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Lessons in the Sustainable Development of the Sundanese Performing Arts:
Cianjuran (Tembang Sunda), Degung and Tari Kursus

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ABSTRACT
Throughout history, musical communities have promoted musical expressions that were "sustainable" because they created space to create musical meanings that reinforce cultural values and to provide stable support for artists who could use such spaces to present musical expressions. My paper addresses developments in the 20th century of three forms of Sundanese music with roots of 19th-century royal courts, namely Cianjuran (tembang Sunda), degung, and tayuban. Cianjuran was appropriated in the 20th century by the emerging middle class as a marker of upward mobility. Degung, originally a courtly status symbol, was wrested from its exclusive contexts to become a symbol of modern Sundaneseness, and eventually the accompaniment for Sundanese popular music on recordings. The successful development of Cianjuran and degung into modern, sustainable art forms illustrates the principles outlined by recent scholars of the sustainability of music. For example, Michael Atwood Mason and Rory Turner advocate: "rather than trying to "preserve" a specific traditional expression at the item level, cultural sustainability engages the whole social and cultural ecosystem and its current actors to chart a course for self-conscious cultural change" [1-3]. In the 21st century, as we strategize on the theme of this conference— "arts and design education for sustainable development"—it is useful to reflect on what elements made these earlier, grassroots, bottom-up efforts at sustainable development successful, and how to empower the next generation to foster such efforts.

Keywords: *Sustainable development, Sundanese performing arts, Cianjuran, Degung, Tari kursus*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Discussions of "sustainability" and "development" first began not in the fields of arts and design, but rather as a response to the realization that modern approaches to developing the material world was depleting natural resources at a rate that was not sustainable.

From an ecological point of view, to be "sustainable" means to operate within a system in which the natural resources from which products are made are renewed as fast—or faster—than they are consumed.

A frequently cited definition comes from the UN World Commission on Environment and Development: "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" [4].

Recently, scholars and activists began to apply notions of sustainability not only to material production and natural resources, but to human society as well. In recent years, American ethnomusicologists have adapted ecological notions of "sustainability" to retheorize approaches to the "development" of the performing arts.

The word "development" has become associated with a narrow capitalistic view of the world and is an artefact of colonialism. This view places value primarily on activities that generate financial profits within a capitalist framework. Human achievements without any immediate financial reward—such as the performing arts—often have been left behind in capitalist development projects.

But capitalist profit motives could never completely erase a common human understanding that the performing arts are good, even if they do not necessarily result in great financial gains.

For most of human history, for performing arts, "sustainability" and "development" has not been the same as "financial success" or "commercial success" – the performing arts often exist outside the simple equations of supply/demand economics.

In the 16th through the 19th centuries—both in Europe and on Java—the most prestigious musical expressions were patronized by wealthy aristocrats, who spent a lot of money and other resources on "classical" music and dance—not for profit, per se, but rather for the prestige and status it brought them. These resources enabled artists, who were the rich people's servants, to spend considerable time on their efforts to "develop" sophisticated technologies, such as musical instruments, notation, music theory, and musical repertories, to support "classical" music, and thus enhance the prestige and power of their patrons.

Often, part of the prestige was the education and sophistication required of audiences to enjoy these expressions, so they had relatively small audiences.

Such efforts were "sustainable" not because they were financially self-supporting, but because they met their goals—the creation of prestige—without running out of resources. The resources that included human resources, physical resources, and creative resources.

A key part of the value of such performing arts resided in their "aesthetic value"—qualities in artistic productions that somehow mirrored the values of its patrons (prestige and power)—not just mirrored, but rather made this prestige and power seem beautiful and natural.

In the present day, such music still requires "patronage," which mostly comes from government agencies, educational institutions, and wealthy individuals or foundations (Yayasan). These musical expressions no longer fill vital social needs, however, and therefore are not necessarily sustainable. Such music tends to repeat a closed repertory of "classical" pieces over and over again, preserving the past for a shrinking audience.

