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Java Jazz: A Politics of Preservation

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Ethnomusicology

by

Otto Giovanni Stuparitz

2022

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Java Jazz: Politics of Preservation

by

Otto Giovanni Stuparitz

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Timothy D. Taylor, Chair

This dissertation draws upon ethnographic and archival research conducted in Indonesia, the Netherlands, the United States, and online from 2016 to 2022. I detail four grassroots community popular music archives—Museum Musik Indonesia, the Lokananta Project, Irama Nusantara, and Arsip Jazz Indonesia—established between 2009 and 2016. This dissertation examines the role of Indonesian grassroots archivists in the collection, organization, preservation, and circulation of materials related to jazz in Indonesia. I frame the grassroots archivists as activist archivists who circulate audiovisual media containing histories of people and communities associated with modernity and cosmopolitanism in Indonesia. These people and communities have usually been recognized as outside of straightforward nation-building hero narratives, but the archival record reveals more complex accounts of Indonesian musicians and their relationships with Indonesian nationalism. I consider how the political ideals of

emergent archives allow for the Indonesian public to reckon with and reform Indonesian cultural heritage to contain a more vast and varied popular music heritage that includes jazz.

The surfacing of these grassroots archives coincides with the politics of post-Suharto *Reformasi* (1998–present), an era marked by liberal policies and increasingly pluralistic projects. The audiovisual archives create spaces for Indonesians to grapple with their own colonial, postcolonial, and global history through increased historical reverberations, transparency, and self-study. These grassroots archives, as archives from below, provide a record of activities beyond those maintained in institutional archives. The microhistories of jazz in Indonesia disturb, support, or challenge state renderings of history. The objects of archival value produced by the grassroots archivists are used to provide evidence of diverse ethnic and national cultural heritages, including Chinese Indonesian jazz musicians. I determine the actions of these activist archives, despite the tension and constraints of hegemonic co-optation, carry with them the currents of political change beyond the strictures of the state and capitalist music industry.

The dissertation of Otto Giovanni Stuparitz is approved.

Brent Luvaas

James Weldon Newton Jr.

Helen M Rees

Geoffrey Robinson

Timothy D. Taylor, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

To the memory of my grandfathers, Raffaele Bernetti and Edward Stuparitz for always remaining interested in others.

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NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSLATION

Most spellings are simplified and made consistent, over periods where Indonesian spellings exhibited variation and change. Most words, names of people, and institutions use the modern spellings rather than the older ones: u not oe (Sukarno not Soekarno); j not dj (Jakarta not Djakarta); y not j (Yogyakarta not Jogjakarta); and c not tj (keroncong not kerontjong). The main exceptions to this rule are in quotations from other sources as well as citations of authors and titles that use the old spellings, particularly those on musical media like 78 rpm labels. There are many stories to be told in the changing spellings on these musical media. I tell some of them (Jack Lemmers into Jack Lesmana) and deemphasize others (Dick Abell into Dick Abel). Most foreign words are only italicized once, in an attempt to naturalize one world of mixed languages.

Translated interviews have been checked with the interviewees. There are no perfect translations. I often point out sections that could be translated in several ways. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Of course, any mistakes are also my own.

