitting in the middle) with Gondo Tomo (second from the right) and other members of their masked dance group, *Magada*, in 1973. (Photo credit: Biliyard Dwi Maryaningsih)

One artist suggested to me that the events of 1965 had forever changed the direction of traditional Javanese performing arts. This is because some of the best *dhalang* of a generation were taken out of service, meaning that their musicians also didn't have any work, their families became poorer, and a generation of audiences didn't get to enjoy their performances. Young aspiring musicians and *dhalang* growing up during this period missed out on experiencing performances that may have helped to shape them as performing artists. Their opportunities to learn at performances were restricted to those *dhalang* who were allowed to perform. Diminishing a whole generation of performers, including some of the best, has arguably had an effect that continues to be felt, in particular through knowledge transmission, as the knowledge of that generation was not fully passed down.

It is obviously impossible to measure the impact on today's arts scene as we cannot know what the situation would have been like had *dhalang* not been targeted in 1965. Nonetheless, it is clear that the anti-communist violence that affected so many *dhalang* was a period of great upheaval and sudden change for the performing arts community. There has been no greater single change since those events, and although artists are willing to discuss what happened, it is still with a sense of shock and incomprehension.

The abrupt change that took place in 1965 is arguably of an extreme nature. Other more recent external events, including the economic crisis of 1998 have made less of an impact, although they may have been keenly felt at the time and reflected in performance. In considering the way performing arts are learnt, noting the importance of both family links and learning through

performing, anything that affects performing artist families or affects the frequency of performances will affect the learning processes available to young artists. While dhalang may have been the main targets of 1965, we have seen how the effects reached other performing artists through their families.

The Changing Family and its Arts

The concept of the family in Java is undergoing change, as people now typically have two children instead of the eight or nine that their grandparents had. This phenomenon has various causes including the widespread availability of contraception and a government-led drive to promote a two-child family called *Dua Anak Lebih Baik* (Two Children is Better).¹²³ In a large family, an entire performance can be put on by a family group, but as families get smaller, such performances become less feasible. Not only are families becoming smaller, but the development of modern transportation means that people can travel and move further away more easily. Families become more distant and can certainly no longer perform together on a regular basis. As performing artist families have become smaller and more spread out,

¹²³ Connelly (2008) investigated the history of population control on a global scale, which included campaigns and legislation in Indonesia. For example, in the 1970s maternity benefits were denied to state employees with three or more children (247). Campaigns to reduce reproduction rates in Central Java included “tape-recorded ‘family planning propaganda’ being broadcast to a captive audience of new mothers through the hospital’s intercom system.... Some leaders went so far as to beat drums daily to remind women when to take their pills” (305). Blackburn and Bessell (1997) explain how the desire to reduce family size led to a law about the minimum age for marriage being made.

this has affected the way their members learn their arts.

Families would traditionally work together on a performance and many members of the performing artist family described in this work married other artists. The time and hard work involved was even more pronounced in the past, when musicians, *pesindhèn* and *dhalang* would walk to a performance. Sutarmi remembers when she was twelve or thirteen years old walking for hours to sing at her father's wayang shows as often as several times a week (Sutarmi p.c.). She was accompanied by her brothers and sisters, whoever was already old enough to come, her *gendèr*-player mother, when she wasn't heavily pregnant or looking after a baby at home, and sometimes her aunt or other relatives. Sutarmi wasn't in school, having left after primary school class five, and was instead learning her arts (and how to make a living as a *pesindhèn*) directly through performing.

Supanggah (2011a) explains that, in the context of informal education, “the transfer or passing on of artistic skills in the field of *pedhalangan* or *karawitan* tends to be restricted to the family environment, or close relatives, because this profession—at least in Java—provides a source of income which can support the economic and social needs of the family” (246). The family could work together and keep the profits from a performance for themselves, instead of paying guest musicians and other staff. The large family size and lack of other commitments also made this possible. There were enough people around and they had the time to walk and perform. Sutarmi told me that although it was a tiring lifestyle, it made her very happy. She loved performing and her enthusiasm caused her tiredness to melt away (Sutarmi, interview, 23 February 2014). This concept of feeling happy and therefore not

being tired appears to be common among Javanese; many interviewees described the same feeling. In Brenner's 1998 account of the batik industry in Laweyan, Solo, hereditary batik entrepreneur Bu Usman says she "worked hard, day and night, but...never felt tired" (198). Brenner (1998) puts this down to her hereditary role, with "a feeling of security that stemmed from having taken [her] correct place in the line of descent" (198). It is possible that hereditary performing artists also achieve this sense of security, enabling them to work hard without feeling fatigued.

The family wasn't always paid in money, but would sometimes be given rice or other products from the nearby fields to take home. They would also be fed at each performance, a practice which remains common today. Many of my informants described scarcity of food in the past, which for the artists living in Manjungan village was put down to the fact that, unlike their farmer neighbours, they didn't own any fields. Performing would guarantee them a meal at least.

Since Sutarmi's father, Tukas Gondo Sukasno, became too old to perform and then passed away in 2003, family performances by the Manjungan family have dwindled. Although several of his sons and grandsons have become dhalang, they do not use a full gamelan troupe of family members. The only routine family-staffed performance is held annually on the first of the Javanese month Sura in a Klaten village called Turus. This was started by Tukas Gondo Sukasno when, as a young man, he was asked to perform there annually to mark the Javanese new year. It has been continued by his sons, with Beja performing in the daytime slot and Joko Santosa in the night. Subini continued to play *gendèr* for at least the daytime performance

until her death in 2015. However, even this performance has begun to use gamelan musicians from outside the family. In 2014 a whole troupe of musicians was brought in from another part of Klaten, and in 2015 musicians from ISI were used and Beja was replaced by Sujarwo as the daytime dhalang. The family had become unable or unwilling to fully staff its own performance. Whereas prior to this, family members had been free to join in playing gamelan for a short time as they wished and had allowed their children to try playing, Joko Sabeyan described how, since an outside group had been invited to play, he no longer felt comfortable joining in (Joko Sabeyan, interview, 23 February 2014). Indeed, he and many other family members did not even come to watch the 2015 performance.



Figure 7.8 A family wayang performance to mark the annual *ruwahan* or *sadranan* where people visit their ancestors' graves before Ramadan. Many of the musicians, however, have been brought in from outside the family for this performance. (29 June 2013)

I asked my informants why there were no longer any family performances like in the past. Hali suggested that it was now much easier to get musicians than it was before.

Because now there are many gamelan musicians, many people who can play gamelan. There are many *pesindhèn*. There are many gamelan musicians because there's school, there are lessons, right? In the past there weren't these. There were hardly any gamelan musicians. If they weren't a dhalang's relatives there weren't any, like that.... Because back then there was no school. (Hali Jarwo Sularso, interview 9 February 2014)

Therefore, in Hali's view, changes in the education system for performing artists have directly affected the make-up of a performance ensemble. Whereas there used to be no choice but to call upon family to play gamelan, there are now many musicians from outside one's family who have studied at SMKN 8 and ISI. It would be difficult to calculate whether there are more professional musicians nowadays than in the past. It is likely that other factors have also contributed to the sense of an abundance of musicians.

Modern transportation has made it easier for musicians to travel to perform across the island of Java, and it is normal for a musician to travel the relatively short distance from Solo to Klaten and the other surrounding districts. The population of Java has also increased during the period in question and the frequency and type of performances may have changed. It is also important to remember that, as shown in Chapter Three, the majority of SMKN 8 and ISI-

trained musicians are also members of performing artist families themselves, and so perhaps the schooling merely brings everyone together in a way that makes it easier to book them for gigs across the region.

Another key factor in the demise of family performances is the geographical spread of the family. Despite the smaller size of the nuclear family, if we count cousins, aunts and uncles as well as brothers and sisters in the performing artist family described in this study, there are still enough living musicians to fill a gamelan. However, they are not all living in the same village. With young people moving to Solo to study at SMKN 8 and ISI, and the commitment that this educational system requires of them, they do not have time to devote to family performances on a regular basis. As young people graduate and get jobs as teachers, lecturers and musicians working on permanent contracts for city-based employers, they may be unable and unwilling to leave their jobs for a family performance, despite the availability of fast, cheap transport.

Whereas Subini, Tukas Gondo Sukasno and their nine children lived and worked together, the extended family does not run as a single economic unit. People live separately, children with parents, in smaller numbers. Even in the case of Beja, Joko Sabeyan and Joko Purnomo and their wives and children, who all live metres apart within the same compound, they organise their finances separately. Joko Sabeyan makes a better living than Beja or Joko Purnomo and his family's affluence is apparent in their two-storey house and car. For family performances to be a desirable line of work, everyone would have to feel they were benefitting financially from taking part, and that these benefits were superior to what they might gain from using their time in

other ways, such as in school or in another type of work. Bambang Siswanto concurred with this:

Everyone has their own jobs. Then there are different visions of the future. For me, for example, there is no way I would work with my family for my livelihood, by performing there. With my lifestyle like this and my ways of getting income, working with my family wouldn't be able to support us. If it was successful, it would be a hassle for me. Why should I make that a success? If I am free I help, that's all, we don't have to think about the finances, that's nice isn't it? Because as it happens in the class of this lineage, if we go it alone that's enough to be seen by others, so we have class. But if we become one, we all become the same. And if we aren't brave enough to set a high fee, for example, it would die later. It's better to break off alone and be able to survive. And then get together just for fun. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

Therefore he feels his energy is better spent making a living outside the extended family and that family performances should not be held for financial gain. This differs to Joko Sabeyan's view, that family performances were often seen as an opportunity for youngsters to try out performing and that this was no longer acceptable in today's market where a host would expect a more professional standard of musicianship. Bambang believes such a high standard is attainable by a family ensemble, but that this does not make it an attractive line of work for him.

It seems that the only consensus among artists in the family was that family performances no longer work. There were numerous possible reasons given for this, such as the existence of other options nowadays where previously there was no choice. In the past performing as a family was just what performing artist families did; there was no question of doing anything else. Now it is possible to be a member of such a family without having to perform together, because of the availability of other work within the performing arts field as well as the lure of city-based arts institutions. Performing together, then, rather than being a necessity has become a choice, and it is clear that most family members choose to perform outside of the family circle.



Figure 7.9 A small wayang performance at PDMN where Sujarwo Joko Prehatin is the dhalang. L-R in the photo are Sujarwo's great-aunt Sumiyati, his father Hali Jarwo Sularso, his cousin Adya Satria Handoko Warih, and his mother Sutarmi. Hali is here as a PDMN teacher but the others have been drafted in by Sujarwo for this performance. The other musicians were not from the family. (24 June 2014)

Despite this, performances where some of the artists are related are very common. Sumiyati often plays *gendèr* when one of her relatives is the dhalang. Masked dance performances, though infrequent, use a majority of family members, and Sujarwo is often asked to play *kendhang* for various relatives' wayang performances. He in turn sometimes asks his mother Sutarmi to sing at his own wayang performances. The family members who continue to book each other for gigs do so for various reasons. They know each other's styles, can rely on each other to show up, and feel relaxed about asking for help at performances where there is little financial reward available. Perhaps this is the modern version of a family performance; as families have become smaller in size, the number of relatives performing together has also become reduced.

Time, Money and Learning

Looking at how people's ways of life have changed during the period covered by my fieldwork I noticed that there were two important factors that had changed considerably: time and money. The way the performing artist family spends time now is very different to only twenty years ago. Prior to motorcycles being the usual mode of transport, people spent considerable amounts of time walking to places, whereas now even travelling a hundred metres is often by motorbike. There have also been developments in the lifestyle at home, such as the abundance of gas cookers, allowing people to spend less time cooking than when they had to cook on coal or wood, and

water pumps meaning that people no longer have to haul up buckets of water from wells.¹²⁴ Prior to mobile phones and the internet, there were fewer sources of entertainment within the home; television, radio and cassettes were and continue to be used, but Javanese tend to leave these on while engaging in other activities. Nowadays people can spend hours a day staring at their phone screens which, unlike the television, involves temporarily stopping their other activities.¹²⁵

Clearly, there have been many lifestyle changes related to time and how people spend it. These are also related to the developments in education, which mark a massive change in the way children spend their time. Whereas in the past, children could spend all their time at performances, or travelling to and from them, as well as helping around the house, now children spend every day in school and in many cases only attend performances on a Saturday night so as not to interfere with their studies.¹²⁶ As youth is the best time for learning, when one's brain is very receptive, the performing arts knowledge picked up by children who spend every day doing performing arts must be quite incredible. This absorption of knowledge cannot be replicated easily later in life. Moreover, school is seen as the place for learning and pupils are

¹²⁴ Some people continue to cook with coal and haul water manually, however, and other things have not changed. Washing machines are still unusual in the villages, for example, so many people still handwash their clothes.

¹²⁵ In terms of learning performing arts, the smartphone is an interesting object, because while it can be a distraction from arts activities, as noted in Chapter Six it is also used as a tool for learning performing arts, through its audio- and video-recording functions.

¹²⁶ With Indonesian school being held Monday to Saturday, Saturday night is the only night of the week which is not a school-night.

encouraged to focus on learning when in school or doing their homework. Therefore performances and other non-school activities are not seen as centres for learning. When children are old enough to attend specialist arts schools (which are not available until upper secondary school), their performing arts learning is focused on what they learn at arts school, with learning outside school being considered less important.

Bambang Siswanto described how learning through doing performing arts used to be a necessity for performing artist families, who needed to conduct these activities in order to obtain basic goods such as food, but that this has changed:

Now what influences [learning] most is desire, because of what? There is less of a need. If the desire is not increased, and this desire must be constantly protected, it's impossible, because there is less of a need. In the past it didn't matter if there wasn't much desire, [because] there was a great need. People immediately entered [performing arts] as if they were already formed [as artists]. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

While in the past, absorption of knowledge through doing was driven by a need to learn in order to use that knowledge to make a living, this is no longer the case. Food is rarely scarce and people have more money than in the past.¹²⁷ In discussing learning music, Levitin (2006) explains how “memory

¹²⁷ Keeler (1987) notes that incidences of hardship were reduced

strength is...a function of how much we care about the experience.

Neurochemical tags associated with memories mark them for importance” (193). He argues that the more we care about learning a piece of music, the more effectively our brain will be able to learn it. This links to Bambang’s statement above, in that one’s desire to learn must be strong in order to be able to learn performing arts. Whether this desire comes through necessity for survival as in the past or through merely wanting to learn, the emotional attachment must be there.

Now and in the foreseeable future, there will no longer be children who spend every day soaking up performing arts knowledge, as instead, today’s children must spend every day learning other subjects in school. While on the one hand this means they have many more doors open to them in terms of their future careers, it is also possible to view this as detrimental to the overall quality of performing arts, as fewer and fewer people are alive who have had that immersive learning experience. Stratford (2012) explains how, in the case of learning gamelan drumming, “to a certain extent drumming can be learned through listening and observation, but it is through time and experience that a musician grasps a deeper understanding of how the drumming fits into the overall traditional gamelan repertoire” (218). It is this extended time and experience that is no longer available to children.

Time has also changed relating to the length and frequency of performances. All of my older informants described months where they or a close relative performed nearly every day and night. In fact, over the years,

through better farming practices (168).

many people have described to me how there used to be more performances. However, this is something that is very difficult to confirm in reality. It is possible that they are simply looking back through rose-tinted glasses, or equally that they are genuinely remembering a golden era, with much more performing arts activity. Perhaps due to the time spent travelling to and from each performance, it simply felt like they spent more time doing arts-related activities and that there was not in fact a greater frequency of performances. This is impossible to confirm. However, for a single dhalang to have gigs nearly every night for a month would be highly unusual now.¹²⁸ Anne Stebinger, an American who has visited Solo regularly to learn gamelan since 1980, suggested that there is an element of nostalgia at play. She explained that whereas musicians now look back on the 1980s as a kind of golden era in the *klenengan* scene,¹²⁹ musicians active in the 1980s used to look back to previous years (Anne Stebinger, p.c., 13 August 2015).

Bambang Siswanto believed that indeed performances are less frequent now than in the past and he put this down to the scale of most performances nowadays being more than people can often afford:

The arts we offer at the highest level require large payments, lots of people, lots of space. So it is like a royal class ceremony. And from our citizens who aren't royal class, to the large population, it has reduced

¹²⁸ Although each dhalang has his own usual frequency of performances, it would be unusual to perform more than two or three times a week, and even this would be considered very frequent.

¹²⁹ This scene fell victim to the 1998 economic crisis which made such events prohibitively expensive for many potential hosts.

on its own.... The king who had ten hectares, for his class he could put on a lavish event that called upon many people.... There was the space, the facilities, whatever was needed, it was possible. At that time the population was small because he was a king. Now everyone wants to be kings themselves, and there are lots of them, so it would be impossible for them to have ten hectares each. Perhaps I can be a king, but only have a hundred square metres. The space isn't large enough [for performances]. (Bambang Siswanto, interview, 26 March 2014)

Therefore, the increase in population has not led to an increase in performances, but to increased division of land and resources to such an extent that people no longer have the space or money to put on a big event. Writing in the 1980s, Keeler (1987) noted that choices about how money was spent had affected the frequency of performances, with families opting to spend money on luxury goods instead of large celebrations (167). Mrázek (2000), writing about the beginning of the *Reformasi* era in the late 1990s, described how the economic crisis had affected the most expensive dhalang, as people could no longer afford to hire them, but that less expensive dhalang remained in demand (160). With even small performances nowadays typically using a full *sléndro-pélog* gamelan on a stage with several *pesindhèn* and a powerful PA system, it is no wonder that most people can rarely afford to stage such an extravagant event, let alone hold one for every lifecycle ritual. Furthermore, there are now more choices for events than in the past.¹³⁰ A host can employ a

¹³⁰ See for example, Keeler (1987: 167).

solo electronic keyboard player with a singer, a *campursari* group or even just use a recording instead of live musicians. Traditional performing arts are one of the most expensive options.

Therefore, nowadays, even if a child was not attending school, he or she would not be able to join a performance every day or night. This intensive exposure during childhood, to actual performances rather than just being near gamelan instruments, is now a relic of the past, and the older performing artists alive today are the last generation to have experienced it.

It is not only the frequency of performances that has changed. In traditional performing arts, the duration of individual shows used to be longer. A whole masked dance performance lasts three or four hours, but such performances are very rare now. I have seen just one or two full-length shows over the past eight years. More typically now, a shortened version with only a few scenes is performed, designed to fit whatever length the sponsor or host requires. In palace dance, dances are cut down in length by erasing whole gamelan gong cycles in order to shorten them for performance. Wayang would usually be held during the day and night, with the nighttime performance lasting until dawn. Nowadays daytime performances are rare and night performances tend to finish on average at about 4am (and at some venues much earlier). These changes in duration have had an effect on learning opportunities in two ways. Firstly, there is obviously less time when a performance is ongoing; people cannot get up in the morning and catch the tail-end of a wayang show, or potter along in the afternoon to watch a masked dance story unfold. And secondly, I would argue that the parts that have been cut from the performances are those less important parts where beginner and

learner musicians used to join in. The *manyura* section of a wayang performance was typically when Sukaeni would stop singing (as there is little to sing here) and move to the gamelan to play *saron*; this is how she learnt to play. Daytime wayang performances were when beginner players would try out performing for the first time.