The urge to "preserve" artistic expressions is also part of the legacy of colonialism, perhaps best epitomized in the notion of a "museum," in which notable artefacts of bygone eras are put on display. Museums typically separate these notable artefacts from their original contexts or meanings, and instead invite viewers to evaluate them using modern standards. This approach— "preserving," unchanged, notable artefacts by removing them from the environment in which they were developed—is inherently unsustainable.

Thus, in the face of global capitalism and mass media, which are focused on monetary return rather than on status, elite arts were no longer sustainable – because the prestige they brought was not always worth the cost of subsidies required to maintain them.

A second approach is commercial music, or "popular" music, which is integrated into the marketplace of industrial capitalism. It is mass-produced and aimed at a large market of passive consumers. In the form of commercial recordings, such music is infinitely reproduceable and becomes a commodity. As a result, commercial music tends to provide few social benefits, even if it generates financial profit.

These two approaches—preservation and commercialization—are not the only options, however. Scholars who are interested in sustainability in the arts promote other ways to nurture and value artistic activities. Ethnomusicologists Huib Schippers and Dan Bendrups, for example, suggest that it is 'tempting to regard every tradition that is considered worth preserving as a potential exhibit in the "musical museum"' [2], where, presumably, such traditions would do little more than gather dust.

According to Schippers and Bendrups [2], a more "sustainable" approach would be to maintain cultural masterpieces "by managing the cultural soil surrounding them" (as another scholar, Jeff Todd Titon [3] puts it)—that is, to create, through policy, social conditions that are favorable to the continued practice of artistic traditions [2]. They also recognize that the outcome of such an approach would not be the "preservation" of such practices. Rather, these artistic traditions are encouraged change in response to changes in the environment. In this case, "change" is equivalent to "development."

Michael Mason and Rory Turner say something similar: "Rather than trying to "preserve" a specific traditional expression at the item level, cultural sustainability engages the whole social and cultural ecosystem and its current actors to chart a course for self-conscious cultural change" [1].

Thus, when it comes to the performing arts, then, "sustainable development" should be understood as establishing and maintaining an environment that encourages performing artists to build upon the music of the past to adapt it to fulfill current social needs.

Schippers and Bendrups suggest five key domains of musical sustainability. These may provide a useful framework for 21st-century educators in thinking about arts education for sustainable development:

- Systems of learning music (informal vs formal; notation vs aural; old vs new processes of transmission).
- Musicians and communities (role and support of musicians) focus on teaching how artists can be part of communities.

- Contexts and constructs (taste, aesthetics, cosmologies, identities, gender roles, prestige; appropriation).
- Regulations and infrastructure (places to perform; instrument manufacture; laws).
- Media and the music industry (distribution) [2].

Today, in this paper, I discuss some historical examples of "sustainable development" in the Sundanese performing arts, which have roots in 19th-century royal courts of West Java, that is, *kabupaten*: namely Cianjuran (tembang Sunda), degung, and tayuban, and recount some of their developments in the 20th century. Although kabupaten were central to the governing of West Java in the 19th century, and important trend-setters for the arts, they declined in importance throughout the 20th century, especially after Indonesian independence.

Art forms associated with the courts were not preserved; rather they were "sustained" outside the courts because they were "developed" to have new meanings in very different political climates. Cianjuran was appropriated in the 20th century by the emerging middle class as a marker of upward social mobility. Degung, originally a courtly status symbol, was wrested from its exclusive contexts to become a symbol of modern Sundaneseness, and eventually the accompaniment for Sundanese popular music on recordings. The basic elements of the men's dance parties known as tayuban, as recontextualized as tari kursus, provided the raw elements as well as the basic format for a variety of more modern dances, including tari klasik, and jaipongan.

2. PAST EXAMPLES OF "SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT" IN THE SUNDANESE ARTS

Let me begin by recounting some early history of tembang, degung, and tayuban.