ABBREVIATIONS AND FOREIGN TERMS

<i>Aliran</i>	Literally “stream,” music genre or subgenre
<i>Badan Ekonomi Kreatif</i>	The Creative Economy Agency founded in 2015. Abbreviated to BEKRAF
Berne Convention	An international agreement governing copyright, first accepted in Berne, Switzerland, in 1886
<i>Betawi</i>	Ethnolinguistic group descended from the native laborer class of colonial Batavia, now Jakarta
Blok M	Fashionable shopping and entertainment district in South Jakarta
Chinese Indonesian	Chinese in Indonesia focusing on identity formations in the postcolonial period
Ethnic Chinese	Chinese in Indonesia as part of broader trends of overseas Chinese outside of China
<i>Gaul</i>	Cool, social
<i>Gedung Kesenian Jakarta</i>	Jakarta Arts Building. A concert hall in Central Jakarta, built during the colonial period formally known as the Schouwburg Weltevreden
Gojek	An Indonesian on-demand multi-service platform and digital payment technology group based in Jakarta known for ride hailing
Guided Democracy	The term was used in Indonesia for the governing approach under the Sukarno administration from 1957 to 1966
<i>Hiburan</i>	Literally entertainment. A term used to describe light popular music
<i>Institut Teknologi Bandung</i>	Bandung Institute of Technology, shortened to ITB
<i>Indo</i>	Eurasian people, usually of mixed Dutch and indigenous Indonesian descent, living in or connected with Indonesia
Jazz Goes to Campus	An annual jazz festival at the Universitas Indonesia in Depok founded in 1976

<i>Karya Cipta Indonesia</i>	Indonesian Copyrighted Works, a copyright organization shortened to KCI
<i>Kampung</i>	Village or poor urban neighborhood
<i>Kampungan</i>	Low-class, characteristic of “backward” village life
<i>Kejawèn</i>	A Javanese religious tradition, consisting of a syncretic amalgam of animistic, Buddhist, and Hindu aspects
<i>Kroncong (keroncong)</i>	1. String-band music believed to originate from music and instruments brought by 16 th century crews on Portuguese ships exploring what is now Indonesia; 2. The name of a guitar-like instrument; 3. A distinctive type of accompaniment
Langgam	1. “The Indonesian name for any diatonic song consisting of four 8-bar phrases, each phrase being a melodic setting of 2 lines of the text”; 2. A direct borrowing from 32-bar song form AA’BA’ (Kornhauser 1978:159)
<i>Nongkrong</i>	To squat; to socialize, hang out
<i>Ngobrol</i>	To talk, chat
MRT Jakarta (Mass Rapid Transit)	Phase 1 of the new Jakarta intracity train project was officially opened on March 24, 2019
<i>Musica</i>	One of the largest music companies in Indonesia. Founded as Metropolitan Studios in the 1960. It became Musica Studios in the 1970s
<i>Musika</i>	An early Indonesian music magazine
New Order (<i>Orde Baru</i>)	The political regime that came to power under President Suharto between 1956–1967 after the bloody tragedy that ended President Sukarno’s Old Order (<i>Orde Lama</i>)
“Ngak-Ngik-Ngok”	Part of Sukarno’s proclamation given on August 17, 1959, in a speech entitled “ <i>Tahun Vive Pericoloso</i> ,” (The Year of Living Dangerously). Soekarno issued a manifesto named “Manipol USDEK” combining <i>Manifesto politik / Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, Sosialisme Indonesia, Demokrasi Terpimpin, Ekonomi Terpimpin, dan Kepribadian Indonesia</i> . This combines the 1945 Constitution with

	Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality
<i>Pancasila</i>	Five Principles of the Indonesian national philosophy
<i>Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa</i>	The Indonesian name for the United Nations, shortened to PBB
<i>Pemuda</i>	Literally “youth.” Connected to many political movements
<i>Peranakan</i>	Chinese settler immigration as a distinctive mestizo, Malay-speaking culture in Indonesia and the Straits of Malacca area
<i>Pribumi</i>	Indonesians whose ancestral roots lie mainly in the archipelago, often thought of as Native Indonesians. Distinguished from Indonesians of known foreign descent
<i>Rakyat</i>	Ordinary people, masses, the public
<i>Reformasi</i>	1. A movement in 1998 to remove Suharto as President; 2. The post-Suharto era in Indonesia that began immediately after
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia, the national radio station network
Suharto	Indonesia’s second president who served from 1967 to 1998
Sukarno	Indonesia’s first president, who served from 1945 to 1967
<i>Stambul (Stamboel)</i>	A musical style coming from the <i>Komedie Stamboel</i> Istanbul-style theater, with numbered compositions to indicate the chord progression
<i>Taman Ismail Marzuki</i>	An arts, cultural, and science center located at Cikini in Central Jakarta, often shortened to TIM
Totok	Newer Chinese immigrants since the 1900s known as “full-blooded” because of their birth in China and tendencies to maintain a more exclusively Chinese milieu
<i>Warung</i>	Roadside or market stall

