

“I am in no way surprised that the Javanese can listen to it all night long”

A Nineteenth-Century Dutch Missionary on Javanese Music

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In the early 1600s, when the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, hereafter VOC) began its economic exploitation of Java and the other islands of what is now the modern state of Indonesia, the Dutch merchants who ran the VOC showed little concern for the lives of the indigenous population beyond their economic potential. Although they happily transferred European technologies such as weaponry—not to mention European diseases—to Java, they did not think it desirable, as did the Spanish and Portuguese colonialists, to try to convert the locals to Christianity. As Frances Gouda wrote, “During its nearly 200 year presence in Java, evangelical activity had not really constituted a ‘priority’ of the Dutch East India Company.”¹

Most of the VOC’s interests were taken over by the British during the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century and then handed off to the new Dutch Republic in 1814. Like the VOC, however, those controlling Dutch economic interests in the Indies remained reluctant to jeopardize their commerce with Javanese Muslims by promoting Christian missionary activity.²

Christianity in Java was marginal, at best, around the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sartono Kartodirdjo reports that there were about seventy thousand indigenous Christians serviced by only five preachers in Java in 1797; but according to Aritonang and Steenbrink, “In 1800 there were virtually no native Christians in Java” and no coordinated and continuing missionary efforts, either.³

Early Christian conversions were local, bottom-up affairs. Around 1820, for example, Coenraad Laurens Coolen (1775–1873), who had a Russian father and an aristocratic Javanese mother, established a village, Nggoro, not far from Surabaya. There, he and his followers practiced a syncretic version of Christianity that

incorporated aspects of Javanese mysticism, including hymns in “traditional Javanese style” as well as *wayang* and dance.⁴ Another early Christian missionizer was the German-born Johannes Emde (1774–1859), who originally came to Java as a watchmaker and was married to a Javanese woman. In contrast to Coolen, Emde’s goal was to thoroughly Westernize his Javanese converts.⁵ Emde even formulated a list of “ten commandments” for his Javanese flock that explicitly forbade gamelan, wayang, and *tembang*.⁶

Leaving aside for the moment the question of precisely how many Javanese subscribed to these homegrown forms of Christianity at the beginning of the nineteenth century, one thing is clear: there was no dogmatic, one-size-fits-all answer for whether traditional Javanese arts are compatible with Christianity. These early approaches to Javanese Christianity either embraced *or* forbade Javanese arts—just as the competing Dutch missionary societies would do as the nineteenth century progressed, as we shall see.

Once the semiofficial Dutch “hands off religion” policy ended in the early nineteenth century, a dizzying array of Protestant sects established as many as twenty-one mission societies in Holland with the aim to proselytize local populations in the Indies—“convert the ‘heathens and Mohammedans,’” as one group stated their goals—but it was only by the 1830s that Dutch missionaries came to Java in any significant, yet still very small, numbers, never more than about twenty in the second half of the nineteenth century, according to Arps.⁷ According to Maryse J. Kruithof, it was not until the 1850s that the Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (Netherlands Missionary Society, NZG) initiated concentrated missionizing efforts in Java.⁸ The Dutch government continued to discourage interference with the practice of Islam, which limited the areas in which missionaries could work; but the government saw advantages in using missionaries for education and research, especially into local languages and traditions, which could help advance Dutch economic goals.⁹

Indeed, many of the most prolific documentarians of the languages and cultures of nineteenth-century Java were first and foremost missionaries, who, as the anthropologist Rita Smith Kipp puts it, effortlessly wove “anthropology and evangelism into one seamless life.”¹⁰ Kipp echoes James Clifford, who sees what he calls a “common cultural heritage” in the putative rivalry between godless, relativist anthropologists and the anti-science, ethnocentric missionaries: he writes that they both are “an amalgam of Greek rationality and Christian universalism. . . . Both participate in a restless Western desire for encountering and incorporating others, whether by conversion or comprehension.”¹¹ Clifford’s view of the commonalities between anthropology and Christian missions runs counter to the received secular humanist wisdom that anthropological relativism is a neutral position; but it helps to make more sense of missionaries’ sometimes sympathetic engagement with Javanese culture.