Figure 7.10 Children take a rare opportunity to play some gamelan at a daytime wayang performance. (1 May 2014)

The other important element which has changed greatly is money. Many of my informants gave examples of dhalang performing for nothing, without having agreed a price beforehand. Money as well as time was a factor in whether children could try out playing gamelan during a performance. Such opportunities are rare nowadays. With wayang having become more of a business, the sponsor expects to pay for a certain standard, valued according to the money paid, and beginner musicians joining in can be looked upon badly.

This contrasts hugely to the situation in the past, where money was less of a factor. The dhalang perhaps expected less or was content to receive whatever payment he was given. This meant that, in turn, the sponsor did not have such high expectations from the performance. Holding an event itself can be seen as auspicious in Javanese culture, where a busy atmosphere and a large audience mean that an event is considered a success, rather than the detail of exactly who is playing the gamelan. This means that children could and did join in, something which is rarely encouraged nowadays.

In today's cash-based economy, a dhalang needs to be paid in money rather than goods. He sets a price and the sponsor who is paying expects a certain level of service in exchange for the price he has agreed on. In discussing the rarity of family-staffed performances nowadays, Surono explained this phenomenon:

Now the orientation is more to performances which are indeed watched, not family performances. People who book gigs, it's the money that has power, so one can ask for anything, and with the current orientation a person will request a performance that is truly a show, not like a show of kinship. I mean that for a wayang performance everything must be perfect, perfect gamelan musicians, everything, wearing traditional costume, all of that, the arrangement of the musical accompaniment must be perfect. In the past it wasn't like that. In the past, the person booking the gig would say, basically, 'Please can I book you,' and there wasn't any kind of transaction. In the past, it was like, 'Dhalang, I book you.' 'Yes.' There was no

thought about how much one would get paid. And when the dhalang was given something, he didn't think about whether it was enough or not. Basically it was divided up for everyone, with the result that the host did not expect a perfect performance and other things like that, because there was no such transaction. But nowadays dhalang are already like, 'If you book me it's this much.' So, whether he likes it or not, he has to make that performance into something that is wanted [by the host]. (Surono, interview, 2 March 2014)

It appears that a process of commodification of Javanese performing arts has taken place, and only in the recent past has monetary exchange become a necessary part of almost every performance. Attali (1985) explains that "in traditional societies, music as such did not exist; it was an element in a whole, an element of sacrificial ritual, of the channelization of the imaginary, of legitimacy. When a class emerged whose power was based on commercial exchange and competition, this stabilised system of musical financing dissolved; the clients multiplied and therefore the distribution sites changed" (46-47). We can see how a similar process has taken place with Javanese performing arts. There is no specific word for "music" in Javanese or Indonesian that conveys the same meaning as the English term. Music in itself, therefore, does not exist in the Javanese context.¹³¹ While Attali's class-based approach may be inappropriate for analysing the commodification of Javanese

¹³¹ A modern Indonesian word, *musik*, usually refers to Western music.

performing arts, we can see that commercialisation has occurred here, although I would argue that such a disjuncture between music and its performance context has not occurred in the way that Attali suggests. In the Javanese case, performing arts including music remain tied to their performance context, but have become commercialised within that space. Attali (1985) describes a process of change from musician-valet to musician-entrepreneur (47). In the Javanese context, this can be seen as having happened to dhalang, who must now work to sell their performances, whereas once they would have served.

The places where such commodification appears not to have taken effect are at the palaces, where as we have seen, musicians and teachers are paid very little for their work as *abdi dalem*. Spiritual reward is considered a suitable exchange for the work of *abdi dalem* artists. Attali (1985) goes on to explain how “the servants of royal power...were no longer in the service of a singular and central power. The musician no longer sold himself without reserve to a lord; he would sell his labour to a number of clients, who were rich enough to pay for the entertainment, but not rich enough to have it to themselves” (47). In the same way, today’s *abdi dalem* do not perform solely at the palace, but also perform elsewhere, negotiating boundaries between different styles of performing arts according to the situation.



Figure 7.11 *Abdi dalem* are proud to receive a certificate when they rise a level in the system, such as this one given to Hali Jarwo Sularso by the Prince. (28 October 2015)

Time and money, therefore, have changed enormously, both in ways directly linked to performing arts and in ways affecting the daily lives of artists. As Javanese performing arts outside the palace walls have become part of the modern entertainment industry, artists have adjusted their roles and students have adapted to new learning situations. The oldest artists alive at the time of writing are the last generation to have lived in a world where they could devote their time to performing without depending on a monetary income, and today's child artists must prioritise time spent in school over time spent performing.

We have seen how knowledge acquisition in traditional performing arts has changed since the beginning of school-based arts education in the 1920s. Changes in the education system led to changes in how children spent their time, which in turn affected how they could learn performing arts. External events, particularly the 1965 anti-communist violence left their mark on the performing arts scene. At home, families have changed along with their lifestyle, and this has had a profound effect on the daily activities of artists. The way people spend their time has changed, and so has their need for money. With performances becoming a commodity to be sold to a sponsor, the expectations of both performer and host have changed. This has deeply affected the way people learn arts. Opportunities to learn through performing have come under attack, both from the pervasiveness of compulsory schooling and from the increased value of performances themselves. With increased monetary value of performances has come a decrease in their frequency and duration, which can be seen to have an impact at many levels on performing arts knowledge transmission.

Despite all of this change, however, there is still room for a remarkable amount of continuity. Performing artist families continue to produce young professional artists through the generations. They have made a switch from performance-based to school-based arts education. This has been successful, in that such dynasties of artists continue, though opinions differ as to the success of this change in terms of the quality of performers produced. Artists have fitted into a new kind of arts scene, where becoming teachers or technicians at institutes is a sought-after career, and where performing alone is rarely enough to pay the bills. Different styles of music, wayang and dance are

successfully being preserved through the flexibility of today's artists to perform in different styles, catering to the demands of their host or sponsor, or artistically obeying their teachers. School has been one of the ways such artists learn their flexibility, a skill that is not always possessed by artists who have learnt outside formal education. Therefore, it appears that performing artist families have successfully continued their trade over the past hundred years by changing tack in the face of external influences and finding ways to fit into an ever-changing system.

Conclusions

This work has shown how Javanese performing artists learn their arts, and therefore how this community, this performing culture, reproduces itself through the generations. At the beginning we considered ideas about what makes a good artist, and noted that in order to be successful, an artist must possess knowledge and skill in technique and repertoire, have an individual style and the flexibility to move between different external styles, and perform with *rasa*. These were the main traits of a competent artist. It was also noted that those with a wide range of abilities, often covering more than one art form, were particularly admired by their fellow artists.

Following the path of one large family as its members interact and engage with performing arts learning processes in different ways has been a way to move towards an understanding of knowledge transmission and acquisition in traditional Javanese performing arts. Since the majority of professional performing artists do have some kind of family background in performing arts, looking at how they learn necessitates taking this into account. Regardless of whether their genetic make-up plays a role in their talent, they began to acquire arts knowledge as babies and young children, through their families. In the case of the family studied in this project, we saw how performing arts were infused into their daily lives together. The older family members followed simultaneous processes of learning and performing, as they were expected to begin performing from a base of very little knowledge and to learn as they went along. Although this was also the case to

a certain extent for the younger generations, they attended school, which took up much of their time and meant they could not join performances as often. However, many of them attended a specialist arts upper secondary school and went on to higher education in performing arts. Instead of just performing, they learnt the theory behind their arts and widened their scope through learning more styles than the limited range available near their family home.



Figure 8.1 Some of the family playing gamelan at Subini's home in Manjungan, Klaten. L-R Sujarwo, Ara, Subini, Nining, Purnomo, Beja, Joko Sabeyan, Nanang. (8 March 2014)

The establishment of palace schools and then state-sponsored formal education has changed the learning processes available in performing arts. Formal educational establishments, namely SMKN 8 and ISI in Solo, have become the sole route to a performing arts career for all but a very small minority. As well as an educational institution, ISI has become a community for young aspiring artists to become known and get booked for gigs, a major employer of performing artists, and a hub for Indonesian academics in

performing arts. The survey in Chapter Three showed that the majority of traditional performing arts students at these schools did indeed come from a performing artist family background. It is not surprising then, that in the family described here, all members of the younger generations who wanted to follow a career in performing arts attended these schools. Some of them went on to be employed by the schools, and occasionally to teach their younger relatives with their teacher hats on in school. The pull of such institutions, where alumni tend to get the available jobs as teachers, has led to the unintended creation of a standardised style in *karawitan* at ISI Surakarta. However, this can be seen as a single style among many, along with the palace schools that explicitly teach their own styles, and the many village styles that are not taught in school. Today's performing artists must be adept in a number of styles in order to succeed in the industry.

Despite the perceived importance of arts schooling among the young and their parents, who are very keen for their children to complete this education, much learning in performing arts takes place outside school. The school teachers expect students to seek knowledge from outside school, thereby appearing to undermine the system they represent. We have seen how each artist uses an array of techniques in order to acquire knowledge, from ascetic practices such as fasting to utilising recordings and written materials. Old Javanese texts, including those that were written to be sung, often describe concepts of knowledge and its acquisition, and many wayang stories tell of quests for knowledge where a main character must undergo numerous tests of endurance and moral strength in order to attain the knowledge he seeks. The knowledge gained often seems to bear little resemblance to the quests

undertaken and the knowledge acquisition occurs suddenly, rather than being a gradual process. Some artists described following similar processes, such as making pilgrimages to the graves of well-known dhalang or immersing themselves in water at certain places and times. In some cases, they believed that they gained knowledge or new abilities as a direct result of these activities, which a few artists further explained as a physiological effect. These acts link Javanese performing arts into a traditional Javanese belief system called *kejawèn*. We also saw how many artists linked performing arts into traditional Javanese systems of politeness or etiquette. They believed that through learning performing arts, a person would learn good manners, since it was necessary to enact these manners in order to learn performing arts. For dhalang, merely being polite was insufficient, as they must also be able to socialise appropriately in the community. This was considered a vital skill in order to succeed as a dhalang.

Through examining a number of arts learning processes, we were able to see that many took place during a performance or rehearsal, and either involved learning through watching or listening, as in the case of *kupingan* or exposure and absorption, or through doing, such as in simultaneous imitation. Being able to attend performances and rehearsals, whether as a performer or as an audience member, was very important as much knowledge was gained in this way. Outside of the performance context, artists used media such as recordings and written materials in order to learn. There is no system of private tuition, with few Javanese artists seeking private lessons, and a traditional system of apprenticeship, utilised mainly by student dhalang, has now largely been superseded by formal schooling. In seeking knowledge from

expert artists, therefore, students hoped for casual advice and instruction. This unstructured and untimetabled process was a common way for knowledge to be passed on within a family, and was also a method used by artists within the larger community. We have seen how, in the family, some people were particularly active in passing on knowledge to their younger relatives, both at home and during performances where family members performed together, a practice that is increasingly unusual nowadays. Having acquired some knowledge, it was up to the individual artist to piece together fragments gained from multiple sources, and in many cases knowledge of one art form was helpful in enabling an artist to learn another. Individual practice was a small part of the lives of SMKN 8 and ISI students, rather than a main focus. While gamelan and dance are usually performed as a group, we saw that even dhalang did not tend to do much individual practice. It appears that the group atmosphere of a performance or rehearsal is necessary in order to produce arts of a high quality, something which cannot be achieved in a solitary manner. This also reinforces the idea that those artists who perform more are better than those who perform infrequently, and further highlights a key difference between today's young artists who spend more time in school than at performances, and those of the previous generations who grew up performing.

Opinions about arts schooling varied enormously even within a single generation of the family. There was no consensus as to whether a school-based arts education was better or worse than learning outside school. However, some people believed that school could be a substitute for heredity, allowing non-hereditary artists the chance to be as good as their hereditary peers. While most arts school students are in some way hereditary, there are exceptions and

there are some good artists who are not from performing artist families. Perhaps formal education does create a new way for these students to learn. However, I believe they would have learnt anyway, through local clubs and ensembles or by associating themselves with a performing artist family. Since formal arts schooling only begins at upper secondary level, most performing artists will have begun their learning journeys earlier in their childhood. Hereditary artists have a clear advantage in cases where they are growing up surrounded by performing arts from birth. Nonetheless, many people agreed that a school education was useful in terms of career progression, as the aim of many students is to make a living as an arts teacher, a job that offers a stable salary compared to just performing, and usually requires a Bachelor's degree.

Throughout all of the learning processes discussed in this work it was clear that students are encouraged to learn from their elders and from their peers, whether at school, at a *sanggar* or at home. More importantly, students must learn from a range of sources. A single teacher would be insufficient for a student to gain the range of knowledge and skill required to be successful through developing an individual style. Merely imitating a teacher figure is not the mark of a successful artist. Acquiring snippets of knowledge from a range of sources using a range of learning processes, synthesising the different parts of knowledge and adding to them from one's own inspiration appears to be the route towards successful artist creation, and the best artists who have successfully followed this process are able to become a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts.

Through attempting to offer an understanding of how performing artists are created, which is clearly very complex and involves many different

processes, this work has provided a rich description of a performing arts community. From the family to the schools and beyond, through looking at the different milieux where arts learning takes place, as well as the relationships between practitioners, the preceding chapters have described what goes on in a Javanese performing arts community. It is hoped that this detailed description is in itself a valuable contribution to information about the work and lives of gamelan musicians, *pesindhèn*, dhalang and dancers.

While this thesis has focused specifically on performing arts, there are various related areas where more research would be valuable. These include parallel industries such as the manufacture of gamelan instruments, wayang puppets and related equipment. The *keris* dagger, worn by dhalang for every performance and treasured as part of Javanese traditional culture, has also not been discussed here. As well as being the tools of performing artists, these items are linked to performing arts through the people who make them, and can be hereditary trades in their own right. It is often a dhalang who makes wayang puppets, though he may become better known for his skill in carving puppets than for performing with them; gamelan makers often belong to the same families as musicians. These skills are more frequently passed on outside school rather than through formal education. Although there is a department at ISI that teaches *keris*-making, there is no similar department for gamelan-making. It would be interesting, therefore, to compare knowledge transmission of these related skills with that of the performing arts covered in this work, to see if older methods of knowledge transmission and acquisition are in some way more significant due to the lack of formal education available.

Similarly, not all Javanese performing arts genres are taught at the

formal education institutions. Hughes-Freeland (2008) discusses female dancers called *lèdhèk*, who are often frowned upon or seen as lower class, despite being used for traditional *tayuban* dance events, and “come from a tradition of skill and practice which predates modern institutionalised performance education” (140). While all traditional Javanese performing arts can be said to predate institutionalised education, which as we have seen was a fairly recent development, this type of dancing is not taught as part of formal arts education; indeed neither are many village styles, including the Klaten-style masked dance discussed in this work. It would therefore be of interest to compare knowledge transmission in these art forms, which have not made it into formal education, and see how such processes differ to those of more institutionalised art forms. In some cases, such as in Klaten-style masked dance, the same performers who learn arts in school also learn their village tradition outside school. How are the ways in which their village tradition is passed on affected by the performers’ experiences in formal education?

Nettl writes that “the way in which a society teaches its music to itself is clearly an important characteristic of its musical culture” (Nettl in Bresler 2007: 829). This is equally valid for performing arts other than music, especially in cases where the culture in question does not show a strong separation between different performing arts. The aim of this work has been to unravel the way the Javanese performing arts community teaches itself. This has had various purposes. Firstly, it addressed a lack of research about the transmission of performing arts knowledge in general. Even in the case of Java, which has possibly some of the most heavily researched arts in the world, knowledge transmission tends to have been neglected or only given a

brief mention. Therefore, following Nettl, this work has shed light on an important characteristic of the culture of Javanese performing arts. Secondly, this work is written by a student of Javanese performing arts. In my own study, as a foreigner, I became curious as to how the Javanese learnt their arts; they did not appear to engage in hours of solitary practice as I did (along with most other foreigners). Therefore, I hope this work will be of use to other foreign students of Javanese arts. By learning how Javanese artists learn their arts, perhaps we can learn more effectively if our end-goal is to be able to play, dance or perform like the Javanese do. For Javanese performing artists who read this, I hope that they can see how their own experiences, which have shaped this work, fit into the bigger picture of arts learning and understand how the processes that they have gone through have each contributed in some way to creating them as artists. Thirdly, by looking at concepts of change and continuity in the way the Javanese performing arts community teaches itself, I have shown that the process of knowledge acquisition is not static and unchanging, but is rather in constant flux, responding and adapting to outside influences of all kinds.

Consequences for the Future of Traditional Javanese Performing Arts

By looking at how the various patterns of change discussed in this work have affected traditional Javanese performing arts, comparing times in the past to the present and considering to what extent these changes are

ongoing, we can posit a possible future for performing arts. We are able to consider how this particular arts culture will continue if things continue to move in the same direction as in the present time. I do not wish to imply that change has arisen from a static point in the past, but rather that there has been and continues to be constant change, and it has been possible to research this change beginning with the establishment of the first arts schools in the 1920s, based on the experiences and opinions of living artists along with limited historical documentation.

In traditional Javanese performing arts today people can no longer learn purely outside school if they want an arts career. This means that the existence of high calibre professional performing artists who learnt everything they know outside the sphere of formal education is unlikely to continue into the future. At the present time, there is a generation of ageing artists who are highly respected within the arts community. They are often the subjects of academic theses written by Indonesian students, some of which have been referenced in this work, and their knowledge is keenly sought by today's aspiring young artists. One of the reasons teachers at arts schools send their students to add to their school-based knowledge by learning outside school is to gain knowledge from these experts. Indeed, at times they have been called upon by arts schools to act as a kind of honorary teacher to classes of students. Many of them are considered to be at the top of their field by the performing arts community in general, which is partly because they are currently the most senior generation. However, I would argue that, in many cases, these experts are renowned for their artistic style and *rasa* as well as their expansive knowledge, an expertise that they began to acquire through a childhood

immersed in performance, and continued throughout adulthood. There has already been a significant change in that nobody has that kind of upbringing any more. With the demise of family-staffed performances and a reduction in the frequency of performances in general, alongside compulsory schooling, there will be no more children who enjoyed the kind of childhood their parents or grandparents had. This is not a future change, but one which has already taken place. It is therefore important that current performing artists make the most of the time left to learn from the last generation of non-schooled artists. While there are obvious benefits to accessible school-based education, this is a consequence of educational development that is easily overlooked. The oldest generation of dhalang, musicians, *pesindhèn*, and dancers alive today is the last of its kind, in terms of the artists' learning processes and the results gained from such learning. The same environment for arts knowledge transmission and acquisition is unlikely to ever exist again.