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The Ethnomusicology Department at UCLA acknowledges the Gabrielino/Tongva peoples as the traditional land caretakers of Tovaangar (the Los Angeles basin and So. Channel Islands). As a land grant institution, we pay our respects to the Honuukvetam (Ancestors), ‘Ahihirom (Elders) and ‘Eyoohiinkem (our relatives/relations) past, present and emerging.

This project was approved by the UCLA Institutional Review Board, #18-000314. The research on which it is based was made possible by the financial support of the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) funded by the US Department of Education and administered by UCLA Center for Southeast Asian Studies, several Indonesian Studies Travel Grant given by UCLA Center for Southeast Asian Studies, the UCLA Graduate Division, and the UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music.

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The writing process of this dissertation during the Covid-19 pandemic greatly informs the process. I still have a lot of stuff at my parent’s house. They have been nice to me and haven’t thrown it away. Luckily my mother was an introductory piano teacher when I was young, where many of the musical kids in town would get a push in a musical direction. I say this because I know my instruments there are safe because they are valued. The recordings I bought in a

process of participant observation stay there, as I jumbled around during the pandemic from house-to-house and state-to-state, from California to Illinois and back.

In 2015, my Nonno died, my mother's dad, Raffaele Bernetti. He was a chemist who started his career when some of his classes were still called alchemy. He always asked a lot of questions about my travels in Indonesia, inspired by his youthful reading of Kipling books about an imagined Sarawak in Borneo. I took a photo of his grandson, Raffaele Stuparitz, my brother, holding his ashes. The end of his amazing life signaled a change in my mother's family dynamics as houses were sold, and my Nonna found a new, smaller place along Millennium Park in Chicago. My sister, who was establishing a new home, became the eventual landing place for most of the couches and Italian upholstered chairs, which were too elegant for most people but really the appropriate way to spend time in them was to lounge.

During the pandemic and my dissertation writing I spent a lot of time with these objects with which I share so much history. My mother is somewhere between an archival historian and a packrat, a trait I inherited. We, but mostly she, spent a lot of time figuring out where things would go as it was slowly determined which things would be saved. While photos and many books and letters came to be looked at and stored again: my Nonno's wooden writing desk, a wooden coffee table, and a wooden dinner table with a small fireplace to keep your feet warm. These are family heirlooms, from which I learned new histories, like the fact that my Nonna used to have very cold feet because the kitchen table fire wasn't always lit. The wooden desk is sturdy, partially ornate, and surprisingly light, as it was made to only hold a few dozen books, paper, and ink. The coffee table, which seems to get the most use, now has a *tenun* cloth from Maumere, Flores with Komodo dragons on it. I gifted the *tenun* cloth to my parents, somewhat

emblematic and in honor of my Nonno's adventure book imaginaries. I thought a lot about these people and how they related to and preserved things that were also meaningful to me.

I began working on this project nearly seven years ago and began preparing for it for over fifteen years. Without the help and support of many individuals, it most certainly would never have become the dissertation it is today. There can be not enough thanks for I Ketut Gede Asnawa and Philip Yampolsky for introducing me to Indonesia. I feel both of their spirits in all my work.

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This dissertation is based on my own experiences. I am just one, among a larger network of experiences and interpretations. All faults and errors are my own.