2.1. Tembang

According to the musicologist Mohamad Yusuf Wiradiredja [5], *Cianjuran* took shape with the creative impulses of the *bupati* of Cianjur, Raden Adipati Aria (R.A.A.) Kusumaningrat, aka Dalem Pancaniti, who reigned from 1834 to 1863. He sought to revitalise and refine the region's declining narrative sung epic tradition called *pantun* [6-8], typically accompanied with a zither called *kacapi*, which recounted tales from the medieval Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran. Dalem Pancaniti ordered his poets to create songs based on episodes from various *pantun* stories [9]. The result of Dalem Pancaniti's development of pantun was a courtly singing style called *mamaos*, with a repertory of songs derived from *pantun* stories (for example 'Rajah', 'Mupu Kembang') called *papantunan*. Dalem Pancaniti also excelled in writing poetry using the Javanese forms known as *macapat*, which are called *pupuh* in Sundanese [5]. Wim van Zanten [9] suggests that such poetic meters have been known among Sundanese nobles as early as 1650. According to Mikihiro Moriyama [10], even though these aristocratic verses were composed on paper, the preferred medium for experiencing the poems was to sing them [11]. Another new genre, *rerenggongan*, resulted from combining the *mamaos* singing style with *pupuh* poetry. And yet another genre, *dedegungan*, was the fruit of adapting some *degung* repertory for *kacapi* [5].

Cianjur's aristocrats, both male and female, cultivated singing the florid, unmetered melodies, accompanied by non-aristocratic musicians playing *kacapi* and eventually *suling* (bamboo flute), and mastered the subtleties of the various genres [12]. Aristocrats built elegant evenings of intimate entertainment around performing these poems, showing off their refinement through the sophistication of their personal singing style, while the lyrics reminded all those gathered of their ties to the ancient kingdom and heroes of Pajajaran. Thus, both the musical style and the poetic texts lent legitimization to the Sundanese aristocrats who performed them.

2.2. Degung

While Cianjuran honors Pajajaran, degung has its origins in Javanese music from Mataram. Ernst Heins [13] asserts that it is possible that *degung*'s antecedents are the very gamelan instruments that Mataram conquerors brought to the Sundanese courts after the fall of Pajajaran when they delegated authority to compliant Pajajaran aristocrats. Playing the instruments of Mataram in the former courts of Pajajaran would have provided a very clear sign both of Mataram's domination and authority over the aristocrats, as well as of these aristocrats' delegated authority over the Sundanese.

Sundanese aristocrats adopted – and developed – gamelan music as a way to acknowledge fealty to their new Central Javanese overlords [13]. The *degung* ensemble, a small gamelan long associated with ceremonies of the Sundanese *kabupaten*, is quite different from the gamelan ensembles of Central Java and Bali.

It is possible that *degung*-like instruments were played in the Sundanese Hindu-Javanese courts of Pajajaran, but there is only indirect evidence in the form of stories associated with heirloom ensembles in the palaces of the north coast city of Cirebon. The Cirebonese *kraton* maintain old sets of instruments that they call *denggung*, which legend dates to the fifteenth

century and identifies as spoils of the conquest by Cirebon of Pajajaran [14,15]. Zanten's transcription and translation of a performance of the *Cianjuran* song 'Mupu Kembang' refers to aristocrats travelling with *degung* instruments as part of their regalia, suggesting that *degung* was associated with the nobles of the Pajajaran era, at least in the *pantun* stories [9].

The term *degung* is obscure – it may be an onomatopoeic Sundanese term that refers to the sounds of gongs and gong ensembles [16]. The ensemble's distinctive tuning (*laras*) (also called *degung*), however, appears to be derived from a distinctively Sundanese modal practice more akin to *pantun* than to the *slendro* and *pelog* tunings of Central Java, suggesting that the *bupati* slyly added a uniquely Sundanese signature to this imported symbol of power. Oman Suganda, whose discussion with other experts is included as an appendix in Max Harrell's 1974 dissertation on *degung*, suggests that this 'old scale' *degung* was the scale of Pajajaran's *pantun* bards [17].