The reduction in family size and changes in how families organise their finances and lifestyles has not only led to a reduction in family-staffed performances, but also in many cases to fewer arts activities taking place in the home. With work for artists often being located away from the home, such as working at one of the arts institutes or performing with a dhalang's troupe, there are fewer opportunities for casual music-making, dancing or playing with puppets at home, and in the case where smaller families have moved into their own smaller houses, there is rarely space or money for a full gamelan. Children, therefore, no longer grow up surrounded by arts activities to the extent that their parents did. Children do not see their siblings, parents and other relatives preparing to leave for a performance together; they do not grow

up understanding what happens when the whole family works together on a performance, but are expected to follow their own path, which may or may not involve performing arts. On one hand this has led to a much greater range of career opportunities being available to young people today, as compared to their parents' generation. There is no longer an obligation through financial necessity to be involved with performing arts. On the other hand, however, this clearly has an impact on the future of performing arts. Today's young parents must make an effort if they want their children to see performing arts; they must take their children to performances and rehearsals, not through necessity but through their own desire to sow the seeds of gamelan, dance or wayang in their offspring.

Through the limited perspective of the performing artist family discussed in this work, it seems that in each successive generation, fewer people go on to become professional performing artists, preferring instead to choose non-arts careers. This does not mean the end of traditional performing arts; as noted previously, it is now easier for non-hereditary artists to enter the profession through formal education. Also, since there are apparently now fewer performances and there is certainly better transportation to get to them, a reduction in the number of artists makes sense. For the time being, there are still numerous examples in every generation of the family who do choose to enter a performing arts career, and it does not seem likely that this will stop in the near future. It is probable that performing arts will therefore continue to feature a majority of artists from family backgrounds with a minority of non-hereditary artists. These hereditary artists will continue to call upon their relatives to join their performances, as they can rely on each other both

musically and logistically. However, these family members do not live together and they spend the majority of their time performing with people from outside the family. The performing artists of the extended family therefore form a kind of safety net. They provide support for younger members who want to enter performing arts, not only on stage but also at school where older relatives have become teachers. They ease the transition by which young cousins, nieces, nephews and grandchildren move into their profession. Such processes seem likely to continue, demonstrating a new way in which performing artist families use their kinship links within the larger arts community.

Many people complain that the quality of young artists today is not as good as that of the older generations. They are said to play too fast or to lack the *rasa* of their elders. This could be due to a tendency to look back on a golden era and see the past through rose-tinted glasses. It is also highly likely that the artists of the past who are remembered today were the best artists of their time. I would argue that today's best young artists do play with *rasa*, and the artists who are mediocre today will not be remembered in the future. Some people claim that formal arts education is at fault for the apparent lowering of quality, yet as we have seen, it is no longer possible to learn entirely outside school and have a career. Since the people born into arts also learn in school and become the teachers, it is up to them to promote a positive cycle of learning, where the qualities they most value in performing arts are passed down to the next generation of students, who will in turn become the teachers. If those qualities involve *rasa* or other elements that they have learnt from their parents or grandparents, it is up to them to pass these qualities on to their

students. With everyone learning in school, it will be necessary to find ways to teach such elusive qualities within the context of formal education.

The palace schools represent upholders of tradition, continuing to teach the same palace styles to generations of young artists. Although enrolment numbers are usually low, it is likely that these schools will continue with their work in the future, as long as the palaces see some value in supporting them, and the *abdi dalem* and teachers who work there continue to do so for little financial reward. Alongside the styles taught at the palace schools are the styles taught at SMKN 8 and ISI. In the past, people have questioned whether institutional styles such as the ISI *karawitan* style would take over and usurp non-school styles.¹³² This has not happened due to the ability of musicians to learn and differentiate between various styles, selecting an appropriate style each time they play. There are few artists who can only play in a single style; even teachers at the palace *pedhalangan* schools can also perform in other non-court styles. There has, therefore, been room for the establishment of new styles, such as ISI style, without necessarily taking anything away from older styles. Those artists who only play in one style tend to be those who have learnt outside school and rarely stepped out of their own locality. As schooling has become more necessary for a successful arts career, there are fewer of these artists. It is questionable whether, in the future, there will be any artists who limit themselves to one style in this way. With everyone being able to perform multiple styles, the individual stylistic traits that make each artist unique will arguably become more important in allowing individual members

¹³² For example, see Sutton (2001: 80).

of the community to shine.

The changes that have affected traditional Javanese performing arts during the period covered in this work can be seen as extreme and yet they are nothing compared to the changes in lifestyle during the same period. We have travelled from a rural Central Java where motorised transport was rare to one with internet available in most villages, and from a Surakarta under colonial power to one whose former mayor is the president of Indonesia. From this perspective we can see the strong sense of continuity in Javanese performing arts, and how dhalang, gamelan musicians, *pesindhèn* and dancers have successfully adapted their arts to the constant change in their lives. This seems to imply that, at the very least, the future of traditional Javanese performing arts is in safe hands.

Glossary

<i>abdi dalem</i>	A person paid a small regular sum to serve the palace. Often used in this context to refer to a musician, dhalang or dancer, but also refers to other roles within the palace.
<i>ada-ada</i>	A type of tone poem (<i>sulukan</i>) sung by the dhalang during a wayang performance and accompanied on the <i>gendèr</i> .
<i>ada-ada lawas</i>	An older style of <i>ada-ada</i> .
<i>balungan</i>	The skeletal melody of a gamelan piece. This is the part that is most commonly notated, a version of which is played on the <i>saron</i> , <i>demung</i> , and <i>slenthem</i> .
<i>bapak</i>	The word for father, also used to refer to any man formally in Indonesian and Javanese.
<i>bléncong</i>	The lamp used to illuminate the screen for wayang performances.
<i>bonang</i>	Short for <i>bonang barung</i> , a two-row set of upright bossed gongs tuned to two octaves of the gamelan in either <i>sléndro</i> or <i>pélog</i> .
<i>bonang panerus</i>	A smaller version of the <i>bonang barung</i> tuned an octave higher.
<i>bu</i>	Short for <i>ibu</i> .
<i>budhé</i>	An aunt who is the older sister of one's parent.
<i>buka</i>	The opening or introduction to a piece of gamelan

	music.
<i>bulik</i>	An aunt who is the younger sister of one's parent.
<i>campursari</i>	A modern genre of Javanese popular music that mixes elements from other genres, including <i>kroncong</i> , <i>dangdut</i> and gamelan.
<i>catur</i>	The spoken parts of a wayang performance, including the characters' speech and the dhalang's narration.
<i>céngkok</i>	A melodic pattern that can usually be elaborated in some way.
<i>céngkok prenés</i>	A specific style of melodic pattern that is considered flirtatious in character.
<i>ciblon</i>	A medium-sized double-headed drum that is used to play dance rhythms (whether or not accompanying dance) and to accompany some parts of a wayang performance.
<i>dadi</i>	Also called <i>irama dadi</i> and <i>irama dados</i> , this is one of the levels of rhythmic density that can be used in a piece of gamelan music.
<i>dalang</i>	The Indonesian spelling of <i>dhalang</i> .
<i>demung</i>	See <i>saron demung</i> .
<i>dhalang</i>	The puppeteer in wayang performances. Most often male, he typically performs all night, manipulating the puppets, telling the story and leading the gamelan ensemble.
<i>gambang</i>	A wooden xylophone played with two padded beaters,

	the <i>gambang</i> is an elaborating instrument that typically plays rapid ascending and descending melodies.
<i>gamelan</i>	A gong-chime orchestra consisting mostly of gongs and metallophones, gamelan sets are found in Java and Bali. This work is concerned with Central Javanese gamelan, specifically that found in the Solo Raya area.
<i>gara-gara</i>	One of two comedy scenes in a wayang performance (the other being <i>limbukan</i>). During the <i>gara-gara</i> there is a break in the story and the dhalang tells jokes through the clown puppets, interviews special guests on stage and requests light songs from the singers.
<i>garapan</i>	In wayang this refers to a performance style that can be translated as contemporary-interpretive, which is different to preceding classical styles. In gamelan music, <i>garapan</i> refers to interpretation of musical material within a given idiom, such as an instrument.
<i>gendèr</i>	Short for <i>gendèr barung</i> , this is a tube-resonated metallophone usually with fourteen keys, played by a single musician with two padded beaters. The <i>gendèr</i> plays an important role in wayang, accompanying the dhalang's singing and speaking throughout the performance.
<i>gendèran</i>	Music played on the <i>gendèr barung</i> .
<i>gendèr panerus</i>	A smaller version of the <i>gendèr barung</i> , tuned an octave higher, the <i>gendèr panerus</i> is an elaborating

	instrument but does not play an important role in the gamelan ensemble.
<i>gendhing</i>	A piece of gamelan music, or a specific structural form used for longer gamelan pieces.
<i>gendhing kreasi baru</i>	New compositions of gamelan music that use traditional forms or instrumentation.
<i>grimmingan</i>	Polyphonic tones and melodies played on the <i>gendèr</i> to provide a soft accompaniment during the dhalang's spoken parts, and to remind the dhalang of key pitches.
<i>ibu</i>	The word for mother, also used to refer to any woman formally in Indonesian and Javanese.
<i>irama</i>	The tempo of a piece of music and also the rhythmic density with which the elaborating instruments play at a given <i>irama</i> level. Five levels are commonly used: <i>lancar, tanggung, dadi, wiled</i> and <i>rangkep</i> .
<i>jaipongan</i>	A genre of music from Sunda, West Java, that is characterised by its drumming and dance styles.
<i>kampung</i>	A neighbourhood, often located in a city.
<i>karawitan</i>	The art of gamelan music, this is also the term used by formal education institutions to refer to gamelan music as a subject of study or a department.
<i>kempul</i>	Medium-sized hanging bossed gongs. The <i>kempul</i> are played to mark important points in pieces of music.
<i>kendhang</i>	A generic term used to refer to any or all of the double-headed drums used in gamelan music.

<i>kendhangan</i>	Music played on the <i>kendhang</i> .
<i>kenong</i>	Large upright tuned pot-gongs that are used to mark important structural points in the music.
<i>keprak</i>	Metal plates that are hung on the side of the wayang box next to the dhalang. Played with the dhalang's foot, the <i>keprak</i> is used to signal to the gamelan musicians and to provide a percussive, rattling accompaniment to the dhalang's performance.
<i>keprakan</i>	The playing of the <i>keprak</i> .
<i>keris</i>	A dagger that is an important part of Javanese male traditional costume, and is worn by the dhalang at every performance.
<i>kroncong</i>	A genre of music that developed from Portuguese influence, it is played on two ukeleles, a plucked cello and bass, with violin, flute and a singer. The songs tend to have a nostalgic or romantic flavour.
<i>kethuk</i>	A small upright bossed gong that is used to punctuate the music according to a piece's structure.
<i>ketipung</i>	A double-headed drum which is the smallest of the set of <i>kendhang</i> .
<i>kiprah</i>	A set of dance moves where a single male character (or a puppet in wayang) is showing off his prowess.
<i>klenengan</i>	A concert or event of gamelan music played on its own, without dance or wayang.
<i>Kliwon</i>	One of the five Javanese market days. These days are

combined with seven-day weeks to produce a thirty-five day month that is used to count Javanese birthdays and other auspicious days.

kungkum The process of immersing oneself in water, usually at a natural spring, late at night, as a form of asceticism.

kupingan A process for learning gamelan that can be loosely translated as “learning by ear” but refers more to the idea of simply hearing something and being able to reproduce it without any obvious effort to learn.

ladrang One of the possible structural forms for a gamelan piece.

lagu Literally meaning “song”, this can also refer to the melody of a piece of gamelan music as it might be sung, or to a specific type of song.

lakon A wayang story or play, most of which are taken from the Javanese versions of the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics.

laku prihatin A Javanese form of asceticism.

lancaran One of the possible structural forms for a gamelan piece, a *lancaran* is short compared to other forms.

langgam One of the possible structural forms for a gamelan piece, a *langgam* is a song sung by a *pesindhèn* and accompanied by the gamelan.

lasem See *srepeg lasem*.

latihan A rehearsal, which can be for a specific performance

	or a relaxed get-together to play music or dance.
<i>Legi</i>	One of the five Javanese market days. These days are combined with seven-day weeks to produce a thirty-five day month that is used to count Javanese birthdays and other auspicious days.
<i>limbukan</i>	One of two comedy scenes in a wayang performance (the other being <i>gara-gara</i>). During the <i>limbukan</i> there is a break in the story and the dhalang tells jokes through the female servant puppets, Cangik and her daughter, Limbuk. He interviews special guests on stage and requests light songs from the singers.
<i>macapat</i>	A category of poetic forms in literary Javanese.
<i>manyura</i>	A mode or <i>pathet</i> in the <i>sléndro</i> tuning of gamelan, which is used during the final section of a wayang performance.
<i>mbah</i>	A term of address for someone of one's grandparents' generation or older.
<i>mbah kakung</i>	Used to refer to one's own grandfather in Javanese.
<i>mbah putri</i>	Used to refer to one's own grandmother in Javanese.
<i>mucuki</i>	Where a young aspiring dhalang (usually a child or teenager) gives a short performance of a few scenes, usually including a battle, before the main performance of the night. The young dhalang is often a relative of the dhalang who will give the main performance.
<i>mutih</i>	A form of fasting, used for ascetic purposes, where

	someone eats only white rice and drinks only plain water.
<i>naskah</i>	A script for a wayang performance.
<i>ngableng</i>	An extreme form of fasting where one does not eat or drink anything at all.
<i>nggarap</i>	See also <i>garapan</i> . This refers to the process of musical interpretation when playing gamelan music.
<i>ngrowot</i>	A form of fasting where one eats only fruit and vegetables.
<i>nyacah</i>	See <i>saron nyacah</i> .
<i>ompok</i>	A particular section of a piece of gamelan music.
<i>Pahing</i>	One of the five Javanese market days. These days are combined with seven-day weeks to produce a thirty-five day month that is used to count Javanese birthdays and other auspicious days.
<i>pak</i>	Short for <i>bapak</i> .
<i>pakdhé</i>	An uncle who is the older brother of one's parent.
<i>pakem</i>	This can refer to the rules of classical performance practice in wayang, and can also describe a book of <i>lakon</i> .
<i>paklik</i>	An uncle who is the younger brother of one's parent.
<i>palaran</i>	A poem sung by a solo vocalist, male or female, and accompanied on a small group of gamelan instruments.
<i>pangkur</i>	A form of <i>macapat</i> poetry, consisting of seven lines, which is often used as a <i>palaran</i> .

<i>pathet</i>	A mode in gamelan music.
<i>pathetan</i>	A type of tone poem (<i>suluk</i>) sung by a dhalang to create an appropriate mood. It is accompanied by <i>gendèr</i> , <i>rebab</i> , <i>gambang</i> , and <i>suling</i> , with cadence points punctuated by the <i>kempul</i> , <i>kenong</i> , gong and <i>kendhang</i> . <i>Pathetan</i> are also played on the above instruments without a dhalang before and after pieces during a <i>klenengan</i> .
<i>pegawai negeri</i>	A person employed in the public sector working at a state-run facility, including hospital workers, police, armed forces, school teachers and university professors as well as local and national government officials.
<i>peking</i>	Also called <i>saron panerus</i> , the peking is a small trough-resonated metallophone pitched one octave higher than the <i>saron barung</i> .
<i>pélog</i>	One of two tunings of the gamelan (the other being <i>sléndro</i>), <i>pélog</i> is heptatonic.
<i>pendhapa</i>	A common style of traditional Javanese architecture, a <i>pendhapa</i> is a spacious pavilion built on tall pillars. Gamelan instruments are often housed in <i>pendhapa</i> , which can be used as performance spaces.
<i>perang</i>	A battle scene in wayang.
<i>perang kethèk</i>	A battle scene in wayang involving monkey (<i>kethèk</i>) puppets.
<i>pesindhèn</i>	A female singer for gamelan music, who sings solo

	parts and as a group with other <i>pesindhèn</i> .
<i>Pon</i>	One of the five Javanese market days. These days are combined with seven-day weeks to produce a thirty-five day month that is used to count Javanese birthdays and other auspicious days.
<i>pocung</i>	A form of <i>macapat</i> with five lines, sometimes used as a text for <i>palaran</i> .
<i>puthut gelut</i>	Name of a particular melodic pattern (<i>céngkok</i>).
<i>rangkep</i>	Also called <i>irama rangkep</i> . This is the most expanded level of rhythmic density that can be used in a piece of gamelan music.
<i>rasa</i>	Loosely translated as “feeling”, this complex term refers to a particular feeling, style or mood that can be attained by a performer in gamelan music, dance or wayang.
<i>rebab</i>	A two-stringed bowed lute that is an important melodic leader in the gamelan ensemble.
<i>ruwatan</i>	A ritual cleansing wayang performance held to protect children of particular birth orders (there are many of these inauspicious birth order combinations) from being eaten by the demon Bathara Kala.
<i>sabetan</i>	Wayang puppet manipulation technique.
<i>sabrangan</i>	The wayang puppets representing the opposition side in a particular story.
<i>sampak</i>	A type of gamelan piece that is short and in a fast

	tempo, typically used during battle scenes in both wayang and dance.
<i>sanga</i>	A mode or <i>pathet</i> in the <i>sléndro</i> tuning of gamelan, which is usually used during the middle section of a wayang performance.
<i>sanggar</i>	A workshop or club where students learn gamelan, dance or wayang from a teacher, outside a formal educational institution.
<i>sanggit</i>	Dramatic skill for wayang, how the dhalang crafts the storyline and its characters.
<i>saron</i>	Short for <i>saron barung</i> , this is a trough-resonated metallophone, usually with seven keys, played with a single wooden mallet.
<i>saron demung</i>	Usually called <i>demung</i> , this is a trough-resonated metallophone tuned one octave lower than the <i>saron barung</i> .
<i>saron nyacah</i>	Fast ascending and descending melodies played on the <i>saron</i> with phrases that must end on the correct <i>sèlèh</i> (cadential pitch). <i>Nyacah</i> melodies may be semi-improvised and are not written down. This is also called <i>sarong wayangan</i> or <i>saron sanga</i> when played on a longer <i>saron</i> with nine keys.
<i>saron panerus</i>	See <i>peking</i> .
<i>saron wayangan</i>	See <i>saron nyacah</i> .
<i>sekar ageng</i>	Sung poetry in Old Javanese.

<i>sèlèh</i>	The cadential pitch, this is the final and strongest note of each phrase, and the goal tone for the elaborating instruments to reach.
<i>Semarangan</i>	The style of gamelan music that originated in the city of Semarang, Central Java.
<i>simpingan</i>	Wayang puppets that are displayed on either side of the screen during a performance.
<i>sindhènan</i>	The vocal parts sung by the <i>pesindhèn</i> .
<i>siter</i>	A plucked zither that is an elaborating instrument of the gamelan.
<i>sléndro</i>	One of two tunings of the gamelan (the other being <i>pélog</i>), <i>sléndro</i> is pentatonic.
<i>slenthem</i>	A low-pitched tube-resonated metallophone played with a single padded beater.
<i>srepeg</i>	A short, repetitive type of gamelan piece that is often used for dance and wayang.
<i>srepeg lasem</i>	A short and repetitive piece of gamelan music that is used extensively during the first section of a wayang performance.
<i>suling</i>	An end-blown bamboo flute. The <i>suling</i> is an elaborating instrument that provides a contrasting timbre to the rest of the gamelan.
<i>sulukán</i>	Poems sung by the dhalang during most scenes of a wayang performance. This category includes <i>ada-ada</i> , <i>pathetan</i> and others.