VITA

EDUCATION

- 2016 M.A., Ethnomusicology.
University of California, Los Angeles, Paper: “Balinese Gamelan Pedagogies, Value and Time: The Co-Existence of Punctuated Time and Capitalism.”
- 2010 B.A. in Music History with High Honors and Deans List, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Selected Professional Experience

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2020 Online Assistant, “Music of Java,” Javanese Gamelan, UCLA.
2019–22 Teaching Fellow, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA.
2016–17 Director/Teaching Fellow, Intercultural Improvisation Ensemble, UCLA.
2016 Photographic Collections Processor, UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive.
2013–14 Balinese Gamelan Teacher, Illinois Summer Youth Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
2013–14 Concert Coordinator, Roosevelt University, Chicago.
2003–2014 House Management, Ravinia Music Festival, Highland Park, IL.
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2010–11 Music Cataloger, Special Music Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

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- 2021 Society of Economic Anthropology Harold K. Schneider Student Paper Prize. Honorable Mention. “The Archival Value of Bubi Chen.”
2020 Dissertation Year Fellowship, UCLA Graduate Division.
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2016 Fulbright-Hays/COTI Fellowship.
2015, 16, 18 Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Academic Year Fellowship.
2015, 17 Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA.
2014–15 Graduate Division/Herb Alpert School of Music Fellowship, UCLA.
2013, 14 Certificate of Support, Cultural Performance, Chicago Indonesian Consulate General.

Selected Publications

- n.d. “Yogyakarta’s Jazz Activists: From Regional Scene to Local Stages.” In *Regional and Rural Perspectives on Popular Music Scenes*, edited by Andy Bennett, David Cashman, Ben Green, and Natalie Lewandowski. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2021 “Maguru Maya: Teaching Balinese Gamelan at a Distance.” *Balungan* 14: 5–12.
- 2020 Book Review: Peter Keppy, *Tales of the Southeast Asian Jazz Age: Filipinos, Indonesians and Popular Culture, 1920–1936* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2019). *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde/ Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania*.
- 2019 “Archiving Indonesian Jazz and Popular Music.” Southeast Asian Music Education Exchange (SEAMAX), 3rd Edition, Conference Proceedings, Yogyakarta, Central Java, Museum National.
- 2019 “Java Jazz 2019: Festival, Diversity, and Community.” *Ethnomusicology Review* 22, May. <https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/content/java-jazz-2019-festival-diversity-and-community>
- 2015 “Music in Airports.” *Ethnomusicology Review* 20, July. <http://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/content/music-airports-continued>

Selected Conference Presentations

- 2022 “Archival Care at Arsip Jazz Indonesia.” Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu, Hawai’i, March 24.
- 2021 “UCLA’s Southeast Asian Ensembles.” Co-presentation with Dr. Supeena Adler. Fowler Museum at UCLA, “The Map and the Territory” Series Lunch & Learn, Online, September 13.
- 2021 “Sustainability and Indonesian Grassroots Popular Music Archives: The Value of *Kesadaran* (Awareness) in the Lokananta Project.” Association for Asian Studies, Online, March 25.
- 2019 “The Indonesian Jazz Archive: Indonesian Jazz as Peranakan Ethnic Music.” Monash Herb Feith Centre Conference 2019, “Chinese Indonesians: Identities and Histories.” Monash University, Clayton, October 2.
- 2019 “Archiving Indonesian Jazz and Popular Music.” Southeast Asian Music Education Exchange, Jojga National Museum, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, September 6.
- 2019 “Making the Green Economy Blue: Indonesian Jazz and Ecological Tourism.” 45th International Council for Traditional Music World Conference, Bangkok, Thailand, July 9.
- 2018 “Java Jazz: Activist Archives and the Politics of Preservation.” Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands, October 16.
- 2017 “Listening Practice and Intercultural Improvisation.” UCLArts and Healing, UCLA Collaborative Centers for Integrative Medicine, Ronald Reagan Medical Center, UCLA, June 3.
- 2016 “Women and Class in Rhoma Irama’s Dangdut Films, 1977–1980.” 5th Inter-Asia Popular Music Studies Conference, Monash Asia Institute (MAI), Melbourne, December 12.