Compared to the grand gamelan ensembles of the Central Javanese courts, a *degung* ensemble is small: *bonang*, two multi-keyed *saron*-type instruments, a large hanging *goong*, and a set of suspended gongs called *jengglong.* In its earliest decades, the *degung* ensemble may have included only these bronze instruments, along with a drum or two. The musicians were not aristocrats, but rather talented musicians from the surrounding communities brought into the court as servants [18]. There is little evidence, however, about what sort of music might have been played on these proto-*degung* instruments, although it seems clear that they would have provided background music for the *bupati*'s guests and to accompany various leisure activities, such as hunting and sailing. Harrell [17] reports that *degung* was 'associated with courtly fishing parties, during which the *degung* was played on a platform placed over two boats. It seems likely that the piece 'Lalayaran' (Sailing) was intended to accompany such outings. One of Harrell's consultants reported an occasion in the 1930s or 1940s during which 'Lalayaran' was played non-stop for half a day [17]. It remains a staple of the '*degung klasik*' repertory. One of the *tembang* poems translated by Zanten, 'Beber Layar' (Hoisting the Sail), also connects the sound of the *degung* to sailing [9].

Heins asserts that degung was 'one of the primary regalia of the Bupati, the Regent [13]. Each kabupatèn housed a ready-to-play set for state receptions, dinners, and public appearances of the Bupati himself to express his presence and power.' Jaap Kunst [19] confirms that specimens are found 'in practically all West Javanese *kabupatèns*, but only very rarely in the *dèsa* [rural communities]'. Kunst provides pitch measurements for ensembles in the *kabupaten* of Sukabumi, Bandung, Sumedang and the three Cirebon *kraton* [19]. It is worth noting that his extensive inventory of gamelan in the appendices mentions *degung* only in those three *kabupaten*. Heins [13] further reports that in Bandung, the '*degung* was played outdoors weekly, usually on Sundays, for no other apparent reason than the wish of the Bupati' as a gift to his subjects. 'Even as late as the 'thirties, the Bupati of Bandung observed an old custom and had his gamelan *degung* placed on a specially designed balcony *over* the entrance gate at the *alun-alun* (town square) side of the wall surrounding his residence'.

Thus, while performances of *Cianjuran* privately commemorated the aristocrats' roots in Pajajaran, *degung* very publicly proclaimed the authority vested in the Sundanese aristocrats by the more powerful Mataram empire, and later, to an extent, by the Dutch colonial government.

2.3. Ibing Tayub

I move now to dance. For centuries Sundanese men of all classes have danced to show off their prowess and to establish their masculine credentials in the eyes of their compatriots, usually in the company of professional female singer-dancers called *ronggeng*. The same version of 'Mupu Kembang' translated by Zanten that names *degung* as part of the nobles' regalia also refers to drums and musical instruments for aristocratic dancing with *ronggeng* [9]. The men of the 19th-century West Javanese courts developed elaborate protocols for such dancing, to which they applied the Javanese word *tayub*. Unlike the dance parties of commoners, in which many men danced at the same time, Sundanese aristocratic *tayuban* parties typically featured the men dancing one at a time, usually in an order that corresponded to their relative status. Outsiders' accounts of these events described them as wild. Aristocratic women typically left the parties early in the evening, leaving the men to their drinking and dancing. Indeed, the word *tayub* refers to alcoholic beverages.

But make no mistake: in their improvised dances, aristocratic men demonstrated their mastery of what Nina Herlina Lubis [20] describes as *bentuk sopan santun secara konvensional sebagai pencerminan suatu sikap, tindakan, dan kelakuan* ('conventional manners as reflected in postures, movements and actions') that the elite could use to distinguish themselves from people of lower status. According to Lubis [20], all aristocrats needed to be skilled in *tayub* dancing. She describes at least four kinds of movements – *sembah* (a hand gesture of greeting); *sila* or *émok*, *cingog* and *mando* (sitting cross-legged); *dongko*, *sampoyong*, *mamandapan*, *tapak deku*, *ngorondang*, *géngsor* and *mendék* (walking in respectful ways); and *ngampil* (solemnly carrying a symbolic object) – that were important in courtly etiquette [20]. It was precisely these

sorts of gestures around which men structured their *tayub* dancing to demonstrate their prowess – both as men and as aristocrats.