<i>tari</i>	Dance.
<i>tarian</i>	See <i>tari</i> .
<i>tari topèng</i>	Masked dance. Genres of masked dance are found in many parts of Java. This thesis most often refers to a village style found in Klaten.
<i>tayuban</i>	A social dance tradition where a female singer dances with a scarf and men take turns to dance with her.
<i>topèng</i>	A mask.
<i>topèng dhalang</i>	A performance style from Klaten where masked actors dance and speak, accompanied by gamelan and conducted by a dhalang. The performers have to be dhalang by profession, and enact stories from the Panji cycle set in Javanese history.
<i>trah</i>	A lineage, used here to refer to lineages of dhalang.
<i>Wagé</i>	One of the five Javanese market days. These days are combined with seven-day weeks to produce a thirty-five day month that is used to count Javanese birthdays and other auspicious days.
<i>wangsalan</i>	Riddles sung by the <i>pesindhèn</i> in poetic Javanese.
<i>wayang</i>	Puppetry found on the islands of Java and Bali, and elsewhere in the Malay world. Often referred to as shadow puppetry, but in fact there are many types of wayang that do not use shadows.
<i>wayang golèk</i>	Rod puppetry found in Sunda, West Java. The puppets are three-dimensional models made of wood and cloth,

	and have long rods by which they are held.
<i>wayang kulit</i>	The most popular type of wayang in Central Java nowadays, <i>wayang kulit</i> uses flat leather puppets that are held against a white screen which is lit with a lamp. In Java the audience usually sits behind the dhalang and gamelan orchestra, and watches the puppets themselves, rather than their shadows which appear on the back of the screen.
<i>wayang orang</i>	A genre of wayang where human actors represent the characters and act out their roles, accompanied by gamelan music and conducted by a dhalang.
<i>wayang topèng</i>	See <i>topèng dhalang</i> .
<i>weton</i>	A Javanese birthday, this falls every thirty-five days, at the meeting of a particular Javanese market day with a particular day of the seven-day week.
<i>wiled</i>	Also called <i>irama wiled</i> . Sometimes spelt <i>wilet</i> , this is one of the levels of rhythmic density that can be used in a piece of gamelan music.

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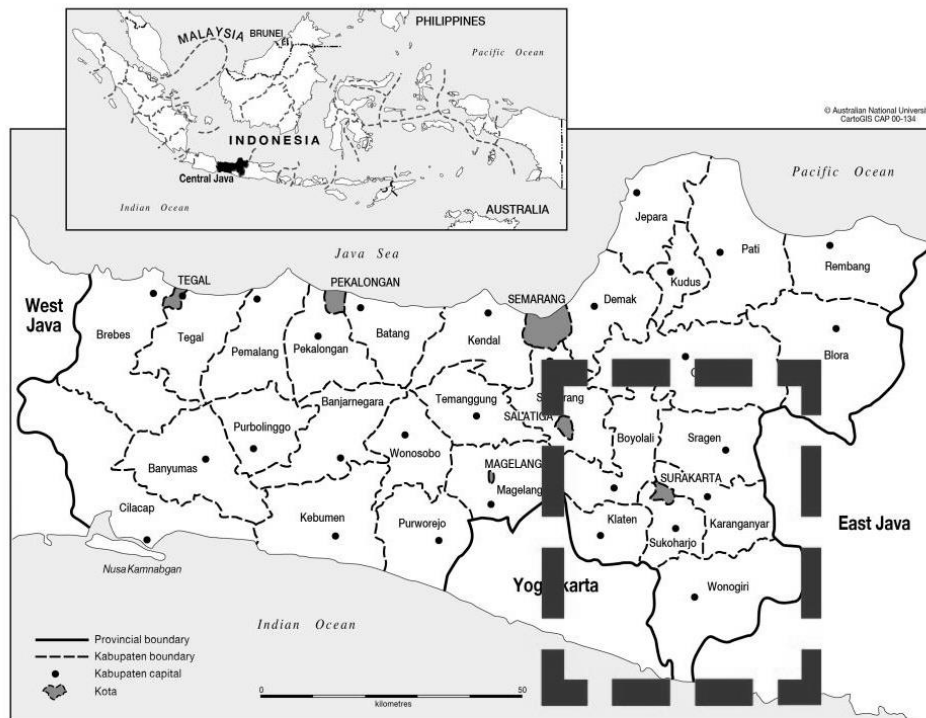
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Appendix

Appendix I: Map of Research Area

This map shows the province of Central Java as part of Indonesia (CartoGIS). Each district or regency of Central Java is labelled. The area known as Solo Raya, which is comprised of the city of Surakarta (Solo) and its six surrounding districts, Klaten, Boyolali, Sragen, Karanganyar, Wonogiri and Sukoharjo, is shown in the dashed box. This is the geographic area that is the main focus of this study.



Appendix II: Fieldwork Interviewees

This is an alphabetical list of my informants, with whom I conducted formal scheduled interviews as part of my fieldwork. The interviews were all audio-recorded and in many cases video-recorded as well. Many of the quotations in this work are taken from these interviews, however I have also obtained information from casual conversations with these people and others. For each person I have listed the date of their interview and also when I first knew them, which for most of my informants dates from several years prior to the beginning of this project.

BAMBANG SISWANTO

Interviewed 26 March 2014

Known since 2006

Born in 1971, Bambang is a gamelan musician, the youngest son of dhalang Gondo Tomo. He studied *karawitan* at SMKN 8 and ISI Solo. After living in Salatiga with his wife's family, he moved back to his parents' home in Trucuk, Klaten, which he inherited and continues to inhabit with his wife and two children. He has a full gamelan set and wayang puppets at his home which he rents out for local events. Bambang works at ISI as an accompanying musician in the *pedhalangan* department, playing the gamelan to accompany students. He is also an active performer who currently plays for the dhalang Purbo Asmoro in his gamelan troupe, Mayangkara. Bambang taught me *gendèr* for many years,



welcomed me into his family home, and introduced me to many aspects of Javanese culture.

BEJA NUGRAHA

Interviewed 23 February 2014

Known since 2006

Beja, born in 1965, is the youngest son of Subini and Tukas Gondo Sukasno, and still lives in the



house where he was born in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten. He is a dhalang who believes in the natural talent of a dhalang's son. He performs infrequently, mainly in Klaten, and has not studied at a city-based institution. Aside from performing, he works as a painter and repairer of wayang puppets. He also paints gamelan instruments for his brother Joko Sabeyan's business. Married to Warsini, with one young son, Ayom, Beja is keen for his son to follow in his footsteps and become a dhalang one day.

BILIYARD DWI MARYANINGSIH (Bili)

Interviewed 2 March 2014

Known since 2009

Bili is the wife of Suroño. They met when they were both students at ISI Surakarta, where Bili studied



dance. She wrote her Bachelor's degree dissertation about Suroño's grandfather Tukas Gondo Sukasno and his masked dance tradition. Bili currently works as a dance teacher at several schools. She, Suroño and their two children live at her parents' home in Karanganyar.

BUDI UTOMO

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2010

Born in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten in 2003, Budi is the younger child of Rini and Joko Wiranto. He

likes playing *kendhang* for fun but just plays on his own at home, without other instruments. When interviewed, Budi said he would like to become a professional *kendhang* player.



ENDAH PURI ANGGRAENI (Puri)

Interviewed 26 March 2014

Known since 2006

Born in 1992, Puri is the older child of Bambang Siswanto and his wife Rini. She has learnt to play

gamelan and sing at home, where there is a set of gamelan instruments, being taught bits by her father over the years. However, Puri is not interested in a performing arts career. She is currently studying for her Master's in physics at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, where she graduated with her Bachelor's degree, also in physics.



GIYAH SUPANGGAH

Interviewed 9 April 2014

Known since 2009

Giyah is a multi-skilled dhalang, masked dancer and gamelan player. Based in Klaten, she joins her

extended family for masked dance performances, where she usually takes on one of the comic roles. Giyah is married to Sartono and has four children, the eldest of whom is a talented *kendhang* player.



HALI JARWO SULARSO

Interviewed 9 February 2014

Known since 2009

Hali Jarwo Sularso is a dhalang and gamelan musician. Born to parents Jarwo Yoso and Tukinem

in 1951, he has lived all his life in Praon, Nusukan, Solo. He has five children with three different women, and nine grandchildren. He is an *abdi dalem* at the Mangkunegaran Palace, where he plays gamelan and also teaches *pedhalangan*. He is highly respected as a knowledgeable dhalang, who is also considered to have some spiritual powers.



JOKO PURNOMO (Pur, Purnomo)

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2009

Born in 1963, Joko Purnomo is the son of Subini and Tukas Gondo Sukasno. He was the only one of



his siblings to attend school to upper secondary level, attending a Vocational School of Mechanics (*Sekolah Teknik Mesin*). He was thinking of working in the mining industry but his parents wanted him to stay closer to home. He now works for his older brother Joko Sabeyan, in the refurbishment of gamelan instruments. Joko Purnomo is married to Sri Lestari and they have built a house on a corner of his parents' land. Their two children, Niken and Nanang, are both involved in performing arts.

JOKO SABEYAN

Interviewed 23 February 2014

Known since 2006

Joko Sabeyan was born in 1957 in Manjungan village, Ngawen, Klaten to parents Subini, a *gendèr* player, and dhalang Tukas Gondo Sukasno. He learnt to play gamelan, do wayang and masked dance while he was growing up, but did not follow a performing career. Instead, he learnt how to re-tune gamelan instruments and carve their wooden frames and stands. His business of buying old instruments, refurbishing them and selling them on has been lucrative, enabling him to build a two-storey house in a corner of his parents' land, where he lives with his wife and three daughters.



KUSWARINI (Rini)

Interviewed 26 March 2014

Known since 2006

Born in 1971, Rini is the wife of gamelan musician Bambang Siswanto. They met when they were both students at SMKN 8. Rini initially continued her studies at ISI Yogyakarta, but dropped out after a single semester. She can play gamelan and sing, but does not perform and only plays a bit at home with her children. Rini used to have an office job in administration, but has been a housewife since the birth of her second child in 2001. She organises the rental of her family's gamelan instruments for local events.



NANANG KRIS UTAMA

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2010

Born in 1998, Nanang is the son of Joko Purnomo and Sri Lestari. Having completed his studies at SMKN 8, he recently entered the *karawitan* department at ISI Surakarta. Nanang is also an aspiring young dhalang.



NIKEN SUSANTI

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2010

Born in 1992, Niken is the daughter of Joko Purnomo and Sri Lestari. She studied dance at



SMKN 8 and instead of continuing her studies at ISI, she decided to become a dance teacher. She lives with her parents and teaches dance at a local kindergarten and a primary school. Alongside her work, Niken is currently studying for a degree at the Open University (*Universitas Terbuka*).

NIMAS BONDHAN KINANTHI

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2009

Born in 2000, Nimas is the middle daughter of gamelan maker Joko Sabeyan and his wife Sunarmi.



Currently at secondary school, Nimas is not interested in a performing arts career. Instead, she is thinking of following in her older sister's footsteps and going into tourism or hotel management, though she was previously interested in becoming a police officer.

NINING DEWI LARASATI

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2009

Born in 2004, Nining is the youngest daughter of gamelan maker Joko Sabeyan and his wife Sunarmi.



Aged nine at the time of her interview, she was my youngest interviewee.

Nining is interested in performing arts and is currently learning to play gamelan, in particular *saron wayangan*. She asks her father to teach her and encourages other family members, whoever is around, to join in and play with her on Saturday nights. Her ambition is to become a professor of *karawitan*

like her distant uncle, Rahayu Supanggah, a well-known professor and composer.

NINUK SUBANDIYAH

Interviewed 23 February 2014

Known since 2009

Ninuk is the oldest daughter of Joko Sabeyan and Sunarmi, born in 1994. She recently graduated with



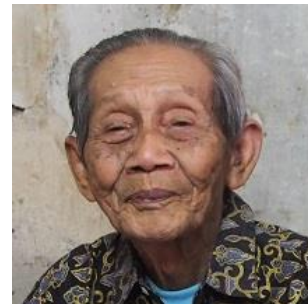
a Bachelor's degree in hotel management. She is the first person in the Manjungan family to achieve a degree that is not in a performing arts subject. Despite this, she can play gamelan and dance to some extent. Ninuk is keen to support performing arts activities because she recognises that it is her heritage and also that such activities have paid for her studies.

PRINGGO HADI WIYONO (Kris Sukardi)

Interviewed 28 January 2014

Known since 2010

Pringgo was one of my oldest informants, born in 1924 to parents Gondo Wiyarjo and Soma. An



educated man who spoke excellent Indonesian, he had a long career as a civil sector employee, which he combined with his performing arts activities. He was instrumental in the foundation of KOKAR (now SMKN 8) and was one of the first students at ASKI (now ISI). He was also involved in the Indonesian government's overseas cultural missions during the 1960s, which took him to countries such as Japan, Russia, Vietnam and the US. Pringgo had already

been married once with four children when he married Sumiyati, with whom he had seven children. He lived in the Kandang Sapi, Jebres, area of Solo until his death on 7th April 2015.

RATINI

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2010

Born in 1967, Ratini is the youngest child of Subini and Tukas Gondo Sukasno. She chose not to become



a *pesindhèn* or *gendèr* player like other women in her family. After she married she took on her mother-in-law's business of making and selling deep-fried tofu stuffed with meatballs and this has been successful. Ratini has two sons, Warih and Nunung, both of whom are intending to become professional performing artists.

SARI MUSTIKAWATI

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2010

Born in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten in 1999, Sari is the oldest child of Rini and Joko Wiranto. She



enjoys dancing and has been learning from her cousin, Niken. When interviewed, Sari said she would like to become a professional dancer.

SARTONO

Interviewed 9 April 2014

Known since 2009

Sartono is a gamelan musician and masked dancer.

The husband of Giyah Supanggah, he also joins family masked dance performances. Based in

Klaten, they have three sons and a daughter, the eldest of whom is a graduate of ISI Surakarta and a sought-after *kendhang* player.



SAYOKO GONDOSAPUTRA

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2008

Born in 1953 in Tegal Susuhan, Manjungan,

Ngawen, Klaten, Sayoko is well-known both as a

dhalang and as a commentator, often called up during wayang performances to

engage in comedic and sometimes political banter with the dhalang. His

father, the dhalang Sauntung Gondodiyoto, was murdered during the 1965

uprising, an incident which had a massive impact on Sayoko's life, and which

first led to his career as a dhalang.



SRI AJENG SULISTYORINI (Rini)

Interviewed 8 March 2014

Known since 2009

Born in 1979, Rini is the oldest daughter of Joko

Langgeng and Endang Sutarmi. Although she was



born in Manjungan, Klaten, as a child she moved with her parents first to Salatiga and then to Kediri, where her parents remain. Rini moved back to Manjungan as an adult, where she is married to Joko Wiranto and has two children. Although Rini can do masked dance to some extent, she did not become a performing artist.

SRIATUN (Sri)

Interviewed 29 March 2014

Known since 2014

Born in Klaten in the early 1920s, one of my oldest informants, Sri was the daughter of Harjo Martono



and older sister of Tukas Gondo Sukasno. She was a *gendèr* player, married to the late dhalang Gondo Sumijo, though she has not played for many years. Unlike other branches of her extended family, most of Sri's children and grandchildren have not had performing arts careers.

SUBINI (Mbah Putri Manjungan, Gondo Tukas)

Interviewed 20 January 2014

Known since 2009

Subini was born in Kujon village, Klaten, in around 1926 to parents, dhalang Cermo Harsono and *gendèr*



player Sutiyo. She married the dhalang Tukas Gondo Sukasno and had nine children. Subini was a *gendèr* player who accompanied her husband's wayang performances; she rarely played for other dhalang and did little to develop her own career. She did, however, teach some of her children and grandchildren to

play, and her playing was much admired. Seen as a homemaker by her large extended family, her well-run household continued to be the base for her family throughout her old age. Subini passed away on 5th February 2015 after a short illness.

SUJARWO JOKO PREHATIN (Jarwo)

Interviewed 31 January 2014

Known since 2009

Sujarwo was born in 1983 to the *pesindhèn* Sutarmi.

She was not married to his father, the dhalang Hali

Jarwo Sularso, at the time, and Sujarwo was raised by his mother and her family until he acquired a stepfather at age three. Interested in gamelan and wayang from a very young age, Sujarwo often skipped school to attend performing arts activities. He went on to study *karawitan* at SMKN 8 and at ISI Surakarta. A multi-skilled artist, Sujarwo is equally comfortable performing wayang and gamelan music, and can also perform masked dance. He currently works as a teacher at a school in Solo, and also as head of PDMN, the Mangkunegaran Palace *pedhalangan* school.



SUKAENI (Kaeni)

Interviewed 23 March 2014

Known since 2009

Born in 1952 or 1953, Sukaeni is the oldest surviving child of Subini, the *gendèr* player, and

Tukas Gondo Sukasno, the dhalang. She became a *pesindhèn*, singing for



many dhalang. Married to the gamelan musician, Sukarman, and based in Solo, Sukaeni had six children, one of whom passed away. As well as singing, Sukaeni can play gamelan and is known in the family for playing *saron wayangan*. Now in her old age, she rarely sings but still enjoys watching performances.

SUMIYATI (Sum, Pringgo, Kris, Drigul)

Interviewed 28 January 2014

Known since 2007

Sumiyati is well-known as a *gendèr* player for wayang, one of the last remaining professional



female *gendèr* players. She was born in Mayong village, Klaten, in around 1942 to parents, dhalang Cermo Harsono and *gendèr* player Sutiyo. She worked as a *pesindhèn* before moving to play *gendèr*, which she learnt from her mother and her older sister, Subini. After she married Pringgo Hadi Wiyono and moved to Solo, Sumiyati became a highly sought-after *gendèr* player for many famous dhalang. Her witty and sometimes abrupt sense of humour have enabled her to thrive in what was often a man's world, surrounded by male musicians. She had seven children, and continues to play *gendèr* for family performances.

SUNARMI

Interviewed 23 February 2014

Known since 2009

Sunarmi is the wife of Joko Sabeyan and mother to his three daughters. She is not from a performing

arts background, but met her husband through wayang connections as her father-in-law, Gondo Tukas Sukasno, used to perform annually in her village. Sunarmi takes a relaxed attitude to her daughters' future careers and does not pressure them into studying performing arts.



SUNARYO (Naryo)

Interviewed 29 March 2014

Known since 2014

Naryo is the son of *gendèr* player Sriatun and dhalang Gondo Sumijo. He lives in Klaten and is

married with two children. Naryo did not follow his parents into performing arts. He has an interest in genealogy and was very helpful in compiling the family tree for his part of the large extended family, focusing on the descendants of his grandparents who, despite being based in Klaten, have not always been in close contact with the family of his uncle, Tukas Gondo Sukasno.



SUPARNO (Parno, Wanadi, Panadi, Suwarno Hadi Harsono)

Interviewed 21 January 2014

Known since 2008

Suparno was born in Mayong village, Klaten, in 1947 to parents, dhalang Cermo Harsono and *gendèr* player Sutiyo. After his father passed away when Suparno was a young boy, he became interested in wayang and was taught by his older brother, Puspocarito. He became a dhalang and a gamelan player, particularly playing *kendhang* for wayang performances. Suparno had seven children, and continues to live in the same house where he was born. He is active as a gamelan teacher to various community groups which he kindly allowed me to join when I was studying gamelan with his nephew, Bambang Siswanto.