INTRODUCTION

*15 meter dari jalan ke Batuan, ada pematang pada tebing, dan
seseorang hingar menggusah burung,
seseorang turun ke kali dan menyanyi,
seseorang mencicipi alir,
mengikuti bunyi
kercap dingin
liang hutan,
arus yang menyisir batu
batu yang, seperti pundak kerbau, menahanmu*

Pada pukul 7:15, jernih sungai menelanjangimu

— Goenawan Mohamad, “Pastoral” Section 1, 2002¹

The past and present wilt—I have fill’d them, emptied them,
And proceed to fill my next fold of the future.

Listener up there! what have you to confide to me?
Look in my face while I snuff the sidle of evening,
(Talk honestly, no one else hears you, and I stay only a minute longer.)

Do I contradict myself?
Very well then I contradict myself,
(I am large, I contain multitudes.)

I concentrate toward them that are nigh, I wait on the door-slab.

¹ 15 meters from the road to Batuan, there is a dike on a river’s edge, and
the din of someone driving away birds,
someone wading down to the river, singing,
someone tasting the stream,
trailing the sound
of cold’s smacking
on the pores of the forest,
currents that comb the boulders,
boulders which, like the shoulders of an ox, hold you back.

At 7:15, the river limpid disrobes you.

Who has done his day's work? who will soonest be through with his supper?
Who wishes to walk with me?

Will you speak before I am gone? will you prove already too late?

— Walt Whitman, “Song of Myself” Section 51, 1892

The feeling of combing through records contains multitudes. In a 2017 book, *#GilaVinyl* (Crazy Vinyl), Indonesian music journalist Wahyu “Acum” Nugroho captured a range of feelings during a height of record collecting in Indonesia.² He depicts many of his early 2000s Indonesian contemporaries as basking in record collecting as a hip and cool past time; but some record collectors marveled at unfamiliar histories inscribed on vinyl, cassettes, CDs, and shellac that they had found on the bottom levels of air-conditioned malls and inside roadside stalls. During this era, in 2005, Acum met David Tarigan, who was in the process of establishing a grassroots archive called Irama Nusantara with fellow collectors interested in preserving and circulating *gila vinyl*.³ After meeting with Tarigan, Acum notes, “I did not know he would provide me so much information, I felt I might not be able to contain it all” (Acum 2017:26). In this dissertation, I felt some *gila vinyl* moments when conducting archival and ethnographic research interested in jazz in Indonesia with grassroots popular music archivists like Tarigan. Here is one such overflowing encounter with the album *Lagu Untukmu* [*Songs for You*].

Chinese Indonesian pianist Bubi Chen recorded the album *Lagu Untukmu* on Irama Records in 1962. The liner notes, written in Indonesian with an approximate English translation

² Wahyu Acum, given name Wahyu Nugroho, is a music journalist for *Trax Magazine* and *Pop Hari Ini*, a singer for the Indonesian folk-rock band Bangkutaman, and a radio DJ named GilaVinyl and maintains a related blog.

³ The translation of *gila* as crazy is apt; both words have the connotation of mental illness while also being used as slang to describe shock and admiration.

by Weinaktoe, describe the record as an enchanting popular music style that contributes to a “new wave” of Indonesian “pops.” Bubi Chen, the “young-to-jazz-turned pianist” who is “more active in the world of jazz and dance music,” played select “evergreens” on the recording that were “tophits [sic] during the period between 1943 and 1945.” These “evergreens” were known as “Langgams” in 1943, a new musical form “based upon the existing more classical ‘kroncong’ form.” Bubi Chen is said to have “succeeded in presenting the langgam form in a new, modern and progressive shape” with “melodious dance” and “half improvisational” compositions.