Aristocrats took their dancing very seriously. Each *bupati* had his individual *kostim* (dance character and song). Appropriating a *bupati*'s *kostim* without permission could result in an unwelcome possession by spirits or other supernatural consequences [20]. In a brief memoir entitled *Kasenian Sunda waktos Kangjeng Pangeran Aria Soeria Atmadja di Sumedang Taun 1882–1919* (Sundanese Arts during the Time of Prince Aria Suria Atmaja in Sumedang, 1882–1919), Kartadibrata [21] identifies the *kostim* of several Sumedang aristocrats, by piece title, summarised in table 1 below.

Table 1. The *Kostim* of several Sumedang aristocrats

Name	Kostim
Pangeran Suria Kusumah Adinata	Lagu Sura-sari
Pangeran Aria Suria Atmaja	Lagu Sonteng
R.A.A. Kusumahdilaga	Lagu Karanginan
R.A.A. Danu Ningrat	Lagu Samarangan
R.A.A. Suria Natabrata	Lagu Wani-wani

Towards the end of the 19th Schippers and Bendrups century, the Dutch made it possible for non-aristocrats to assume positions of authority in the West Javanese civil service. For these meritocratic 'sub-aristocrats', learning to dance provided a means to performatively assert a higher level of status [22]. Towards the end of the 19th century, good dancing skills became a must for would-be aristocrats, and efforts to systematize dance training resulted in increasingly elaborate movement repertories and choreographies. Through dance, individual aristocrats – and later aspiring aristocrats – established their individual masculine credentials and demonstrated their mastery of physical courtly etiquette.

3. INTO THE 20TH CENTURY

Thus far I have described three 19th-century Sundanese courtly arts with very different courtly functions:

- *Cianjuran*: refined singing to assert – in private – legitimacy through connections to the Pajajaran kingdom.
- *Degung*: ceremonial gamelan music to publicly express authority and fealty to Mataram.
- *Ibing tayub*: men's improvised dancing to establish individual potency and mastery of court etiquette.

On the surface, none of these courtly functions has a place in postcolonial, democratic Indonesia. Yet each of these genres – *developed* rather radically – has been *sustained* in the performing arts of modern West Java into the present day:

- *Cianjuran* (renamed *tembang Sunda*): refined singing to establish a regional Sundanese identity through connections to the geographical areas once occupied by Pajajaran.
- *Degung*: a uniquely Sundanese form of gamelan music with a uniquely Sundanese tuning that demonstrates Sundanese culture's deep historical roots and adaptability to changing times.
- *Ibing tayub* (recast as *tari kursus*): a core movement vocabulary and basic formal outline for a 'classical' Sundanese dance, created in the 1950s, that was consistent with nationalist Indonesian ideals for 'peaks of culture'.

3.1. Tembang

In the 1920s a former regent of Cianjur, R.H.A.A. Wiranatakusumah, became the regent of Bandung. He promoted *Cianjuran* not only in Bandung but throughout West Java as a symbol of Sundanese identity within the context of burgeoning nationalist movements in Indonesia, and musicians innovated new approaches to the genre – a trend that continues into the present.

The perceived connection between today's Sundanese court arts and the Pajajaran kingdom is exemplified in the first serious song that students of *Cianjuran* (sung poetry) often learn, and the first song in many *tembang* performances: 'Papatet'.

Table 2. Papatet

Pajajaran kari ngaran	A name is all that remains of Pajajaran
Pangrango geus narik kolot	Pangrango got old
Mandalawangi ngaleungit	Mandalawangi disappeared
Ngaleungit ngajadi leuweung	Disappeared into the forest
Nagara geus lawas pindah	The kingdom went away long ago
Saburakna Pajajaran	Since Pajajaran's fall
Gunung Gumuruh suwung	Mt Gumuruh is uninhabited
Geus tilem jeung nagarana	It has given way, like the kingdom

'Papatet' begins with the words '*Pajajaran kari ngaran*' – 'A name is all that remains of Pajajaran'. It goes on to name some of the prominent mountains that surround the Sundanese homeland (Mt. Pangrango, Mt. Mandalawangi, Mt. Gumuruh), and mourns their return to the wilderness after the fall of the kingdom. According to Sean Williams [23], the song 'magnifies for listeners the importance of their historical and ancestral identity' as Sundanese. The musical gestures, too, emphasise this conscious attempt to take listeners back in time to Pajajaran [23]. Zanten [9] also emphasises that nostalgia for Pajajaran and the lifestyle of its nobles, as well as tributes to the Sundanese landscape (mountains and the sea), are among the most common themes of *Cianjuran*'s poetry.