In this chapter, I examine some of the work of one such individual, Henrik Smeding (1833–91), who was a missionary in Kediri, East Java, between 1858 and 1861. Most of Smeding's peers were not favorably disposed to the Javanese arts. Smeding's successor in Kediri, Carel Poensen (1836–1919), for example, a noted linguist and documenter of Javanese culture in his own right, described Javanese music as “noise” (*herrie*).¹² And J. L. Zegers, a missionary in Indramayu, in 1876 mentioned several reasons why a particular church property was undesirable, including the “proximity of the screams of the ronggengs (dancing girls) and the monotonous sound of the gamelan (Javanese music orchestra).”¹³

Smeding, in contrast, praised the Javanese arts. He sums up his first encounter with gamelan music with a poetic compliment: “The gamelan sounds are, especially heard from a distance, a pleasant rain, a soft feeling caressing sound, and I am by no means surprised that the Javanese can listen to it all night long.”¹⁴

Like most of his fellow Protestant evangelists, however, he did not think Javanese artistic practices, including singing, were suitable for Christian worship services. Using James Clifford's terms, it is clear that Smeding privileged conversion over comprehension. Nevertheless, his contributions to comprehension are worthy of our attention in that they represent the clear, careful descriptions of a fresh eye and ear in a time and place for which not much such evidence survives. Furthermore, examining Smeding's complicated engagements with Javanese music provides some insight into the related dilemmas of both the anthropologist *and* the missionary.

SMEDING AS ANTHROPOLOGIST

The Dutch mission societies regularly published the ethnographic and linguistic scholarship of the missionaries. In particular, the NZG included detailed accounts, written by missionaries, in its periodical, *Mededeelingen* (Notices).¹⁵ The 1861 edition includes an account, written by Smeding, of a trip he took early in his time in Java with another missionary, S. E. Harthoorn, to Kediri, Madiun (Madioen) and Mojokerto (Modjokerto), in July, 1859.¹⁶

According to his account, upon arriving in Kepanjen (Kěpandjèn, near Malang) after a long day of travel, Smeding “suddenly became aware of the sweet melancholic sounds of a gamelan.” His Javanese host, noticing his interest, took him to the place where the gamelan was being played. Smeding ascertained, by questioning those in the house, that they were celebrating Javanese New Year. Smeding provides a detailed account of the information he gleaned through what we might, in retrospect, call “ethnographic method”: he “got to know about gamelan through asking questions and observation.”¹⁷

What follows are some of Smeding's observations. The gamelan in question, he writes, is called a *nénengah* or *panengah*, a “middle sort” (*middelste soort*). In

modern parlance, such a designation could refer to the size of the instruments, the tessitura of its tuning, or even the quality of its materials and craftsmanship.¹⁸ Smeding says the term refers to the set's *omvang* and *grootte*, both multivalent Dutch words which might refer to the number of instruments as well as their actual size. Curiously, the aforementioned Poensen later includes "De gamélan-panèngah" in his encyclopedic list of various kinds of gamelan, misinterpreting Smeding's description as a reference to a fully fledged genre of gamelan ensemble rather than as a simple descriptive qualifier.¹⁹

Smeding notes that the human voice plays a leading role in gamelan music, while the instruments provide accompaniment (a point to which I will return shortly). He then proceeds to describe the instruments in considerable detail. First, the *rebab* (spike fiddle), which he calls a "Javanese violin."²⁰