SURAJI (Raji)

Interviewed 31 May 2014

Known since 2008

Born in 1961, Suraji is the current head of the *karawitan* department at ISI Surakarta. He began playing gamelan in community groups in Klaten, and then studied at SMKN 8 (1979–1983). Following this he studied *karawitan* at ISI, and then became a public sector employee in the same department. In 2008 he became the head of department, a four-year posting of which he is now in his second term. Suraji is known as a *rebab* player and is an active performer outside campus. He played for the dhalang Purbo Asmoro for many years and frequents the monthly Pujangga Laras *klenèngan*.



SURONO (Natanael Surono Suryaning Anggoro)

Interviewed 2 March 2014

Known since 2009

Surono, born 1974, is the son of the *gendèr* player Sarju Sri Prihatin and the dhalang Gondo Warsito,



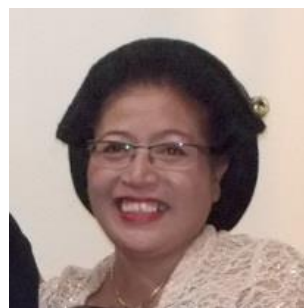
both deceased. His father did not want Surono to become a dhalang, and so Surono only became interested in performing arts after his father had passed away and he moved with his mother to the home of his grandparents in Manjungan. After graduating from ISI Surakarta he became a *karawitan* teacher at SMKN 8. As well as being a gamelan musician, Surono is known as a masked dancer, particularly for the Klana character. He is married to a dancer, Bili, and they have two children.

SUTARMI

Interviewed 23 February 2014

Known since 2009

Sutarmi was born in 1962 in Manjungan village, Ngawen, Klaten, to parents, dhalang Tukas Gondo



Sukasno and *gendèr* player Subini. She learnt to sing and play gamelan from various family members, and lived for a short time in Solo with her older sister, Sukaeni, where she sang for wayang performances. While in Solo, Sutarmi fell pregnant during a short relationship with Hali Jarwo Sularso. She moved back to her parents' home, where her son, Sujarwo Joko Prehatin, was born. Sutarmi continued to sing professionally from time to time, though her

life was focused in the village. She married Sugiyono, a neighbour, in 1986 or 1987, and moved to his home, fifty metres up the road from her parents, where they continue to live today. Sutarmi occasionally sings for family performances, but is more likely to be found helping with food preparation behind the scenes.

UMIYATI SRI WARSINI (Umi Hartono)

Interviewed 16 May 2014

Known since 2006

Born in 1956, Umi is a dance teacher at the Mangkunegaran Palace, where she lives with her



husband, the musician Raden Tumenggung Sri Hartono. She began dancing at the palace as a child, and also learnt to sing from her aunt. Umi has taught generations of children and young adults to dance in the Mangkunegaran style and is also an able *pesindhèn*. As an *abdi dalem*, she has devoted her life to serving the palace through performing arts. She is regularly involved in organising performances at the palace and has travelled overseas on numerous occasions to perform or oversee performances.

WAKIDI DWIDJOMARTONO

Interviewed 10 May 2014

Known since 2006

Born in 1947, Wakidi grew up in the city of Surakarta, playing gamelan in various community



groups. He became a professional *kendhang* player, playing first to accompany

dance and then at the Sriwedari *wayang orang* theatre during the 1970s. Following this, he became a sought-after drummer for *wayang kulit*, playing for many dhalang. He now plays for *klenengan*, particularly at the monthly Pujangga Laras event, and is a popular teacher for foreign students who visit Solo.

WASIS PUNJUNG WANUDARA

Interviewed 26 March 2014

Known since 2006

Born in 2001 in Salatiga, Wasis has grown up in Trucuk, Klaten, the son of gamelan musician



Bambang Siswanto and his wife Rini. Wasis has been through phases of showing interest in wayang and gamelan but is not intending to pursue a career in performing arts. Currently at lower secondary school, he is planning to study at a regular upper secondary school rather than an arts school.

WIDODO

Interviewed 15 March 2014

Known since 2008

Born in 1953 to parents Jarwo Yoso, a dhalang, and his second wife Tamiyem, Widodo is the younger



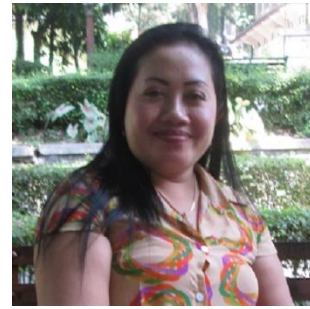
half-brother of Hali Jarwo Sularso. He performs as a dhalang and as a singer, known for his powerful voice. He is an *abdi dalem* at the Mangkunegaran Palace where he sings or plays *saron*. As a dhalang, he credits his brother Hali as one of his teachers, and has phases of performing regularly.

WULAN SRI PANJANG MAS

Interviewed 7 March 2014

Known since 2010

Born in 1980, Wulan is a well-known dhalang, and can trace her heredity back through nineteen



generations of dhalang via a book signed by a representative of each generation. She is based in Wonogiri and often performs in that district. Wulan is currently enrolled as an undergraduate in the *pedhalangan* department at ISI. Despite already having a successful performing career, she chose to enrol as a mature student in order to broaden her knowledge of different wayang styles that are not from her local area.

Appendix III: Family Tree

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Note regarding the Family Tree

A family tree is always going to be incomplete in a family of this size. However, I have attempted to trace lines of descent from the earliest traceable ancestors to many of the people described in this work. Please see the Name Index to find specific entries for a person.

Descendants of Mlaya Kusuma

First Generation

1. **Mlaya Kusuma.**

Mlaya married **1st wife of Mlaya Kusuma.**

The child from this marriage was:

2 F i. **Tjakradimeja.**

Tjakradimeja married **Tjakradimeja / Cokro Dimejo**¹³³

Mlaya next married **2nd wife of Mlaya Kusuma.**

The child from this marriage was:

3 M i. **Djawirya.**

Second Generation (Children)

2. **Tjakradimeja.**

Tjakradimeja married **Tjakradimeja / Cokro Dimejo.**

Children from this marriage were:

4 M i. **Hardjodiwongso (Manjung village).**¹³⁴

Hardjodiwongso married someone.

5 F ii. **Puspodiarto / Puspadiharto**¹³⁵ (Manjungan village).

Puspodiarto married **Puspodiarto**

6 M iii. **Cermodiyoto / Tjermodijoto (Tegal Susuhan village).**

¹³³ In many cases the wife became known by her husband's name, hence it often appears that two people of the same name were married.

¹³⁴ People are sometimes known by the village they are from, as was the case for this generation of siblings.

¹³⁵ There are often several possible spellings for a name and it is not known which spelling was preferred by these people.

Cermodiyoto married someone.

7 F iv. **Warnodiyoso (Kwoso village).**

Warnodiyoso married **Warnodiyoso**

8 M v. **Gondo Harjono / Gandaarjama (Teras village).**

Gondo married someone.

9 M vi. **Wiro Warsono (Soran village).**

Wiro married someone.

10 M vii. **Harjo Martono (Kuwiran village).**

Harjo married someone.

11 M viii. **Sarmo** died at young age.

3. Djawirya.

Third Generation (Grandchildren)

4. Hardjodiwongso (Manjung).

Hardjodiwongso married someone.

His children were:

12 M i. **Gondo Pandojo.**

13 F ii. **Redi Al Panijem.**

14 F iii. **Tjermo Pandojo.**

15 M iv. **Rabiku.**

16 M v. **Puspa Pandojo.**

5. Puspodiarto / Puspadiharto (Manjungan).

Puspodiarto married **Puspodiarto.**

Children from this marriage were:

- 17 F i. **Puspa Sudiro / Tinuk.**
- 18 F ii. **Puspa Pandojo / Wali.**
- 19 M iii. **Saminten** died in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

6. Cermodyoto / Tjermodijoto (Tegal Susuhan).

Cermodyoto married someone.

His children were:

- 20 F i. **Sutirah.**

Sutirah married **Pundung**

- 21 F ii. **Surip Leda.**

- 22 F iii. **Kabul Gito.**

- 23 M iv. **Sauntung Gondodiyoto / Untung Gondo Dijoto** was born in Tegal Susuhan, Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten and died in 1965 in Klaten.

Untung married **Suarti**

7. Warnodiyoso (Kwoso).

Warnodiyoso married **Warnodiyoso.**

Children from this marriage were:

- 24 M i. **Pudja Sumarto.**

- 25 M ii. **Warno Diharjo.**

- 26 F iii. **Lastri Yoso Sumarto.**

8. Gondo Harjono / Gandaarjama (Teras).

Gondo married someone.

His children were:

- 27 F i. **Hardjo Senul.**

- 28 M ii. **Tjokro Sikam.**

- 29 F iii. **Gondo Saroyo Djami.**

Gondo married someone.

30 M iv. **Diro Kamidi**.

9. Wiro Warsono (Soran).

Wiro married someone.

His child was:

31 F i. **Subini** died at 7 years old.

10. Harjo Martono (Kuwiran).

Harjo married someone.

His children were:

32 M i. **Djojo Sudiro Jaenal**.

33 F ii. **Surjat Mojo Tukirin**.

34 F iii. **Salini**.

Salini married **Hadi Gunoto**

35 F iv. **Sriatun**.

Sriatun married **Gondo Sumijo**

36 M v. **Prptomiharjo Samuksin**.

Prptomiharjo married **Darmi**

37 M vi. **Tukas Gondo Sukasno** was born 1922? in Kuwiran, Klaten and died in 2003 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Tukas married **Subini** (b. 31 Dec 1926?, d. 5 Feb 2015)

11. Sarmo died at a young age.

Fourth Generation (Great-Grandchildren)

12. **Gondo Pandojo.**
13. **Redi Al Panijem.**
14. **Tjeremo Pandojo.**
15. **Rabiku.**
16. **Puspa Pandojo.**
17. **Puspa Sudiro / Tinuk.**
18. **Puspa Pandojo / Wali.**
19. **Saminten** died in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.
20. **Sutirah.**

Sutirah married **Pundung**.

Children from this marriage were:

- 38 M i. **Darman Gondo Darsono / Gondo Darman.**
- 39 M ii. **Pringgo Darsono.**

21. **Surip Leda.**
22. **Kabul Gito.**

23. **Sauntung Gondodiyoto** was born in Tegal Susuhan, Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten and died in 1965 in Klaten. Another name for Sauntung was Untung Gondodijoto.

Untung married **Suarti**. Suarti was born in Rekesan, Kebuan, Tengeran, Semarang.

The child from this marriage was:

- 40 M i. **Sayoko** was born on 19 Aug 1953 in Tegal Susuhan, Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

24. **Pudja Sumarto.**
25. **Warno Diharjo.**
26. **Lastri Yoso Sumarto.**

27. **Hardjo Senul.**

28. **Tjokro Sikam.**

29. **Gondo Saroyo Djami.**

Gondo married someone.

Her child was:

41 M i. **Rahayu Supanggih.**

30. **Diro Kamidi.**

31. **Subini** died at 7 years old.

32. **Djojo Sudiro Jaenal.**

33. **Surjat Mojo Tukirin.**

34. **Salini.**

Salini married **Hadi Gunoto.**

35. **Sriatun.**

Sriatun married **Gondo Sumijo.**

Children from this marriage were:

42 M i. **Sutarno.**

Sutarno married **Sulastri**

43 M ii. **Suyono.**

Suyono married **Sulastri**

44 M iii. **Mardi Triwinarti Wahyudi.**

Mardi married **Ayuk Radyan**

45 M iv. **Sunaryo.**

Sunaryo married **Tentrem Rahayu**

46 F v. **Sri Wahyuni.**

Sri married **Puloh Saifuloh**

47 M vi. **Wahyunto.**

Wahyunto married **Poniyah**

48 M vii. **Susila.**

49 F viii. **Nanik Kusumiyati.**

Nanik married **Wajianto**

50 M ix. **Wahyu Timbul Wibowo.**

Wahyu married **Sri Sutaryani**

36. Praptomiharjo Samuksin.

Praptomiharjo married **Darmi.**

Children from this marriage were:

51 M i. **Sri Nugroho.**

Sri married **Leni Marlina**

52 M ii. **Yuwono.**

Yuwono married **Ernawati Gultom**

Yuwono next married **Susrini**

53 M iii. **Wahyulianto.**

Wahyulianto married **Eni Sri Rahayu**

54 M iv. **Heriyadi Novianto.**

Heriyadi married **Hartini**

55 M v. **Ardani Gunarto.**

37. Tukas Gondo Sukasno was born 1922? in Kuwiran, Klaten and died in 2003 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten. He was also called Gondo Tukas.

Tukas married **Subini**, daughter of **Cermo Harsono** and **Sutiyo**. Subini was born 31 Dec 1926? in Kujon, Klaten and died on 5 Feb 2015 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten. She was also sometimes known as Gondo

Tukas.

Children from this marriage were:

- 56 F i. **Sarju Prihatin** was born in 1951 and died in 2005.
Sarju married **Gondo Warsito** (b. 1950, d. 1987)
- 57 F ii. **Sukaeni** was born 5 Aug 1952 or 1953 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.
Sukaeni married **Sukarman** in 1971.
- 58 M iii. **Joko Langgeng**.
Joko married **Endang Sutarmi**
- 59 M iv. **Joko Sabeyan** was born on 1 Jan 1957 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.
Joko married **Unknown**
Joko next married **Sunarmi** (b. 12 Jun 1968)
- 60 M v. **Joko Santoso**.
Joko married **Suwarsi** in 1983.
- 61 F vi. **Sutarmi** was born on 20 Jan 1962 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.
Sutarmi had a relationship with **Hali Jarwo Sularso** (b. 1 or 17 Jul 1951) in 1982.
Sutarmi married **Sugiyono** in 1986 or 1987.
- 62 M vii. **Joko Purnomo** was born on 14 Mar 1963 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.
Joko married **Sri Lestari** (b. 4 Jul 1963)
- 63 M viii. **Beja Nugraha** was born on 4 Dec 1965 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.
Beja married **Warsini**
- 64 F ix. **Ratini** was born on 23 Apr 1967 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Ratini married **Suwito**

Fifth Generation (Great Great-Grandchildren)

38. Darman Gondo Darsono.

39. Pringgo Darsono.

40. Sayoko was born on 19 Aug 1953 in Tegal Susuhan, Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten. Another name for Sayoko is Sayoko Gondosaputro.

41. Rahayu Supanggah.

42. Sutarno.

Sutarno married **Sulastri**.

Children from this marriage were:

65 F i. **Eni Sri Rahayu.**

Eni married **Wahyulianto**

66 M ii. **Nugroho Triprasetyo.**

Nugroho married **Nur Yupita**

67 F iii. **Nining Lestiyani.**

Nining married **Rosid Nurhidayanto**

68 F iv. **Erni Lestyawati.**

Erni married **Sugeng Hariyadi**

69 M v. **Nanang Listiyancoko.**

70 F vi. **Dewi Sulistyowati.**

Dewi married **Arif Fao Sandi Kusuma**

71 M vii. **Guntur Pamungkas.**

43. Suyono.

Suyono married **Sulastri**.

Children from this marriage were:

- 72 M i. **Dwi Agung Nugroho.**
- 73 M ii. **Wahyu Tri Hartanto.**
- 74 M iii. **Sugiarto Ari Wibowo.**

44. Mardi Triwinarti Wahyudi.

Mardi married **Ayuk Radyan.**

Children from this marriage were:

- 75 M i. **Erha Bima.**
- 76 F ii. **Diah.**

45. Sunaryo.

Sunaryo married **Tentrem Rahayu.**

Children from this marriage were:

- 77 M i. **Panggah Rihandoko.**
- 78 F ii. **Riris Arumdari.**

46. Sri Wahyuni.

Sri married **Puloh Saifuloh.**

Children from this marriage were:

- 79 M i. **Panggih Restu Widagdo.**
- 80 M ii. **Aryo Seta Wibagsa.**

47. Wahyunto.

Wahyunto married **Poniyah.**

The child from this marriage was:

- 81 M i. **Fajar Darma Sasangka.**

48. Susila.

49. Nanik Kusumiyati.

Nanik married **Wajianto**.

The child from this marriage was:

82 F i. **Dinda Nur Rahmawati**.

50. Wahyu Timbul Wibowo.

Wahyu married **Sri Sutaryani**.

The child from this marriage was:

83 M i. **Alitian Gilbran Prayogo**.

51. Sri Nugroho.

Sri married **Leni Marlina**.

Children from this marriage were:

84 M i. **Ridwan Faturoni**.

85 M ii. **Septian Effendi**.

52. Yuwono.

Yuwono married **Ernawati Gultom**. The marriage ended in divorce.

The child from this marriage was:

86 F i. **Khoirotun Nisa**.

Yuwono next married **Susrini**.

The child from this marriage was:

87 M i. **Muhammad Dzakiyuz Zidan**.

53. Wahyulianto.

Wahyulianto married **Eni Sri Rahayu**.

Children from this marriage were:

88 M i. **Akram Ziyad**.

89 M ii. **Panggayuh Wilutama**.

54. Heriyadi Novianto.

Heriyadi married **Hartini**.

Children from this marriage were:

90 F i. **Laila Kamilatul Azizah**.

91 F ii. **Nafisatur Rohmah**.

55. Ardani Gunarto.

56. Sarju Prihatin was born in 1951 and died in 2005. Another name for Sarju was Sarju Sri Prihatin.

Sarju married **Gondo Warsito**. Gondo was born in 1950 and died in 1987.

Children from this marriage were:

92 F i. **Sumini Raharjo** was born in Aug 1972.

Sumini married **H. Widodo**

93 M ii. **Surono** was born on 22 Oct 1974 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Surono married **Biliyard Dwi Maryaningsih** in 2006.

57. Sukaeni was born 5 Aug 1952 or 1953 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Sukaeni married **Sukarman**, son of **Guno Sukadi**, in 1971.

Children from this marriage were:

94 M i. **Indra**.

95 M ii. **Eko Budi Santosa** was born in 1972.

Eko married **Winarsih**

96 F iii. **Dwisuko Hastuti** was born in 1974 and died in 1975.

97 M iv. **Tri Sugiyanto** was born in 1975.

Tri married **Ita**

98 M v. **Setiawan** was born in 1976.

Setiawan married **Yeni**

99 M vi. **Teguh Hartanto** was born in 1977.

Teguh married **Suparmi**

100M vii. **Sugeng Nugroho** was born in 1979 and died in 2004.

Sugeng married someone.

101 F viii. **Samuji Handayani** was born in 1982.

Samuji married **Kadir**

58. Joko Langgeng. Other names for Joko are Joko Hadi Carito and Joko Kediri.

Joko married **Endang Sutarmi**, daughter of **Puspocarito**.

Children from this marriage were:

102 F i. **Sri Ajeng Sulistyorini** was born on 8 Dec 1979 in Klaten.

Sri married **Joko Wiranto** in 1998.