20th-century performers expanded the genre by following a serious, free-rhythm *tembang* poem with a lighter song, usually cast in non-aristocratic *kawih* poetic forms, which typically have quadratic metre and end rhymes. *Kacapi* players developed techniques for imitating the texture and sounds of gamelan, which often provided accompaniment for *kawih* singing in other contexts. Instead of the short ostinatos and fast runs that characterised the accompaniment for *papantunan* and *rarancagan* respectively, instrumentalists innovated a two-hand, polyphonic style of playing the *kacapi*. The left hand provided both low-pitched cadential notes that imitated the sounds of some of the gamelan's colotomic instruments, such as *jengglong* and *goong*, and syncopated rhythmic patterns reminiscent of Sundanese drumming. The right hand elaborated on the colotomic notes. A second smaller *kacapi*, called *rincik*, was often added to the ensemble to provide more ornamentation and elaboration, further recalling the texture of gamelan music. These songs came to be known as *panambih* (addition) or *lagu ekstra* (extra song) in recognition of their lower status relative to *mamaos*. A *panambih*'s lesser prestige also contributed to its association with female performers – while both men and women sang the other genres, men generally avoided singing *panambih* [18,23].

In recognition of this widening context, and to lessen the association with a particular locale (Cianjur), a new name – *tembang Sunda* – was promoted and adopted in 1962 at a meeting of musical experts [9]. The evocation of Pajajaran and of the Sundanese landscapes is still among *tembang Sunda*'s most powerful aspects. For Sundanese listeners, the sound of a *kacapi* and/or *suling* is intensely nostalgic, even though most listeners cannot identify precisely what it makes them yearn for [18]. In the present day, *tembang* performances take place at weddings and at public civic functions to capitalise on these regional associations.

Another development, called *kacapi-suling*, emerged from the performance style of *tembang Sunda* in the 1960s and 1970s. *Tembang* musicians from the Bandung branch of Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) began to perform *panambih* without a singer, giving the *suling* player an opportunity to improvise. It was during this time that the cassette recording industry in Indonesia became very successful, and *kacapi-suling* cassettes sold very well. These instrumental recordings provided a very easy way to set a Sundanese mood for storytelling on the radio, at parties or even for doing housework, without the distractions of a text [23].

Thus, while *tembang Sunda* evokes a feudal Sundanese past marked by distinct class differences, any negative connotations of that past are subsumed by *tembang*'s new narrative of intensely local identification and the capacity for artistic sophistication for all Sundanese citizens, as well as its potential for commercial profitability.

3.2. Degung

With regard to the development of degung: In 1921 Wiranatakusumah allowed an expanded *degung* ensemble to accompany a new kind of artistic production – a dance-drama, *Loetoeng Kasaroeng*, based on a Sundanese *pantun* story – at an international conference of the Java Instituut in Bandung. A skilled musician named Idi, who directed the Bandung *kabupaten*'s *degung* ensemble, expanded the *degung* ensemble to meet the dramatic production's additional expressive requirements. First, he extended the ensemble's melodic potential by adding the *suling*, already associated with *Cianjuran*. He used a new kind of *suling*, with a higher base pitch and a much shriller, louder sound, to cut through the dense texture of the bronze instruments. To accompany the dance in the drama, he added a set of *kendang*, such as those used to accompany *ibing tayub*. A group of musicians associated with the *kabupaten* also accompanied screenings of the 1926 silent film version *Loetoeng Kasaroeng*, directed and produced by L. Heuveldorp.