The description is rather long, and here I highlight only a few specific spots that demonstrate the acuity of his descriptions. Regarding the construction, he reports that the instrument's body is similar "to an ostrich egg cut in half" and is "made of nangka wood (a yellow, very hard wood), with a bladder stretched over the open side." About tuning, he notes that "the lowest string in tone corresponds to the main tone of the *saléndro* [tuning system]. . . . The second string differs with the first one by a pure fifth." Describing the playing technique, he makes the keen observation that "the fingers touch the strings, but do not press them against the neck of the instrument; in this way even the vibrato, which occurs so frequently in Javanese singing, can easily be imitated by a slight movement of the fingers." Finally, he indicates that the *rebab* player is the "orchestra master (*pěmbateg*), and plays the melody, which is [also] sung. All the other parts are based on him, and thus on the singing."²¹ It is clear from this description that Smeding was not only a keen observer but also skilled—or at least relentless—in asking questions and processing the answers.

Smeding's emphasis on a vocal basis for gamelan music is particularly noteworthy. Later in the article, he takes to task existing authorities—Thomas Stamford Raffles and J. A. Wilkens—for their insistence that gamelan music is metrical.²² Smeding instead characterizes the music as "declamatory," by which he means that the vocal (and *rebab*) parts are in free rhythm (*een vrije tijdmaat gebruikt*): "The orchestra therefore adheres to a measure, but it is only the subjective feeling of the singer whereby it is indicated and controlled; so it can be said at the same time, Japanese music knows no meter."²³

Such a view contradicts not only Raffles and Wilkens, but subsequent twentieth-century scholarship on gamelan music by Western specialists such as Jaap Kunst and Mantle Hood.²⁴ But Smeding's emphasis on gamelan music's basis in vocal music foreshadows the groundbreaking scholarship of the Javanese ethnomusicologist Sumarsam, who makes the case that the metrical surface structures of gamelan music derive from an unperformed "inner melody," and that vocal melodies provide the "melodic precedent" for gamelan pieces.²⁵ I am tempted to

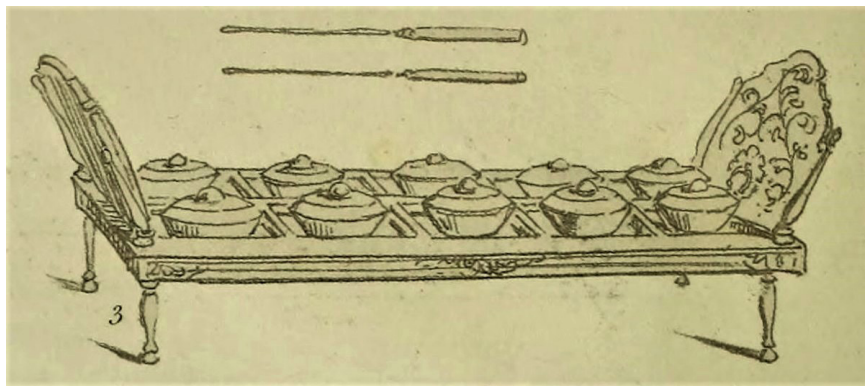
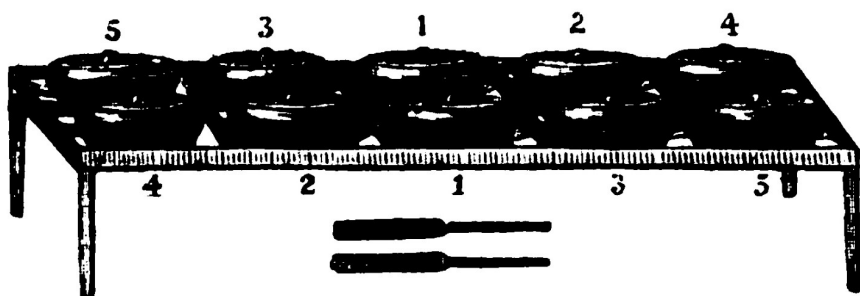


FIGURE 3-1. Raffles's drawing of *bonang* (1817).