103 M ii. **Adiyanto**.

Adiyanto married **Pujiyani**

104 M iii. **Slamet Sri Raharjo**.

105 M iv. **Kristianto**.

106 F v. **Nulik Wulandari**.

Nulik married **Roshidiq Wahid**

59. Joko Sabeyan was born on 1 Jan 1957 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Joko married **Unknown**. The marriage ended in divorce.

The child from this marriage was:

107 F iv. **Rita**.

Joko next married **Sunarmi**. Sunarmi was born on 12 Jun 1968 in Sagi, Klaten.

Children from this marriage were:

- 108 F i. **Ninuk Subandiyah** was born on 1 Mar 1994 in Klaten.
- 109 F ii. **Nimas Bondan Kinanthi** was born on 25 Sep 2000 in Klaten.
- 110 F iii. **Nining Dewi Larasati** was born on 13 Dec 2004 in Klaten.

60. **Joko Santoso.**

Joko married **Suwarsi** in 1983.

Children from this marriage were:

- 111 M i. **Gogot Joko Sumarsono.**

Gogot married **Unknown**

- 112 M ii. **Gandung Joko Srimoko** was born on 22 Dec 1983.

Gandung married **Rahma**

61. Sutarmi was born on 20 Jan 1962 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Sutarmi had a relationship with **Hali Jarwo Sularso**, son of **Jarwo Yoso** and **Tukinem**. This couple did not marry. Hali was born 1 or 17 Jul 1951 in Praon, Nusukan, Banjarsari, Solo. Another name for Hali is Absahli.

Their child was:

- 113M i. **Sujarwo Joko Prehatin** was born on 16 Jun 1983 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Sujarwo married **Rachel Elizabeth Hand** (b. 24 Jan 1983) on 26 Jun 2010 in London, UK.

Sutarmi married **Sugiyono** in 1986 or 1987. Sugiyono was born in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

62. Joko Purnomo was born on 14 Mar 1963 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Joko married **Sri Lestari**. Sri was born on 4 Jul 1963.

Children from this marriage were:

114 F i. **Niken Susanti** was born on 2 Aug 1992 in Klaten.

115 M ii. **Nanang Kris Utama** was born on 3 Jun 1998 in Klaten.

63. Beja Nugraha was born on 4 Dec 1965 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Beja married **Warsini** in 2006.

The child from this marriage was:

116 M i. **Ayom Tyas Sasongko** was born on 25 Sep 2008.

64. Ratini was born on 23 Apr 1967 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Ratini married **Suwito**.

Children from this marriage were:

117 M i. **Adya Satria Handoko Warih** was born on 29 Apr 1991.

118 M ii. **Nunung Jati Raharjo** was born on 10 Feb.

Sixth Generation (3rd Great-Grandchildren)

65. Eni Sri Rahayu.

Eni married **Wahyulianto**.

Children from this marriage were:

119 M i. **Akram Ziyad**.

120 M ii. **Panggayuh Wilutama**.

66. Nugroho Triprasetyo.

Nugroho married **Nur Yupita**.

Children from this marriage were:

121 M i. **Bagas Sakitawan Pratama Putra.**

122 M ii. **M. Azzam Al Qhozali.**

67. Nining Lestiyani.

Nining married **Rosid Nurhidayanto.**

The child from this marriage was:

123 M i. **Naufal Afiq Khoirudin.**

68. Erni Lestyawati.

Erni married **Sugeng Hariyadi.**

Children from this marriage were:

124 F i. **Cornelia Eva Rahmawati.**

125 M ii. **M. Aditya Nazriel Saputra.**

69. Nanang Listiyancoko.

70. Dewi Sulistyowati.

Dewi married **Arif Fao Sandi Kusuma.**

71. Guntur Pamungkas.

72. Dwi Agung Nugroho.

73. Wahyu Tri Hartanto.

74. Sugiarto Ari Wibowo.

75. Erha Bima.

76. Diah.

77. Panggah Rihandoko.

78. Riris Arumdari.

79. Panggih Restu Widagdo.

80. Aryo Seta Wibagsa.

81. **Fajar Darma Sasangka.**
82. **Dinda Nur Rahmawati.**
83. **Alitian Gilbran Prayogo.**
84. **Ridwan Faturoni.**
85. **Septian Effendi.**
86. **Khoirotun Nisa.**
87. **Muhammad Dzakiyuz Zidan.**
88. **Akram Ziyad.**
89. **Panggayuh Wilutama.**
90. **Laila Kamilatul Azizah.**
91. **Nafisatur Rohmah.**
92. **Sumini Raharjo** was born in Aug 1972.

Sumini married **H. Widodo.**

Children from this marriage were:

126 F i. **Afifah Kusuma Widaryani.**

127 F ii. **Fatkurohyani Yunita Widyastuti.**

93. **Surono** was born on 22 Oct 1974 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten. Other names for Surono are Natanael Surono Suryaning Anggoro and Nono.

Surono married **Biliyard Dwi Maryaningsih** in 2006.

Children from this marriage were:

128 F i. **Yemima Naelya Biliyard Sekar Anindita.**

129 M ii. **Briyan Biliyard Daneswara** was born in 2015.

94. **Indra.**

95. **Eko Budi Santosa** was born in 1972.

Eko married **Winarsih.**

96. Dwisuko Hastuti was born in 1974 and died in 1975.

97. Tri Sugiyanto was born in 1975. Another name for Tri is Anto.

Tri married **Ita**.

Children from this marriage were:

130 F i. **Ifa**.

131 M ii. **Nazwan**.

98. Setiawan was born in 1976. Another name for Setiawan is Wawan.

Setiawan married **Yeni**.

The child from this marriage was:

132 M i. **Hendra**.

99. Teguh Hartanto was born in 1977.

Teguh married **Suparmi**.

The child from this marriage was:

133 M i. **Reza**.

100. Sugeng Nugroho was born in 1979 and died in 2004.

Sugeng married someone.

His child was:

134 M i. **Tio**.

101. Samuji Handayani was born in 1982.

Samuji married someone. The marriage ended in divorce.

Children from this marriage were:

135 F i. **Sinom Srihastuti**.

136 F ii. **Galuh Martha Cahyani**.

Next Samuji married **Kadir**.

Children from this marriage were:

137 F iii. **Nabila.**

138 M iv. **Unknown.**

102. Sri Ajeng Sulistyorini was born on 8 Dec 1979 in Klaten.

Sri married **Joko Wiranto** in 1998.

Children from this marriage were:

139 F i. **Sari Mustikawati** was born on 11 Jun 1999 in Klaten.

140 M ii. **Budi Utomo** was born on 25 Feb 2003 in Klaten.

103. Adiyanto.

Adiyanto married **Pujiyani.**

Children from this marriage were:

141 M i. **Panji.**

142 F ii. **Putri Gangga.**

104. Slamet Sri Raharjo.

105. Kristianto.

106. Nulik Wulandari.

Nulik married **Roshidiq Wahid.**

The child from this marriage was:

143 M i. **Ramdan.**

107. Rita.

108. Ninuk Subandiyah was born on 1 Mar 1994 in Klaten.

109. Nimas Bondan Kinanthi was born on 25 Sep 2000 in Klaten.

110. Nining Dewi Larasati was born on 13 Dec 2004 in Klaten.

111. Gogot Joko Sumarsono.

Gogot married **Unknown.**

112. Gandung Joko Srimoko was born on 22 Dec 1983.

Gandung married **Rahma**.

The child from this marriage was:

144 F i. **Merow Oktaviani Srimoko**.

113. Sujarwo Joko Prehatin was born on 16 Jun 1983 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten. He is also sometimes called Joko Sujarwo.

Sujarwo married **Rachel Elizabeth Hand** on 26 Jun 2010 in London, UK. Rachel was born on 24 Jan 1983 in Lewisham, London, UK.

The child from this marriage was:

145 F i. **Emma Therese Handayani Sujarwo** was born on 4 Nov 2014 in London, UK.

114. Niken Susanti was born on 2 Aug 1992 in Klaten.

115. Nanang Kris Utama was born on 3 Jun 1998 in Klaten.

116. Ayom Tyas Sasongko was born on 25 Sep 2008.

117. Adya Satria Handoko Warih was born on 29 Apr 1991.

118. Nunung Jati Raharjo was born on 10 Feb.

Seventh Generation (4th Great-Grandchildren)

119. Akram Ziyad.

120. Panggayuh Wilutama.

121. Bagas Sakitawan Pratama Putra.

122. M. Azzam Al Qhozali.

123. Naufal Afiq Khoirudin.

124. Cornelia Eva Rahmawati.

125. M. Aditya Nazriel Saputra.

126. Afifah Kusuma Widaryani.

127. **Fatkhurohyani Yunita Widyastuti.**
128. **Yemima Naelya Biliyard Sekar Anindita.**
129. **Briyan Biliyard Daneswara** was born in 2015.
130. **Ifa.**
131. **Nazwan.**
132. **Hendra.**
133. **Reza.**
134. **Tio.**
135. **Sinom Srihastuti.**
136. **Galuh Martha Cahyani.**
137. **Nabila.**
138. **Unknown.**
139. **Sari Mustikawati** was born on 11 Jun 1999 in Klaten.
140. **Budi Utomo** was born on 25 Feb 2003 in Klaten.
141. **Panji.**
142. **Putri Gangga.**
143. **Ramdan.**
144. **Merow Oktaviani Srimoko.**
145. **Emma Therese Handayani Sujarwo** was born on 4 Nov 2014 in London, UK.

Descendants of Guno Diharjo

First Generation

147. Guno Diharjo, son of **Unknown** and **Wife A**, went to the Netherlands with Yatinah's mother (Surip's mother) and was never heard of again.

Guno married someone.

His children were:

148 M i. **Cermo Harsono** was born on *Minggu Wage* and died in 1960.

Cermo married **Sutiyo** (b. *Jumat Pon*)

149 M ii. **Kemba**.

Second Generation (Children)

148. Cermo Harsono was born on *Minggu Wage* and died in 1960. Other names for Cermo were Punjul, Sarjo, and Suharjo.

Cermo married **Sutiyo**. Sutiyo was born on *Jumat Pon* in Kujon, Klaten.

Children from this marriage were:

150 F i. **Sumini** died in 2000.

Sumini married **Jiwa**

151 M ii. **Gondo Tomo** was born 1922/1925? in Kerten, Trucuk, Klaten and died in 2004.

Gondo married **Sumiyem** (b. 1930?)

152 F iii. **Subiyati**.

153 M iv. **Suwito**.

154 F v. **Prono** died in 2012.

Prono married **Parto**

155 F vi. **Sumiyati** was born on *Senin Legi* in Mayong, Klaten.

Sumiyati married **Kris Sukardi** (b. 11 Sep 1924, d. 7 Apr 2015)

156 F vii. **Subini** was born 31 Dec 1926? in Kujon, Klaten and died on 5 Feb 2015 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

Subini married **Tukas Gondo Sukasno** (b. 1922?, d. 2003)

(Duplicate Line. See Person 37)

157 M viii. **Puspocarito** was born 1937?.

Puspocarito married someone.

Puspocarito next married someone.

158 M ix. **Suparno** was born on 12 Nov 1947 in Mayong.

Suparno married **Ponirah**

159 M x. **Supoyo**.

149. Kemba.

Third Generation (Grandchildren)

150. Sumini died in 2000. Another name for Sumini was Jiwa.

Sumini married **Jiwa**.

The child from this marriage was:

160 F i. **Sempruk**.

Sempruk married **Siwu**

151. Gondo Tomo was born 1922/1925? in Kerten, Trucuk, Klaten and died in 2004. Other names for Gondo were Gondodiharjo and Sutomo.

Gondo married **Sumiyem**. Sumiyem was born 1930? in Palar, Klaten. Another name for Sumiyem was Gondodiharjo.

Children from this marriage were:

161 M i. **Mulyadi** died at age 2-3 years.

- 162 F ii. **Mursiyam** died at age 2-3 years.
163 M iii. **Mulyadi** died at age 2-3 years.
164 F iv. **Sri Mulyani**.

Sri married **Yono**

- 165 M v. **Joko Santosa**.
166 F vi. **Sri Kedah**.
167 M vii. **Nangkedo**.
168 M viii. **Joko Kayuh**.
169 F ix. **Endang Siswanti**.
170 M x. **Bambang Siswanto** was born on 23 Jan 1971 in Kerten, Trucuk, Klaten.

Bambang married **Kuswarini** (b. 14 Apr 1971) in 1992.

152. Subiyati.

153. Suwito.

154. Prono died in 2012. Other names for Prono were Parto and Sipon.

Prono married **Parto**.

Children from this marriage were:

- 171 F i. **Nori**.
172 M ii. **Budi**.

155. Sumiyati was born on *Senin Legi* in Mayong, Klaten. Other names for Sumiyati were Drigul, Kris Sukardi, Pringgo, and Sum.

Sumiyati married **Kris Sukardi**, son of **Gondo Wiyarjo** and **Soma**. Kris was born on 11 Sep 1924 in Kandang Sapi, Solo and died on 7 Apr 2015 in Solo. Other names for Kris were Kardi, Pringga.

Children from this marriage were:

- 173 M i. **Lungit Sapinursih**.

Lungit married **Suwoko**

174 M ii. **Lukito Humawan** died on 9 Apr 2015.

Lukito married **Yuli**

175 M iii. **Lumbini Trihastho**.

Lumbini married **Dyah Rusmiyanti**

176 M iv. **Lukas Danasmara**.

177 M v. **Ludiro Pancaka**.

Ludiro married **Ndaru**

178 M vi. **Lungsi Agung Guntur**.

Lungsi married **Nanik Yuliati**

179 M vii. **Lubdoko Waskitha**.

Lubdoko married **Anna**

156. Subini was born 31 Dec 1926? in Kujon, Klaten and died on 5 Feb 2015 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten. Another name for Subini was Gondo Tukas.

Subini married **Tukas Gondo Sukasno**, son of **Harjo Martono (Kuwiran)**. Tukas was born 1922? in Kuwiran, Klaten and died in 2003 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

(Duplicate Line. See Person 37)

157. Puspocarito was born 1937?. Another name for Puspocarito was Sugiyono.

Puspocarito married someone.

His children were:

180 M i. **Dwi**.

181 M ii. **Bambang**.

182 F iii. **Sri**.

Sri married **Naryo**

183 F iv. **Tarni.**

Tarni married someone.

184 M v. **Sapto.**

Sapto married **Yanti**

185 M vi. **Hastho.**

186 M vii. **Pamungkas.**

Puspocarito next married someone.

His child was:

187 F i. **Endang Sutarmi.**

Endang married **Joko Langgeng**
(Duplicate Line. See Person 58)

158. Suparno was born on 12 Nov 1947 in Mayong. Other names for Suparno are Panadi, Suwarno Hadi Harsono, and Wanadi.

Suparno married **Ponirah.**

Children from this marriage were:

188 F i. **Margini.**

189 M ii. **Sigit.**

190 F iii. **Sri Rejeki.**

191 M iv. **Teguh Wiyono.**

192 F v. **Dewi Untari.**

193 M vi. **Joko Untoro.**

194 F vii. **Nunik.**

159. Supoyo. Another name for Supoyo was Bejo.

Fourth Generation (Great-Grandchildren)

160. Sempruk.

Sempruk married **Siwu**.

Children from this marriage were:

195 F i. **Endang**.

Endang married someone.

196 F ii. **Parsih**.

197 F iii. **Rini**.

198 F iv. **Suji**.

161. Mulyadi died at age 2-3 years.

162. Mursiyam died at age 2-3 years.

163. Mulyadi died at age 2-3 years.

164. Sri Mulyani. Another name for Sri is Ketul.

Sri married **Yono**.

Children from this marriage were:

199 F i. **Andi**.

200 F ii. **Santi**.

201 F iii. **Sinta Triningsih**.

Sinta married **Dwianto**

202 F iv. **Endah**.

203 M v. **Bayu**.

165. Joko Santosa. Another name for Joko is Joko Kadut.

166. Sri Kedah.

167. Nangkedo.

168. Joko Kayuh.

169. Endang Siswanti.

170. Bambang Siswanto was born on 23 Jan 1971 in Kerten, Trucuk, Klaten. Another name for Bambang is Cipto Siswoyo.

Bambang married **Kuswarini**, daughter of **Suwarno** and **Sumartini**, in 1992. Kuswarini was born on 14 Apr 1971 in Salatiga, Semarang. Another name for Kuswarini is Rini.

Children from this marriage were:

204 F i. **Endah Puri Anggraeni** was born in 1992 in Salatiga, Semarang.

205 M ii. **Wasis Punjung Wanudara** was born in 2001 in Salatiga, Semarang.

171. Nori.

172. Budi.

173. Lungit Sapinursih. Another name for Lungit is Lungit Satwinursih.

Lungit married **Suwoko**.

174. Lukito Humawan died on 9 Apr 2015.

Lukito married **Yuli**.

175. Lumbini Trihastho.

Lumbini married **Dyah Rusmiyanti**.

176. Lukas Danasmara.

177. Ludiro Pancaka.

Ludiro married **Ndaru**.

178. Lungsi Agung Guntur.

Lungsi married **Nanik Yuliati**.

179. Lubdoko Waskitha.

Lubdoko married **Anna**.

180. Dwi.

181. Bambang.

182. Sri.

Sri married **Naryo**.

Children from this marriage were:

206 M i. **Danik**.

207 M ii. **Hanang**.

183. Tarni.

Tarni married someone.

Her child was:

208 M i. **Ndaru**.

184. Sapto.

Sapto married **Yanti**.

The child from this marriage was:

209 F i. **Nimas**.

185. Hastho.

186. Pamungkas.

187. Endang Sutarmi.

Endang married **Joko Langgeng**, son of **Tukas Gondo Sukasno** and **Subini**. Other names for Joko are Joko Hadi Carito and Joko Kediri.
(Duplicate Line. See Person 58)

188. Margini.

189. Sigit.

190. Sri Rejeki.

191. Teguh Wiyono.

192. Dewi Untari.

193. Joko Untoro.

194. Nunik.

Fifth Generation (Great Great-Grandchildren)

195. Endang.

Endang married someone.

Her child was:

210 M i. **Aris Setyana.**

196. Parsih.

197. Rini.

198. Suji.

199. Andi.

200. Santi.

201. Sinta Triningsih.

Sinta married **Dwianto**. Another name for Dwianto is Puqon.

The child from this marriage was:

211 F i. **Kinanthi.**

202. Endah.

203. Bayu.

204. Endah Puri Anggraeni was born in 1992 in Salatiga, Semarang.

205. Wasis Punjung Wanudara was born in 2001 in Salatiga, Semarang.

206. Danik.

207. Hanang.

208. Ndaru.

209. Nimas.

Sixth Generation (3rd Great-Grandchildren)

210. Aris Setyana.

211. Kinanthi.

Descendants of Kromo Semito

First Generation

212. Kromo Semito.

Kromo married someone.

His child was:

- 213 M i. **Jarwo Yoso** was born on *Minggu Wage* in Jogonalan, Klaten and died on 31 Jan 1998.

Jarwo married **Tukinem** (b. *Kamis Pon*, d. 25 Mar 2002)

Jarwo next married **Tamiyem** (d. 25 Dec 2001)

Second Generation (Children)

213. **Jarwo Yoso** was born on *Minggu Wage* in Jogonalan, Klaten and died on 31 Jan 1998. Another name for Jarwo was Jarwoyoso.