But the *bupati* still regarded *degung* as the *kabupaten*'s exclusive domain [24]. Nevertheless, an independent *degung* group, Purbasaka, formed to perform at non-*kabupaten* events. They avoided playing the signature *kabupaten* pieces; instead, they composed very similar pieces to evoke the same sorts of prestige among their new audiences without violating the *bupatis*' *kostim*. These pieces, often with long, florid melodies and asymmetrical, non-quadratic colotomic forms, remain in the contemporary *degung* repertory and are now known as *lagu klasik* (classical pieces) [18].

Degung remained associated primarily with the *kabupaten* until the 1950s, when Indonesian independence and the adoption of a democratic form of government reduced the *bupatis*' prestige and authority. The Bandung branch of Radio Republik Indonesia hired

musicians formerly associated with the *kabupaten* and introduced programmes of local music, including *degung* [25]. The radio station musicians composed more new pieces in the *klasik* style, as well as other innovations, including choral singing with *degung* (*rampak sekar*). They also adopted an excerpt from a *degung* piece 'Ladrak' as the signature music for the station's Sundanese-language broadcasts, which reinforced the notion that the sound of *degung* indexed Sundaneseness in a national Indonesian context [18].

Degung's lingering aristocratic associations led to yet another popular application of the ensemble in Sundanese wedding receptions. The 1921 production of *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* spawned a new genre of Sundanese theatre involving acting, dancing and music called *gending karesmen*. In 1958 Wahyu Wibisana put together a production that reminded audiences of the part of Sundanese wedding ceremonies where a procession escorts the groom to the bride's house [26], and in the following decades it has become popular to include a similar performance, generally called *upacara adat*, accompanied with *degung*, in middle-class wedding receptions [27]. The evocations of aristocratic life reinforce the notion that the Sundanese bridal couple is 'royalty' for the day.

In the 1960s composers such as Koko Koswara and his protégé Nano S. pioneered a genre called *pop Sunda*, which featured songs in the Sundanese language accompanied with a combination of the instruments of Western popular music (guitars and keyboards) with sonic markers of Sundanese music, such as *kendang*, *suling*, as well as the *degung* tuning system, which can be convincingly rendered on diatonic instruments. They (and other composers) wrote songs with modern themes, such as youthful romance, that were performed to the accompaniment of either *degung* ensembles or guitar/keyboard bands supplemented with *suling* and *kendang*. Both Sean Williams [23] and Indra Ridwan [28] point to Nano S.'s hit song 'Kalangkang' in 1986, which was released in both *degung* and band versions, as a watershed moment in the genre's history that made the sound of *degung* a more integral part of Sundanese popular culture.

The meanings and functions of *degung* are thus a far cry from its early 20th-century association with the *kabupaten* and the aristocracy. A variety of innovations and circumstances have transformed it into a versatile ensemble whose sounds evoke the region of West Java and a distinct Sundanese identity.

3.3. Tari Kursus/Tari Klasik

While good dancing skills developed as a tool of upward mobility for upper-class men, the seamier elements of men's dance parties – drinking and womanising – came under increased scrutiny. As modern-leaning aristocrats sought to eliminate these elements from their dance events to conform to Western ideals, it became incumbent on men to de-emphasise the degenerate elements by enhancing the visual appeal of their solo dance improvisations. Some men sought to incorporate the sophisticated choreography of the wandering *topeng* dancers from the north coast who travelled from town to town to busk. *Topeng* featured solo dancers who portrayed characters with masks and gesture. Up-and-coming Sundanese dancers embraced principles of form, style, and gesture that they learned from visiting *topeng* artists. The most accomplished dancers then experimented with methods for teaching their techniques to other men as well.