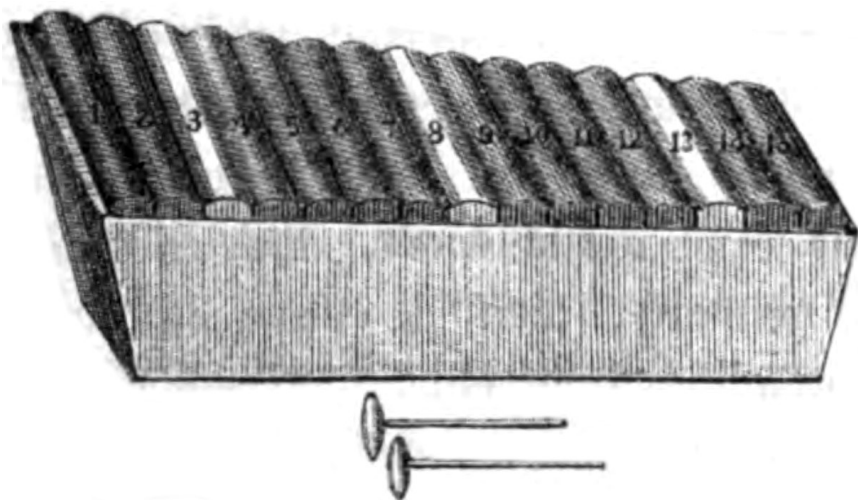


Bonang of Krāmā.

FIGURE 3-2. Smeding's drawing of *bonang* (1861).

furthermore make another contrarian interpretation of these comments about rhythm. Perhaps Smeding was trying to characterize the end-weightedness of Javanese understandings of meter, in which “the stress or accent comes at the end of a unit, rather than the beginning, and any subdivisions of a beat precede (rather than follow) the beat itself,” a phenomenon for which no nineteenth-century European musician would have the vocabulary to explain.²⁶

He may have consulted Raffles for information (figure 3-1), but Smeding's bonang illustration (figure 3-2) provides additional information.²⁷ A bonang typically has two rows of five kettles each; the row farthest from the player consists of pitches that are one octave higher than the row closest to the player. Smeding labels the kettles in each row with the numerals 1 to 5 to indicate which kettles in the farther row are octave equivalents to kettles in the closer row. He makes the canny observation that the layout he documents facilitates playing octaves without having to cross arms—and indeed the octave pairs he indicates correspond to modern practice. The numbering system he uses, however, is obscure.



Gambang kajoe.

FIGURE 3-3. Smeding's drawing of *gambang* (1861).

The article also includes a description and illustration of “*gambang kajoe*” (*kayu*; figure 3-3). The details Smeding provides about the instrument's construction are for the most part consistent with modern instruments. Smeding makes much of the fact that the gambang has only five pitches/keys per octave; he notes that in the resultant scale, “the second and seventh are missing. It is therefore semitone intervals that this instrument lacks.” He further remarks that this pentatonic tuning is consistent with the tendency of his congregants in Malang to replace any semitones with a pitch either “a half tone higher or one whole tone lower.”²⁸

Smeding's gambang illustration numbers each of the keys, and Smeding calls attention to three keys (3, 8, and 12), “which are lighter in color than the others and differ in pitch by an octave.”²⁹ It is not clear from the prose, however, whether those three keys were actually lighter in color on the model instrument or were lightened only in the drawing for the purpose of illustration. It is unlikely that the instrument on which he based the drawing had numbers painted on the keys—this is uncommon in modern practice, and his *bonang* illustration (see figure 3-2) also added number labels, sequentially numbering all keys regardless of any octave duplications. (Unfortunately, this numbering system only makes the *bonang* illustration's numerals more puzzling.)