Jarwo married **Tukinem**, daughter of **Setropawiro** and **Setropawiro**. Tukinem was born on *Kamis Pon* in Ngrodon, Ngreden, Klaten and died on 25 Mar 2002.

Children from this marriage were:

- 214 F i. **Asih**.

Asih married someone.

- 215 F ii. **Asiyem**.

- 216 M iii. **Bagong** was born in 1949 and died in 2014 in Praon, Nusukan, Banjarsari, Solo.

- 217 M iv. **Hali Jarwo Sularso** was born 1 or 17 Jul 1951 in Praon, Nusukan, Banjarsari, Solo.

Hali married **Sugiyem**

Hali had a relationship with **Sutarmi** (b. 20 Jan 1962)

(Duplicate Line. See Person 61)

Hali next married **Sudiyarsi** (d. 1995) in 1977.

Jarwo next married **Tamiyem**, daughter of **Kromo Taruno**. Tamiyem was born in Jetis and died on 25 Dec 2001. Another name for Tamiyem was Tami.

Children from this marriage were:

218 M i. **Widodo** was born on 13 Nov 1953.

219 F ii. **Widasi** was born in 1955.

220 M iii. **Widoyo** was born in 1957.

221 M iv. **Widoko** was born in 1959.

222 F v. **Widasih** was born in 1961.

Third Generation (Grandchildren)

214. Asih.

Asih married someone.

Her child was:

223 M i. **Susilo**.

215. Asiyem.

216. Bagong was born in 1949 and died in 2014 in Praon, Nusukan, Banjarsari, Solo. Another name for Bagong was Absah.

217. Hali Jarwo Sularso was born 1 or 17 Jul 1951 in Praon, Nusukan, Banjarsari, Solo. Another name for Hali is Absahli.

Hali married **Sugiyem**.

The child from this marriage was:

224 M i. **Gunadi**.

Gunadi married someone. The marriage ended in divorce.

Hali had a relationship with **Sutarmi**, daughter of **Tukas Gondo**

Sukasno and **Subini**. This couple did not marry. Sutarmi was born on 20 Jan 1962 in Manjungan, Ngawen, Klaten.

(Duplicate Line. See Person 61)

Hali married **Sudiyarsi** in 1977. Sudiyarsi died in 1995.

Children from this marriage were:

225 F i. **Harni Setyawati**.

Harni married **Eko**

226 M ii. **Ratno Setyawan**.

Ratno married **Ayu**

218. Widodo was born on 13 Nov 1953. Another name for Widodo is Widodo Digdomulyono.

219. Widasi was born in 1955.

220. Widoyo was born in 1957.

221. Widoko was born in 1959.

222. Widasih was born in 1961.

Fourth Generation (Great-Grandchildren)

223. Susilo.

224. Gunadi.

Gunadi married someone. The marriage ended in divorce.

His children were:

227 F i. **Putri**.

228 M ii. **Endro**.

225. Harni Setyawati. Another name for Harni is Menik.

Harni married **Eko**.

Children from this marriage were:

229 M i. **Elang.**

230 U ii. **Aurel.**

231 U iii. **Gading.**

232 F iv. **Reya.**

226. Ratno Setyawan. Another name for Ratno is Wawan.

Ratno married **Ayu.**

Children from this marriage were:

233 M i. **Bima.**

234 F ii. **Kelaswara.**

Fifth Generation (Great Great-Grandchildren)

227. Putri.

228. Endro.

229. Elang.

230. Aurel.

231. Gading.

232. Reya.

233. Bima.

234. Kelaswara.

Descendants of Setropawiro

First Generation

235. Setropawiro. Another name for Setropawiro was Soinangun.

Setropawiro married **Setropawiro**.

The child from this marriage was:

236 F i. **Tukinem** was born on *Kamis Pon* in Ngrodon, Ngreden, Klaten and died on 25 Mar 2002.

Tukinem married **Jarwo Yoso** (b. *Minggu Wage*, d. 31 Jan 1998)

(Duplicate Line. See Person 213)

Second Generation (Children)

236. Tukinem was born on *Kamis Pon* in Ngrodon, Ngreden, Klaten and died on 25 Mar 2002.

Tukinem married **Jarwo Yoso**, son of **Kromo Semito**. Jarwo was born on *Minggu Wage* in Jogonalan, Klaten and died on 31 Jan 1998. Another name for Jarwo was Jarwoyoso.

(Duplicate Line. See Person 213)

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Appendix IV: Sujarwo's List of What he Learnt

1. *Kendhangan Lancaran* “basic” - Tukas Gondo Sukasno before entering SMKN 8
2. *Gendèr buka Wilujeng* - Joko Sabeyan
3. *Gendèran puthut gelut irama wiled* - Subini
4. *Gendèran Gambirsawit irama dadi and wiled* - Adiyanto
5. *Gendèran ada-ada lawas* - Surono
6. *Tari Topèng Klana* - Joko Santosa and Tukas Gondo Sukasno
7. *Gendèran grimingan* - Subini
8. *Gendèran ada-ada and grimingan* - Sumiyati
9. *Sulukan* in *Klathènan* style - Tukas Gondo Sukasno
10. *Sulukan* in *Klathènan* style - Gondo Darman
11. *Lakon-lakon wayang* - Hali Jarwo Sularso and Widodo
12. *Sanggit wayang* - Hali Jarwo Sularso
13. *Sanggit wayang* - Gondo Darman
14. *Catur wayang* - Purbo Asmoro
15. *Keprakan* - Gondo Darman recording and Joko Mokaton
16. *Rebab* basics - Djumadi at SMKN 8 in Class 1
17. *Rebab céngkok prenés* - Sri Nartutik at SMKN 8 Class 2
18. *Gendèran céngkok* variations - Wasito at SMKN 8 and Sukamso at ISI
19. *Kendhangan tarian* in SMKN 8 Class 2 *Gambyong Pangkur* -
Maskunané, from notation only
20. *Kendhangan tarian* at ISI - Sri Harto and from recordings, with

explanation from Sukamso

21. *Kendhangan topèng* - Joko Santosa and from 1990 recording of Klana

dance drummed by Kesdik and danced by Tukas Gondo Sukasno

22. *Kendhangan tari* in Mangkunegaran style - Sri Hartono

23. *Perang Kethèk* - Joko Santosa

Appendix V: SMKN 8 Survey Results from Question Three

Pedhalangan Department

Family member	No. of students with a Professional Artist in their family	No. of students whose family members are not Professional Artists	Did not respond	No. of students with Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	No. of students without Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	Did not respond
Mother	1	6	0	5	2	0
Father	2	4	1	4	2	1
Younger sibling	2	3	2	3	2	2
Older sibling	1	4	2	2	3	2
Paternal grandmother	0	6	1	1	4	2
Paternal grandfather	4	1	2	6	0	1
Maternal grandmother	0	6	1	1	4	2
Maternal grandfather	2	4	1	3	3	1
Uncle	2	4	1	3	2	2
Aunt	1	5	1	2	4	1
Cousin	2	4	1	2	4	1
Niece/nephew	1	5	1	2	4	1
Great aunt or uncle from grandfather	0	6	1	1	5	1
Great aunt or uncle from grandmother	1	5	1	2	4	1
Great-grandmother	1	5	1	2	4	1
Great-grandfather	4	1	2	6	0	1
Others (please write)	0	2	5	1	1	5

Dance Department

Family member	No. of students with a Professional Artist in their family	No. of students whose family members are not Professional Artists	Did not respond	No. of students with Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	No. of students without Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	Did not respond
Mother	12	40	19	26	28	17
Father	13	43	15	30	23	18
Younger sibling	4	37	30	16	22	33
Older sibling	10	32	29	20	20	31
Paternal grandmother	11	41	19	15	33	23
Paternal grandfather	14	40	17	21	30	20
Maternal grandmother	7	46	18	13	36	22
Maternal grandfather	17	38	16	21	32	
Uncle	10	43	18	21	30	18
Aunt	11	41	19	15	33	23
Cousin	11	43	17	15	32	24
Niece/nephew	8	43	20	14	34	23
Great aunt or uncle from grandfather	10	40	11	17	32	22
Great aunt or uncle from grandmother	8	43	20	14	30	27
Great-grandmother	9	45	17	13	35	23
Great-grandfather	11	46	14	10	37	24
Others (please write)	0	23	48	5	25	41

Karawitan Department

Family member	No. of students with a Professional Artist in their family	No. of students whose family members are not Professional Artists	Did not respond	No. of students with Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	No. of students without Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	Did not respond
Mother	14	58	8	37	29	14
Father	32	48	0	56	11	13
Younger sibling	2	46	32	20	28	32
Older sibling	11	45	24	25	28	27
Paternal grandmother	9	62	9	24	36	20
Paternal grandfather	20	55	5	30	31	19
Maternal grandmother	9	64	7	22	37	21
Maternal grandfather	14	58	8	32	26	22
Uncle	18	50	12	28	30	22
Aunt	10	51	19	18	37	25
Cousin	11	53	16	23	34	23
Niece/nephew	9	57	14	21	35	24
Great aunt or uncle from grandfather	10	57	13	14	39	27
Great aunt or uncle from grandmother	4	59	17	15	40	25
Great-grandmother	8	56	16	21	35	24
Great-grandfather	14	50	16	23	30	27
Others (please write)	1	26	53	1	29	50

Appendix VI: ISI Survey Results from Question One

Pedhalangan Department

School prior to ISI Surakarta	Number of students
SMKN 12 Surabaya	2
SMAN 1 Sumber Lawang	1
SMA Muhammadiyah 1 Klaten	1
SMAN 1 Maospati	1
SMKN 8 Surakarta	1
TOTAL	6

Dance Department

School prior to ISI Surakarta	Number of students
SMKN 8 Surakarta	16
SMKN 3 Banyumas	11
SMAN 1 Taliwang Sumbawa Barat NTB	4
SMAN 4 Surakarta	2
SMAN 1 Sutojayan	2
SMAN Banyuasin 1	1
MAN Salatiga	1
SMAN 8 Surakarta	1
SMAN 3 Wonogiri	1
SMKN 1 Udarawu	1
SMAN 2 Probolinggo	1
SMA Pancasila 1 Wonogiri	1
SMAN 1 Jatirogo	1
SMAK Diponegoro Blitar	1
SMK Karya Teknologi Jatilawang	1
SMA St Yosef	1
SMKN 9 Surabaya	1
SMKN 2 Kediri	1
SMAN 6 Surakarta	1
SMAN 1 Purwodadi	1
SMAN 2 Tanjung Kal Sel	1
SMA Peri Kuwu	1
SMKN 6 Surakarta	1
SMAN 2 Ponorogo	1
SMAN 1 Jereweh	1
SMAN 1 Poncol Kediri	1
SMK PGRI Karangmalang Sragen	1
SMAN 1 Boja	1
SMKN 3 Malang	1
SMAN 1 Pesanggaran	1
SMAN 2 Semarang	1

SMA Batik 1 Surakarta	1
SMAN 1 Sampung	1
SMAN 1 Mojolaban	1
SMA Negeri	1
SMAN 3 Pontianak	1
SMAN 2 Sukoharjo	1
SMKN 12 Surabaya	1
SMK YLPK NTB	1
TOTAL	69

Karawitan Department

School prior to ISI Surakarta	Number of students
SMKN 8 Surakarta	27
SMA (nonspecific)	2
SMA Katolik Diponegoro Blitar	2
SMKN 1 Gondang	1
SMAN 1 Purworejo	1
SMAN 1 Sumberlawang	1
SMKN 1 Sine	1
SMK (Pertanian)	1
SMKI Surabaya	1
SMAN 1 Garum Blitar	1
SMK (Adm. Perkantoran)	1
SMAN 1 Slahung	1
SMK / STM	1
SMK Ponorogo	1
SMAN 1 Kauman Ponorogo	1
SMKN 1 Trenggalek	1
SMKN 1 Klaten	1
TOTAL	45

Appendix VII: ISI Survey Results from Question Three

Pedhalangan Department

Family member	No. of students with a Professional Artist in their family	No. of students whose family members are not Professional Artists	Did not respond	No. of students with Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	No. of students without Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	Did not respond
Mother	0	4	2	2	2	2
Father	1	4	1	5	1	0
Younger sibling	0	4	2	2	3	1
Older sibling	1	2	3	1	3	2
Paternal grandmother	1	3	2	4	0	2
Paternal grandfather	3	2	1	5	0	1
Maternal grandmother	0	4	2	2	2	2
Maternal grandfather	1	3	2	2	2	2
Uncle	3	2	1	3	3	0
Aunt	2	2	2	1	4	1
Cousin	1	3	2	1	4	1
Niece/nephew	2	3	1	1	3	2
Great aunt or uncle from grandfather	1	3	2	4	1	1
Great aunt or uncle from grandmother	0	3	3	2	2	2
Great-grandmother	0	4	2	4	1	1
Great-grandfather	3	2	1	5	1	0
Others (please write)	0	0	6	0	1	5

Dance Department

Family member	No. of students with a Professional Artist in their family	No. of students whose family members are not Professional Artists	Did not respond	No. of students with Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	No. of students without Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	Did not respond
Mother	11	45	13	27	25	17
Father	9	41	19	29	27	13
Younger sibling	5	31	33	21	18	30
Older sibling	6	34	29	16	26	27
Paternal grandmother	4	46	19	6	38	25
Paternal grandfather	7	44	18	8	35	26
Maternal grandmother	3	44	22	12	35	22
Maternal grandfather	8	41	20	17	30	22
Uncle	9	39	21	16	26	27
Aunt	4	41	24	9	32	28
Cousin	6	37	26	13	28	28
Niece/nephew	6	37	26	17	27	25
Great aunt or uncle from grandfather	7	30	32	6	30	33
Great aunt or uncle from grandmother	5	33	31	4	31	34
Great-grandmother	8	33	28	8	32	29
Great-grandfather	8	31	30	9	28	32
Others (please write)	1	24	44	0	20	49

Karawitan Department

Family member	No. of students with a Professional Artist in their family	No. of students whose family members are not Professional Artists	Did not respond	No. of students with Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	No. of students without Performing Arts Hobbyist family member	Did not respond
Mother	3	36	6	19	15	11
Father	14	22	9	30	8	7
Younger sibling	4	24	17	16	13	16
Older sibling	2	27	16	11	14	20
Paternal grandmother	6	31	9	12	22	11
Paternal grandfather	13	24	8	13	19	13
Maternal grandmother	4	33	8	12	20	13
Maternal grandfather	5	33	7	19	14	12
Uncle	11	25	9	20	14	11
Aunt	7	31	7	14	20	11
Cousin	4	30	11	12	20	13
Niece/nephew	5	27	13	9	20	16
Great aunt or uncle from grandfather	4	30	11	5	21	9
Great aunt or uncle from grandmother	2	32	11	5	20	20
Great-grandmother	6	30	9	4	21	20
Great-grandfather	9	27	9	5	19	21
Others (please write)	0	11	34	0	13	32

Appendix VIII: Interview Questions

The introduction was read at the beginning of each interview. These basic interview questions were then adapted according to the interviewee and the flow of the interview. Interviews were conducted in Indonesian or Javanese (in italics) depending on the interviewee. In some interviews, the questions were only loosely followed. Differences in language and people's understanding meant that further adjustments were made or explanations of the questions given. A few interviewees asked to read the questions themselves for a few minutes immediately prior to the interview.

Interview

Introduction

Saya sedang mengikuti program S3 di National University of Singapore, Jurusan Studi Asia Tenggara. Sebagai bagian dari penelitian saya, saya ingin mewawancarai anda tentang kesenian tradisi jawa, khususnya pendapat dan pengalaman anda.

Kula sakmenika nembé mendhet kuliah program S3 wonten ing National University of Singapore, Jurusan Studi Asia Tenggara. Pinangka pérangan saking penelitian kawula, kula badhé nyuwun pirsá dhumateng panjenengan babagan kesenian tradisi Jawi, miturut panjenengan saha pengalaman panjenengan.

Saya minta persetujuan anda untuk diwawancarai oleh saya, dengan seorang penerjemah untuk membantu. Saya juga minta izin untuk merekam wawancara ini pakai audio dan video, serta catatan saya. Kalau anda setuju untuk diwawancarai, data dari jawaban-jawaban anda akan diterbitkan, dengan atau tidak dengan nama dan data diri anda, di tesis S3 saya dan di publikasi-publikasi lain di masa depan, misalnya buku, artikel, video dan lain-lain.

Kula nyuwun palilah panjenengan badhé kula wawancarai kanthi penerjemah kagem mbiyantu kula. Lan ugi kula nyuwun palilahipun badhé ngrekam wawancara menika mawi mendhet rekaman suwanten lan video saha mawi catetan kula. Menawi panjenengan kersa dipun wawancarai, pangandikan panjenengan ing mangké badhé dipun lebetaken wonten tesis S3 kula.

Data dari wawancara anda akan saya simpan sesuai dengan Kebijakan Manajemen Data Penelitian dari National University of Singapore. Data yang diterbitkan akan disimpan untuk minimal 10 tahun. Data terkait dengan anak-anak akan disimpan untuk minimal 7 tahun setelah anak tersebut sudah dewasa.

Data saking wawancara menika badhé kula simpen cundhuk kalian Kebijakan Manajemen Data Penelitian saking National University of Singapore papan kula ngangsu kawruh. Data menika badhé dipun terbitaken saha badhe dipun simpen antawis sedasa tahun. Menawi data kagem laré-laré badhé dipun simpen antawis pitung tahun saksampunipun laré menika diwasa.

Ini adalah kegiatan sukarela. Anda boleh minta untuk berhenti rekam maupun selesaikan wawancara kapanpun. Anda juga boleh minta istirahat dulu dan melanjutkan wawancara nanti pada waktu yang anda pilih.

Menika kegiatan sukaréla. Panjenengan saget paring dawuh menawi badhé mandheg anggénipun ngrekam punapa badhé mungkasi wawancara menika. Panjenengan ugi saget paring dawuh menawi ngersakaken ngaso rumiyin lan wiwit wawancara malih miturut wekdal panjenengan.

Maaf saya tidak bisa memberikan apa-apa sebagai imbalan dan pengganti waktu anda, selain anda setuju diwawancarai dan jawaban-jawaban yang anda berikan akan membantu menambah pengetahuan tentang seni tradisi jawa di dunia akademis.

Nyuwun pangapunten kula mboten saget nyaosi menapa-menapa pinangka pisungsung saha gantosipun wekdal panjenengan kajawi namung dawuh lan pangandikan panjenengan ing mangké badhé mbiyantu seserepan ngenani seni tradisi jawi wonten ing dunia akademis.

Apakah anda punya pertanyaan? (Peserta jawab.)

Punapa wonten dawuh pangandikan?

Apakah anda setuju dengan diwawancarai oleh saya sekarang? (Peserta jawab.)

Punapa panjenengan kersa dipun wawancarai?

Questions

Data Keluarga dan Masa Kecil

- 1) Untuk mulai saya ingin tahu tentang keluarga anda.