This updated version of *ibing tayub* – with a solo male dancer showing off his prowess through complex choreographies and a larger movement vocabulary – was dubbed *ibing keurseus* (course dancing) because its fans learned to dance by studying the newly formulated 'rules' systematically, often in the context of social clubs devoted to dancing. One such club called Wirahmasari, under the leadership of R.S. Wirakusumah from Rancaekek, featured a robust sequence of movement units, each more dynamic than the last, and distinct versions of those movement units for portraying each of four basic character types: *leyepan* (refined), *nyatria* (cocky), *monggawa* (assertive) and *ngalana* (strong). Although primarily didactic, these orderly choreographed dances, based on a formerly improvised practice, eventually came to be regarded as presentational dances.

In the 1950s the newly independent Indonesia's cultural policy promoted 'peaks of culture' from each region to represent the diversity of Indonesian identities. A handful of Sundanese choreographers with aristocratic ties drew upon *ibing keurseus* – rebranded with an Indonesian-language version of the term, *tari kursus* – to provide the foundation for a new Sundanese 'classical' dance. New choreographies for female dancers as well as male dancers, depicting all sorts of characters, reproduced the core sequence of movements from *tari kursus*. More recent developments have incorporated other uniquely Sundanese movement vocabularies as well, including *penca silat* (self-defense) and *ketuk tilu* (commoner's social dance). But the fundamental formal structures of all modern choreographies still hark back to Sundanese aristocratic men's dance.

4. ANALYSIS

Clearly, tembang, degung, and tayuban were all "developed" to "meet the needs" of 20th-century Sundanese society, thus fulfilling the definition of "sustainable development" as provided by the UN World Commission on Environment and Development.

Let me reiterate what was "sustained" in the modern development of each of these genres:

- *Cianjuran* (renamed *tembang Sunda*) sustained a regional Sundanese identity through references to the geographical areas once occupied by the ancient Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran.
- *Degung*: sustained a regional Sundanese identity with a the degung tuning (laras) that demonstrates Sundanese culture's independent historical roots and adaptability to changing times.
- *Ibing tayub* (recast as *tari kursus*): portrays a regional Sundanese identity through sustaining an approach to choreography that empowers dancers to assert their individuality by manipulating a core movement vocabulary and basic formal outline in a way that is consistent with nationalist Indonesian ideals for 'peaks of culture'.

Why do I call these developments "sustainable"? Let's consider them in light of Schippers' and Bendrups' five-part framework:

- Systems of learning music (informal vs formal; notation vs aural; old vs new processes of transmission)—tari kursus innovators created a systematic framework for teaching dance
- Musicians and communities (role and support of musicians)—degung developments involved creating a non-court-supported degung groups (e.g., Purbasaka and RRI).
- Contexts and constructs (taste, aesthetics, cosmologies, identities, gender roles, prestige; appropriation)—new social needs created new social contexts, new social roles, and new structures of prestige, which innovators in the performing arts found ways to fill.
- Regulations and infrastructure (places to perform; instrument manufacture; laws)—social changes resulted in a variety of new sites for performances—middle class weddings, theatres, etc.—which innovators took advantage of.
- Media and the music industry (distribution)—kacapi-suling and pop degung found new, large audiences via the cassette industry.

We also can consider these developments in light of the UN definition: (i.e., a "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." [4]. In the 20th century, performing artists found creative ways to make tembang, degung, and traditional dance meet the changing needs of Sundanese and Indonesian societies not by making something entirely new, but rather by repurposing their ancestors' materials, taking advantage of a rich supply of artistic resources.

The key question for arts educators today: what is the "needs of the present" in the 21st century? And what are the needs of the future? These needs are not just economic (or even mainly economic), but cultural as well.

In Indonesia in general, and in West Java in particular, the "needs of the present" include creating a space for promoting and reinforcing uniquely Indonesian – and, in a more regional/local context, uniquely Sundanese – values using artistic vehicles that are appealing, meaningful, and manageable (in terms of time and resources) for everybody.

In the past, the "sustainable development" of Sundanese musical treasures such as tembang, degung, and tayuban, was successful because of the ability of performing artists to sustain the uniquely Sundanese character of these art forms while adapting them to current social, political, and financial realities.

As an outsider, I am often delighted by how Sundanese artists create exciting new expressions that remain rooted in Sundanese values, and I look forward to the next generation's creative solutions to the problems of the 21st century.

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