Smeding's descriptions are at times whimsical. He compares the shape of the various kettle gongs to “old-fashioned gentlemen's hats” (*oudmodische heerenhoeden*). After describing the large gong as a “bass instrument [*basspeeltuig*],” he

goes on to compare the *kethuk* to the orchestral viola; given that the *kethuk* plays only a single note, one can't help but wonder if perhaps Smeding's comparison was the world's first viola joke.³⁰

Some of Smeding's comments suggest that he misunderstood the differences between *salendro* and *pelog* tunings, and that gamelan music was not necessarily limited to the accompaniment of vocal music. He characterized *gending* as "declamatory," by which I think he means that the choral vocal parts (known in the present as *gerong*) for gamelan pieces were simple (relative to the *tembang* singing that he engages with later). And his own apparent bias toward vocal music may have led him to mistakenly characterize gamelan music as completely ametrical because the singing did not seem metrical to him. Nevertheless, in its accuracy, objectivity, and attention to descriptive detail, this encounter with a gamelan showcases the relativist anthropologist side of Smeding.

SMEDING AS MISSIONARY

Smeding devotes several pages of this same account to discussions with Javanese Christians about the propriety of gamelan music. At another stop on his journey, he is delighted to learn that one of the Christian residents there, named Matthew, had a reputation as a skilled gamelan player. Matthew was a former resident of Ngoro, the aforementioned Christian village led by Coolen, who advocated the use of gamelan and *wayang* in Christian worship. Smeding was disappointed to learn, however, that Matthew no longer had a gamelan. Smeding quotes Matthew as responding, "It is not proper for Christians to play gamelan." Smeding countered that Dutch Christians are allowed to play the "'Dutch gamelan' (piano) and the 'Dutch rebab' (violin)," and that Smeding himself "loves to hear the beautiful sounds of the Javanese gamelan."³¹ Smeding asks Matthew to identify a place in scripture that forbids Dutch or Javanese music, and (of course) Matthew cannot.

However, Matthew mobilizes an argument that Smeding finds difficult to rebut: "If one has a gamelan, it isn't long before dancers are also involved." Smeding suggests to his readers that he is not convinced that dancing is inherently sinful, either, but acknowledged to Matthew that getting rid of his gamelan was probably the right thing to do: "There are many things in the world which are by no means evil in themselves, and therefore also are not forbidden by God; but if anyone knows that by such practice he comes to real sins, and if he does not abstain from it, he has already sinned against his conscience as a result." Here Smeding refers Matthew to the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, chapter 14, which admonishes believers to respect the consciences of others, specifically in matters of food restrictions, but more generally as well. Smeding goes on, in his account, to cite a recent event, reported by another missionary, of a visit by a gamelan with *talédhék* dancers, which many of the local Christian men patronized; Smeding ultimately concedes that "gamelan is a trap for the Christian Javanese."³²

As we saw earlier, Smeding is capable of being a relativist when considering gamelan music in the abstract. But here, the missionary in him seems to acknowledge that gamelan's associations with public dancing are a bridge too far, and any commitment to cultural relativity must take a back seat to promoting Christian moral values. Here we see the missionary taking precedence over the anthropologist.

SMEDING AS ANTHROPOLOGIST AND MISSIONARY

A third case makes a little more sense of this clash between his missionary and anthropologist sides. In a later article, published in 1862, Smeding provides a retrospective view of his ethnographic and linguistic work with his Javanese congregants as part of an effort to guide future missionaries. He also contributes to an ongoing discourse among Dutch missionaries about the potential for traditional Javanese music in worship, as foreshadowed by the different approaches of Coolen and Emde mentioned earlier.³³

Smeding was convinced that Javanese music, including much gamelan music, was in essence vocal-based. Smeding, like most other Dutch scholars and missionaries, appears to have used the term *tembang* as a generic term for Javanese "song." Smeding's colleague, Harthoorn, with the assistance of his Javanese choirmaster (named Johannes), experimented with creating Christian *tembang* and advocated their use on a broader scale.³⁴ Smeding himself claims that he learned to sing some *tembang* from Johannes while he was teaching Harthoorn's congregation Dutch choral singing.³⁵