Kagem miwiti kula nyuwun pirsma babagan keluarga panjenengan

- a) Boleh minta nama lengkap anda? Apa anda punya nama-nama yang lain, misalnya nama waktu kecil?

Punapa kepareng nyuwun asma jangkep panjenengan? Punapa panjenengan kagungan asma sanés utawi asma nalika tasih alit?

- b) Boleh minta tanggal dan tempat lahir anda?

Menawi kepareng nyuwun tanggal saha panggénan panjenengan nalika lahir?

- c) Siapa nama orang tua anda?

Sinten asma tiyang sepuh panjenengan?

- d) Apakah anda tahu tanggal dan tempat lahir orang tua anda? (Data kakek/nenek anda?)

Punapa panjenengan pirsma tanggal saha panggénan tiyang sepuh panjenengan lahir?

- e) Anda tinggal di mana waktu masih kecil?

Wonten pundi nalika panjenengan tasih alit utawi tasih timur?

- f) Anda punya berapa saudara – siapa nama-nama mereka?

Sedhérék panjenengan wonten pinten lan sinten asmanipun?

- g) Anda punya berapa anak – siapa nama-nama mereka?

Panjenengan kagungan putra pinten lan sinten asmanipun?

h) Dan berapa cucu dan buyut?

Lan wonten pinten putu lan buyut panjenengan?

i) Apa anda keturunan trah yang punya nama? Namanya apa?

Panjenengan keturunan saking sinten utawi trah saking sinten?

2) a) Apakah ada gamelan atau wayang di rumah anda sekarang atau di masa yang lalu?

Punapa wonten gamelan utawi wayang wonten ing ndalem

panjenengan sakmenika utawi griya ingkang rumiyin?

b) Ada kegiatan seni apa saja di rumah anda?

Wonten kegiatan seni menapa kémawon wonten ing ndalem

panjenengan?

3) a) Anda pernah sekolah atau pendidikan sampai tingkat apa? (SD, SMP dll)

Punapa panjenengan naté sekolah utawi pendidikan ngantos tingkat

SD, SMP utawi SMA?

b) Waktu anda masih sekolah, bagaimana bisa mengatur waktu untuk ikut kegiatan seni dan juga masuk sekolah?

Nalika panjenengan tasih sekolah, kados pundi caranipun saget

andum wekdal kagem ndérék kegiatan seni lan mlebet sekolah?

c) Waktu masa kecil anda, kehidupan sehari-hari anda seperti apa?

Bisa kasih contoh hari biasa?

Gambaranipun nalika panjenengan tasih alit menika kados menapa?

4) a) Apakah anda bisa main gamelan, ndhalang atau menari?

Menapa panjenengan saget nabuh gamelan, mayang utawi njoget?

b) Seperti apa kemampuan anda? Profesional atau hobi?

Kados menapa kabisan panjenengan? Mumpuni menapa namung

kagem seneng-seneng kémawon?

c) Kenapa anda menjadi seniman profesional / tidak menjadi seniman profesional?

Kénging menapa panjenengan dados seniman mumpuni/ mboten dados seniman mumpuni?

5) a) Apakah anda masih ingat pertama kali anda main gamelan atau menari atau ndhalang? Dimana dan dalam konteks acara apa?

Punapa panjenengan tasih kémutan pisanan panjenengan nabuh gamelan utawi njogét utawi mayang? Wonten pundi lan nalika acara menapa?

b) Apakah anda ingat pertama kali anda pentas? Di acara apa?

Menapa panjenengan tasih kémutan pisanan panjenengan péntas?

Wonten acara menapa?

Proses Belajar Seni

6) a) Bagaimana anda belajar nabuh/nari/ndhalang?

Kados pundi panjenengan sinau nabuh/njogét/mayang?

b) Dimana dan siapa yang mengajar itu kepada anda?

Wonten pundi lan sinten ingkang mucal menika dumateng

panjenengan?

c) Proses belajar anda seperti apa? (misalnya kursus, sanggar, nyantrik?)

Caranipun panjenengan sinau kados pundi lan kados menapa?

Contonipun: Kursus, ndérék sanggar utawi nyantrik lan sanésipun?

7) a) Apa anda pernah masuk pendidikan formal di bidang kesenian?

Dimana dan tahun berapa?

Punapa panjenengan naté mlebet pendidikan formal babagan

kesenian? Wonten pundi lan tahun pinten?

b) Kenapa anda mengikuti / tidak mengikuti pendidikan formal di bidang kesenian?

Kénging menapa panjenengan ndérék/mboten ndérék pendidikan formal babagan kesenian?

c) Apakah anda ingin masuk pendidikan seni yang formal tapi tidak bisa, atau memang anda tidak tertarik dengan itu?

Menapa rumiyin panjenengan kepingin badhé mlebet pendidikan seni ingkang formal nanging mboten saget menapa pancén mboten remen kalia menika?

8) Kenapa anda belajar gamelan/tarian/wayang?

Kénging menapa panjenengan sinau gamelan/njogét/wayang?

9) Bagaimana pengetahuan di satu jenis kesenian membantu kemampuan anda di kesenian yang lain?

Kados pundi wawasan panjenengan ing salah setunggalipun jenis kesenian saget mbiyantu kabisan panjenengan wonten ing kesenian sanésipun?

10) Apakah anda terus belajar hingga sekarang? Lewat cara apa?

Menapa panjenengan terus sinau ngantos sepriki? kanthi cara menapa?

11) Bagaimana opini anda tentang proses belajar anda di bidang kesenian?

Kados pundi pemangguh panjenengan ngenani caranipun sinau ing babagan kesenian?

12) Menurut anda, cara belajar kesenian apa yang paling bagus dan effective?

Miturut panjenengan, cara ingkang saé sinau kesenian menika kados pundi?

13) Apakah anda mengerti tentang istilah "kupingan" sebagai cara belajar?

Pernahkah anda memakai sistem "kupingan"?

Punapa panjenengan pirsá wonten tembung "kupingan" pinangka srana kagem sinau? Lan menapa panjenengan sampun naté ngagem cara kupingan menika?

14) Biasanya anda pakai notasi/naskah atau tidak? Dipakai pas pentas atau pas latihan?

Biasanipun panjenengan ngagem notasi/naskah menapa mboten?

Diagem nalika péntas menapa latihan?

15) Anda pernah masuk sanggar atau belajar di Kraton? Kapan dan
dimana?

*Panjenengan menapa sampun naté ndérék sanggar utawi sinau wonten
Kraton? Kapan lan wonten pundi?*

16) Apa anda pernah belajar melalui nonton pentas? Bagaimana proses
belajar itu?

*Punapa panjenengan naté sinau saking ningali péntas? Kados pundi
caranipun sinau menika?*

17) Apa anda pernah belajar melalui TV, radio atau rekaman? Bagaimana
proses belajar itu?

*Punapa panjenengan naté sinau saking ningali TV, radio utawi
rekaman? Kados pundi caranipun sinau menika?*

18) Apa anda pernah belajar dari publikasi seperti buku-buku atau
majalah?

Punapa panjenengan naté sinau saking buku-buku utawi majalah?

19) Apa anda pernah memakai kejawen/laku prihatin atau praktek spiritual
yang lain untuk menambah ilmu atau kemampuan di kesenian tradisi?

Bagaimana praktek anda dan hasilnya?

Punapa panjenengan naté ngagem kejawén utawi laku prihatin utawi spiritual sanésipun kagem nambah seserepan lan kabisan wonten ing kesenian tradisi? Kados pundi praktékipun lan hasilipun?

20) Apakah anda pernah merahasiakan ilmu anda atau proses latihan anda?

Kenapa?

Punapa panjenengan naté nyimpen seserepan panjenengan ngantos dados wadi utawi cara panjenengan latihan mboten pareng tiyang sanés mangertos? Kénging menapa mekaten?

21) Apakah anda pernah minta pengetahuan dan ditolak? Kira-kira

kenapa?

Punapa panjenengan naté nyuwun seserepan nanging dipun tolak? Kinten-kinten kados pundi?

Pekerjaan dan Mengajar Seni

22) (Untuk seniman profesional saja)

a) Bagaimana anda menjadi seorang seniman profesional – lewat proses apa?

Kados pundi panjenengan saget dados seniman ingkang mumpuni, caranipun kados pundi?

b) Kenapa anda pilih menjadi seniman profesional?

Kénging menapa panjenengan milih dados seniman ingkang mumpuni?

c) Seandainya tidak menjadi seniman profesional, anda kira-kira kerja

di bidang apa?

*Menawi panjenengan mboten dados seniman ingkang mumpuni,
kinten-kinten panjenengan badhé nyambut damel menapa?*

23) (Untuk non-profesional saja)

a) Kenapa anda tidak menjadi seniman profesional?

*Kénging menapa panjenengan mboten dados seniman ingkang
mumpuni?*

b) Bagaimana keluarga anda yang mayoritas seniman mendukung atau tidak mendukung keputusan anda untuk masuk bidang yang non-seni?

*Kados pundi menawi keluarga panjenengan kathah ingkang seniman,
kinten-kinten nyengkuyung menapa mboten keputusan panjenengan
kagem mlebet wonten ing bidhang ingkang mboten seni?*

24)a) Apakah anda mengajar kesenian? Kepada siapa? Dimana?

*Menapa panjenengan mucal kesenian? dhumateng sinten, lan wonten
pundi?*

b) Kenapa anda mengajar? (Misalnya: untuk menyebarkan ilmu, untuk dapat uang)

*Kénging menapa panjenengan mucal? (Conto: Kagem nyebaraken
ngélmü, kagem pikantuk arto menapa sanésipun)*

c) Cara apa yang anda pakai untuk mengajar?

*Cara ingkang kados pundi ingkang panjenengan ginakaken kagem
mucal?*

Pendapat tentang Keluarga dan Masa Depan

25) Apakah anak-anak anda juga bisa main gamelan / menari / ndhalang?

Apakah mereka sedang sekolah atau kuliah di bidang seni, atau sudah kerja sebagai seniman profesional?

Menapa putra-putra panjenengan ugi saget nabuh gamelan / njogét / mayang? Menapa piyambakipun sakmenika nembé sekolah utawi kuliah wonten ing seni utawi sampun nyambut damel dados seniman ingkang mumpuni?

26) Secara ideal, karir-karir apa yang anda menginginkan untuk anak-anak anda? Kenapa?

Kinten-kinten pedamelan menapa ingkang panjenengan pikajengaken kagem putra-putra panjenengan? Kénging menapa kados mekaten?

27)a) Apakah anda menganggap bahwa keluarga anda, yaitu generasi orang tua dan kakek-nenek, punya peran yang penting dalam membuat anda bisa main gamelan / menari / ndhalang?

Menapa panjenengan nggadahi keyakinan bilih keluarga panjenengan inggih punika saking tiyang sepuh lan simbah-simbah panjenengan, ingkang nyengkuyung utawi ndukung panjenengan saget nabuh gamelan/njogét lan mayang?

b) Siapa dari anggota keluarga anda yang paling penting untuk membuat anda berkesenian? Kenapa orang itu?

Sinten saking keluarga panjenengan ingkang paling penting, saget nyengkuyung panjenengan wonten ing kesenian? Kénging menapa

kados mekaten?

28) Kalau keluarga anda tidak anda menganggap begitu penting dalam menjadikan anda sebagai seniman, siapa atau apa yang paling penting untuk membantu anda mendapat ilmu dan kemampuan di seni?

Menawi keluarga panjenengan mboten nganggep penting ndadosaken panjenengan dados seniman, sinten utawi menapa ingkang paling penting kagem mbiyantu panjenengan pikantuk kawruh lan seserepan babagan seni?

29) Menurut anda, apakah latar belakang keluarga anda membantu atau menghalangi karir anda?

Miturut panjenengan menapa keluarga panjenengan mbiyantu pedamelan panjenengan menapa malah ngalang-alangi?

30) Apakah penting buat anda bahwa anak-anak dan cucu-cucu anda bisa main gamelan, ndhalang atau menari? Kenapa / Kenapa tidak?

Miturut panjenengan kinten-kinten penting menapa mboten menawi putra-wayah utawi buyut panjenengan saget nabuh gamelan/njogét/mayang?Kénging menapa kados mekaten?

31) Anda punya cita-cita apa untuk masa depan? Kenapa?

Sakmangké panjenengan nggadahi gegayuhan menapa?Kénging menapa?

32) Apakah setiap orang di keluarga anda bisa main gamelan, ndhalang atau menari? Siapa yang tidak bisa?

Menapa saben tiyang ing keluarga panjenengan saget nabuh gamelan/njogét utawi mayang? Sinten ingkang mboten saget?

33) Menurut anda, siapa seniman paling baik di keluarga anda? Kenapa?

Miturut panjenengan sinten seniman ingkang paling saé ing keluarga panjenengan? Kénging menapa?

34) Kenapa lebih jarang ada pentas keluarga di masa kini dibanding di masa yang lalu?

Kénging menapa sakmenika awis sanget wonten pentas keluarga tinimbang kala riyén?

35) Kalau anggota keluarga anda yang tidak kerja di bidang seni, mereka kerja di bidang apa?

Menawi keluarga panjenengan ingkang mboten nyambut damel ing babagan seni, lajeng nyambut damelipun menapa?

Pendapat tentang Komunitas Seniman-seniman dan Pendidikan

36) a) Menurut anda, apakah seniman-seniman yang terbaik itu adalah mereka yang masuk pendidikan formal di bidang seni, atau mereka yang tidak masuk pendidikan formal seni?

Miturut panjenengan menapa seniman-seniman ingkang saé menika ingkang sekolah wonten ing seni menapa ingkang

mboten sekolah nggén seni?

b) Menurut anda, apa perbedaan antara seniman berpendidikan formal, dan seniman yang tidak berpendidikan formal?

Miturut panjenengan menapa béntenipun seniman ingkang sekolah wonten ing seni kaliyan seniman ingkang mboten sekolah nggén seni?

c) Untuk anda lebih berguna pengetahuan kesenian dari belajar formal atau non formal?

Kagem panjenengan langkung piguna kawruh kesenian menika pikantuk saking sekolah seni menapa mboten?

37) Menurut anda, apa yang bisa mempengaruhi kemampuan orang-orang untuk belajar kesenian di masa kini?

Miturut panjenengan, sakmenika menapa wonten ingkang mangaruhi kabisanipun tiyang sinau kesenian?

38) Menurut anda, apakah seorang yang tidak keturunan seni bisa semampu seorang keturunan seni?

Miturut panjenengan menapa tiyang ingkang mboten saking keturunan seni kabisanipun saget mumpuni kados déné tiyang ingkang saking keturunan seni?

39) Perubahan-perubahan apa yang telah terjadi dalam kehidupan anda yang mempengaruhi kesenian tradisi khususnya proses belajar dan mengajar?

*Wonten éwah-éwahan menapa ingkang sampun dumados lan saget
mengaruhi kesenian tradisi mliginipun caranipun sinau kalia
caranipun mucal?*

40) Kejadian-kejadian apa saja dalam sejarah pulau jawa maupun negara
Indonesia yang pernah ada efek untuk proses belajar anda di bidang
seni?

*Kedadosan-kedadosan menapa kémawon wonten ing sejarah pulo
jawa lan sak negari Indonesia ingkang ndadosaken pengaruh
panjenengan saget ngangsu kawruh babagan seni?*

Appendix IX: Survey Form for Students at SMKN 8

This survey was printed and given to students to complete as a questionnaire. The survey for ISI students was almost identical and therefore has not been included in this Appendix.

Survei untuk Siswa-Siswi SMKN 8 Surakarta

Saya sedang mengikuti program S3 di National University of Singapore, jurusan Studi Asia Tenggara. Sebagian dari studi saya yang berjudul “Performing for Generations: Knowledge Acquisition and the Family in Traditional Javanese Performing Arts” adalah survei anonim. Survei saya tentang bagaimana cara orang Jawa belajar kesenian tradisi Jawa, khususnya adalah peran keluarga dalam pendidikan kesenian ini. Saya mohon bantuan anda untuk bersedia mengisi formulir ini. Data dari survei ini akan saya pakai untuk tesis S3 saya dengan harapan bisa diterbitkan sebagai buku di masa depan. Ini adalah kegiatan sukarela. Dengan mengisi formulir ini saya anggap sebagai tanda bahwa anda setuju untuk jawaban anda diterbitkan secara anonim di tesis saya dan di publikasi-publikasi yang lain (buku, artikel dll) di masa depan.

Kalau anda punya pertanyaan terkait dengan survei ini, silahkan hubungi saya, Rachel Hand, di rachel.hand@nus.edu.sg atau di 0853 2757 4842.

1. Tolong mengisi data berikut ini:

a) Anda sedang belajar di SMKN 8 atau ISI Surakarta?

b) Jurusan apa?

c) Sekarang anda kelas atau semester berapa?

2. Apakah anda keturunan seni, yaitu keturunan dhalang, pengrawit/pesindhen atau penari tradisi Jawa? (Lingkari jawaban anda.)

Ya

Tidak

3. Siapa saja di keluarga anda yang seniman? Profesional atau sebagai hobi saja? (Kalau profesional artinya pendapatan seseorang dari kegiatan seni

tersebut, yaitu dari pentas, mengajar seni dll. Kalau sebagai hobi, artinya pendapatan seseorang dari sumber yang lain.)

Tolong lingkari jawaban yang benar menurut pengetahuan anda untuk anggota keluarga yang masih hidup maupun yang sudah meninggal.

Pilih ya atau tidak untuk kategori profesional dan hobi.

Jika tidak memiliki kakak atau adik tidak perlu di lingkari.

	Hobi Seni		Seniman Profesional	
Ibu	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Bapak	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Adik	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Kakak	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Nenek dari Bapak	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Kakek dari Bapak	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Nenek dari Ibu	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Kakek dari Ibu	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Paman	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Bibik	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Sepupu	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Keponakan	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Adik/kakak dari Kakek	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Adik/kakak dari Kakek	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Nenek buyut	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Kakek buyut	Ya (berapa orang?	Tidak	Ya	Tidak
Lain – ditulis:	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak

4. Pertanyaan dibawah ini terkait dengan bidang seniman profesional di keluarga anda. (Yang masih hidup maupun yang sudah meninggal, sesuai pengetahuan anda.)

a) Siapa dhalang profesional di keluarga anda? (Contoh: bapak, kakek)

b) Siapa pengrawit/pesindhen profesional di keluarga anda?

c) Siapa penari profesional di keluarga anda?

5. a) Di Kabupaten apa keluarga anda tinggal sekarang ?

b) Keluarga anda berasal dari mana (kalau beda dengan posisinya sekarang)?

6. Apakah ada informasi yang lain terkait dengan keluarga anda dan keseniannya yang anda ingin menyampaikan? Silahkan ditulis.

7. Kalau anda tertarik membantu lagi dengan studi saya, dengan/lewat wawancara, silahkan memberi data diri anda:

Nama :.....

Email :.....

Nomor hp :.....

Terima kasih atas bantuan anda dalam mengisi formulir survei ini. Semoga dengan survei ini bisa menambah data kita tentang kesenian tradisi di Solo dan sekitarnya. Kalau anda punya pertanyaan terkait dengan survei ini, silahkan hubungi saya, Rachel Hand, di rachel.hand@nus.edu.sg atau di 0853 2757 4842.