As he did with the gamelan, he makes some pertinent and accurate observations about *tembang* performance practice. He notes that there are regional styles of singing *tembang*. *Tembang*, he asserts, is a solo performance, and the songs "are by their nature unsuitable for being sung more than one voice at a time, or they lose their peculiar character." What Javanese listeners admire about *tembang*, he writes, is its calm expression of deep emotions; despite the ornamentation in the singing, *tembang* are not "wild or voluptuous," and, furthermore, their calm expression reflects the Javanese character.³⁶

Regarding *tembang* melodies, Smeding insists that they defy staff notation, in their pitch vocabulary, their ornamentation, and in the variability of individual performances.³⁷ He comments on F. W. Winter's set of transcriptions of twenty-eight *tembang* (1874): "I must admit that I do not know how to reproduce [the Javanese] ways of singing, completely freely figured by the singer, from [this] notation." Finally, he observes, *tembang* texts are obscure, written in what Smeding calls "Kawi Miring, the language of the poets."³⁸ He notes that many Javanese do not understand the language without some explanation.

According to Jaap Kunst, "To the Javanese, singing and poetry are one and the same thing," and the term *tembang* refers to "purely vocal compositions"

and includes songs/poems in various *macapat* meters.³⁹ In contemporary practice, each *macapat* meter is defined by a specific number of lines, each with a specific number of syllables and ending with specific vowel sounds. Each meter is associated with one or more basic melodic forms, which provides an abstract melodic outline that guides individual performances of poem. And most significantly, each *macapat* meter expresses an affect or mood, which is hinted at in the name of the poetic meter.⁴⁰

To demonstrate the flexibility of both themes and style in *tembang* songs, as well as the very specific nature of these performances' expression of affect, consider a very recent *macapat* song, in the *pocung* meter, presented on YouTube by one of the four central Javanese royal palaces, Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, in Yogyakarta, as part of a series of *macapat* videos that the palace posted as one of its responses to the COVID-19 pandemic.⁴¹

The palace official who introduces the video describes the affect of *pocung* as "careless, humorous, flexible, but giving advice."⁴² He specifies that the *pocung* verses have four lines, each of which has a specific number of syllables and ends with a particular vowel sound:

- line 1: 12 syllables, ending with an 'u' sound
- line 2: 6 syllables, ending with an 'a' sound
- line 3: 8 syllables, ending with an 'i' sound
- line 4: 12 syllables, ending with an 'a' sound

The Javanese text of the poem, as presented in subtitles on the video and published in *Balungan*, follows these conventions precisely—each line has the prescribed number of syllables and ending vowel sound:

Kang tuwajuh nindakake keh pituduh
 Ngadhepi Korona
 Manut dhawuhing pangarsi
 Aja kendhat dhedhepe marang Hyang Suksma⁴³

I find it rather charming, even humorous, that the requisite "a" vowel at the end of the second line is fulfilled with the word *korona*, referring to the virus. The flexibility of the form is apparent in the poet's capacity to bring the *pocung* form to bear on a very immediate problem, namely the COVID-19 pandemic. The tone of the poem (as rendered in English by translator Nyi MJ. Reninawangmataya) expresses the requisite affect of *pocung* by providing practical advice in a light, humorous manner:

Follow the instructions earnestly
 To combat the corona virus outbreak
 Follow all of the orders from the leader (government)
 Never stop relying on God⁴⁴

From Smeding's writings, it appears that he was only dimly aware of how very specific were the formal and stylistic details of *macapat*: "The so-called matja matja of the Javanese," he writes, "the singing-reading of everything his literature offers him, takes place according to some kind of terminology, which is indicated at the top of the piece, and there seems to be more taste and suitability than content in this." In fact, the "terminology . . . at the top" (i.e., the specification of the form *pocung*) is quite specific, and many ordinary Javanese listeners would immediately comprehend the details and subtleties of such poems.⁴⁵

But while he praises the practice of *tembang* singing, he ultimately advocates against Harthoorn's push to incorporate *tembang* into Christian worship—not because it is sinful or pagan, as asserted by other missionaries, but because adapting it to the requirements of Christian worship would compromise *tembang*'s aesthetic integrity. The characteristics he describes, Smeding argues, are inconsistent with the role of congregational singing in Christian worship. Referring to Harthoorn's attempts to promote *tembang* with Christian themes, he writes, "I hope that I will not be misunderstood to underestimate the value of Christian *tembang*. This is so far from what I mean that I intend, if I have the opportunity, to use *tembang* in schools. Here they can provide excellent services for training the converts. Perhaps there are other related examples that I will come to know, with more knowledge and experience, but [as for now] I consider [*tembang*] to be certainly unsuitable for singing of the congregation in religious gatherings."⁴⁶

Determining whether Javanese music was suitable for Javanese Christians strained the relationship between Smeding's anthropologist and missionary selves. His anthropologist self found gamelan music to be delightful in the abstract, but his missionary self recognized that for Javanese congregants, gamelan music's associations with dancing girls and prostitution made it difficult to redeem for Christian contexts. In the case of *tembang*, Smeding's anthropologist and missionary selves found common ground. His advocacy for Dutch, rather than Javanese, singing was based both on an anthropologist's understanding of the relationship between musical style and social function and a missionary's confidence in the worshipful nature of group choral singing. He even cites one of his Javanese consultants to validate his opinion: "The above-mentioned Johannes, a great lover of *tembang*, said to me plainly: 'the *tembang* are beautiful, but if they are sung equally by more than one person, they are ugly. They are not intended for that. . . . The Dutch songs are very much more beautiful, because they can be sung by many at once.'"⁴⁷

CONCLUSION

"I am convinced that a thorough knowledge of music and song of the Javanese would open to us a rich source of knowledge about the nature and character of this people," Smeding wrote to the board of the NZG in response to their question about the music education of missionaries.⁴⁸ His statement echoes the sentiment of generations of ethnomusicologists, who believe, as Bruno Nettl puts it, "that

the teaching of their subject will . . . promote intercultural—maybe even international—understanding.”⁴⁹

Ethnomusicologists would likely insist that their motives are more objective than those of a missionary. As James Clifford points out, however, missionaries and anthropologists express the same “restless Western desire for encountering and incorporating others, whether by conversion or comprehension.”⁵⁰ Clifford is pointing out that the power differentials between missionaries and their Others are essentially the same as the power differentials between foreign anthropologists—along with ethnomusicologists—and those same Others.

There is little doubt that missionaries such as Smeding, whatever their motivations, have left behind a trove of otherwise irretrievable lore about Javanese language, culture, and performing arts. This “rich source of knowledge about the nature and character of [a] people,” as Smeding puts it, has the potential to augment modern understandings of Javanese history—indeed, of global history—and contribute in the present to counterbalancing the injustices of the past.

NOTES

1. Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900–1942* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2008), 66. See also Rita Smith Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission, The Karo Field* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1990), 25.

2. Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 66.

3. Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 639–40.

4. Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, “Christianity in Javanese Culture and Society,” in chapter 14 of *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, ed. Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink (Leiden: Brill, 2008), at 641.

5. Aritonang and Steenbrink, “Christianity in Javanese Culture and Society,” 713.

6. Bernard Arps, “De Kwestie van het Javaanse Kerkgezag,” In *Woord en Schrift in de Oost: de betekenis van zending en missie voor de studie van taal en literatuur in Zuidoost-Azië* (Leiden: Opleiding Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, Universiteit Leiden, Semaian 19, 2000), 1–32, at 9.

7. Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission*, 28; Arps, “De Kwestie van het Javaanse Kerkgezag,” 7.

8. Maryse J. Kruithof, “Zaaiers, zaait in Gods naam voort!, Carel Poensen, het leven van een zendeling-etnoloog (1836–1919)” (PhD diss., Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2010), 4.

9. Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, 66, 67.

10. Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission*, 8.

11. James Clifford, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 126.

12. See Kruithof, “Zaaiers, zaait in Gods naam voort!,” 78.

13. Papers of J. L. Zegers (1870–1890 zendeling te Indramajoe) in Utrecht Archive, letter written January 5, 1876, to his superiors, https://hetutrechtsarchief.nl/onderzoek/resultaten/archieven?mivast=39&mizig=210&miaadt=39&micode=1102-1&milang=nl&mizk_alle=zegers%20j.l.&miview=inv2,220-21.

14. Henrik Smeding, “Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri, Madioen en Modjokerto, gedaan van 9 tot 29 Julij 1859, door de zendelingen S.K Harthoorn en H. Smeding,” *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap* 5 (1861): 120–50, 245–86, 134.

15. Kipp, *The Early Years of a Dutch Colonial Mission*, 9.

16. Smeding, “Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri,” oo.

17. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 128.
18. Midiyanto, personal correspondence with author, October 22, 2022.
19. Carel Poensen, "De Wajang," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* vol. 16 (1872): 59–115, at 81.
20. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 128.
21. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 128.
22. Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java: In Two Volumes* (London: Black, Parbury, and Allen, 1817); J. A. Wilkens, "Séwakâ, een Javaansch gedicht met eene vertaling en woordenboek," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2 (1850): 381–461.
23. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 133.
24. Kunst, *Music in Java*, 3rd enlarged ed., 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973); and Mantle Hood, *The Nuclear Theme as a Determinant of Patet in Javanese Music* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1954).
25. Sumarsam, "Inner Melody in Javanese Gamelan Music," *Asian Music* 7 (1975): 3–13; Sumarsam, *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 161.
26. Henry Spiller, "University Gamelan Ensembles as Research," in *Mapping Landscapes for Performance as Research: Scholarly Acts and Creative Cartographies*, ed. Shannon Rose Riley and Lynette Hunter, 171–77 (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), at 174. See also Spiller, "Lou Harrison's Music for Western Instruments and Gamelan: Even More Western than It Sounds," *Asian Music* 39 (2009): 31–52.
27. Raffles, *The History of Java*; Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri."
28. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 131.
29. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 131.
30. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 131.
31. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 131.
32. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 131.
33. See Arps, "De Kwestie van het Javaanse Kerkgezag."
34. Smeding, "Enkele Opmerkingen env rage over het zendingswerk op Java," 248–49.
35. Smeding, "Enkele Opmerkingen env rage over het zendingswerk op Java," 238.
36. Smeding, "Enkele Opmerkingen env rage over het zendingswerk op Java," 248, 250–51, 252.
37. Smeding, "Enkele Opmerkingen env rage over het zendingswerk op Java," 250–53.
38. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 250.
39. Kunst, *Music in Java*, 122.
40. See Wedana Susilomadhyo, "Macapat from the Kraton Yogyakarta: Classic Poems for a Contemporary Catastrophe," transl. Nyi MJ. Reninawangmataya, *Balungan* 14 (2020): 49–53; Margaret J. Kartomi, *Matjapat Songs in Central and West Java* (Canberra: National University Press, 1973).
41. Susilomadya, "Macapat from the Kraton Yogyakarta," 49. The video is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=FcwPdRXzMnE
42. Susilomadya, "Macapat from the Kraton Yogyakarta," 49.
43. Susilomadya, "Macapat from the Kraton Yogyakarta," 52.
44. Susilomadya, "Macapat from the Kraton Yogyakarta," 53.
45. Smeding, "Enkele Opmerkingen env rage over het zendingswerk op Java," 254.
46. Smeding, "Enkele Opmerkingen env rage over het zendingswerk op Java," 254.
47. Smeding, "Bezoekreis naar de gemeenten in Kediri," 253.
48. Letter from Smeding to the NZG dated February 7, 1862, Het Utrechts Archief, 1102–1, 1.2.2.7.2.2.4.
49. Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-Three Discussions* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 18.
50. Clifford, *Person and Myth*, 126.