Figure 0.1. The album cover of Lagu Untukmu featuring Nien Lesmana.

The personnel on *Lagu Untukmu* reveals complex histories, with Jack Lemmers of mixed Madurese, Javanese, and Dutch ancestry on guitar and glockenspiel, and the rhythm section consisting of At Asni (listed as Atje) on drums and Saronon on string bass.⁴ The recording engineer, Suyoso Karsono, listed elsewhere as Sujoso, Jos, or Mas Yos, is the owner of the Irama label and its parent company, The Indonesian Music Company “Irama” Ltd. He is also a performer of Hawaiian music, nicknamed “The Singing Commadore,” due to his status as a former Indonesian Air Force Officer. Guitarist Jack Lemmers, who changed his surname to Lesmana in the early 1960s, provided the “Stereo to Mono balancing” for *Lagu Untukmu*, credited in the liner notes as “D. Lesmana (Jack Lemmers).” *Lagu Untukmu* was performed and recorded at the Irama Studios in Jakarta from 9 pm to 4 am on July 8 and July 15, 1962. The album is not known to have sold particularly well or to have been widely circulated at the time.

Several questions arise from this album and its liner notes. First, the inclusion of Nien Lesmana on the album cover (see figure 0.1) is notable, as she is not featured as a performer on the album. Her inclusion is due to her long-term relationships with many of the album’s personnel. She played on other albums with these musicians released by Irama Records in the same era, such as *Bubi Chen and His Fabulous 5*. Nien is the sister of the label owner and recording engineer Suyoso Karsono. She changed her surname from Suwarni binti Karsono to Lesmana when she married guitarist Jack Lemmers.⁵ She is a musical force in her own right, with vocal and compositional credits going back to Irama’s earliest recordings, founded in 1951

⁴ Atje and Saronon’s only album credits come during this period. They also recorded *Mengenangkan Sutedjo* with Jack Lemmers (without Chen) and *Bubi Chen And His Fabulous 5*, with Nien Lesmana as a bamboo player.

⁵ Jack and Nien began being consistently credited as Lesmana since 1965.

as the first Indonesian recording company to control its own means of production.⁶ The details of her career are refracted through the scattered and limited documentation practices of Irama Records. The bulk of Nien's credits fall between the early 1950s and the 1960s. She represents a great musical talent during a generally less familiar period of Indonesian popular music.

Lagu Untukmu

LPI-17567

BUBI CHEN
piano (pemimpin)

ATJE
drums

SARONO
string-bass

JACK LEMMERS
guitar & glockenspiel

KETERANGAN MENGENAI REKAMAN
(Technical Information)

MUKA I.

1. SINANDI-NANDI (Agus Nandi)
2. DJEMBATAN MERAH (Gesang)
3. POHON BERINGIN (S. Suwandi)
4. IRAMA MESRA (Jack Lemmers)
5. SAPUTANGAN DARI BANDUNG SELATAN (Ismail Mz.)
6. TIRTONADI (Gesang)

MUKA II.

1. MANDE-MANDE (n.n.)
2. GERBANG NIRWANA (Ismail Mz.)
3. PULAU DJAWA (n.n.)
4. LAGU UNTUKMU (Jack Lemmers)
5. MINAPADI (n.n.)
6. SAPUTANGAN (Gesang)

Figure 0.2. Liner notes on the back cover of Lagu Untukmu.

⁶ Irama Records is without a known catalogue beyond one 1953–54 directory cited by ethnomusicologist Philip Yampolsky (2013:76).

Another question raised by *Lagu Untukmu* is about how jazz was performed in Indonesia in 1962. Importantly, this album was recorded and released soon after first President Sukarno's famous 1959 "Ngak-Ngik-Ngok" speech that denounced Western "cultural imperialism" with a specific focus on the noisy Beatles-like music by the group Koes Bersaudara (Koes Brothers), which was also released on Irama Records (see Farram 2007).⁷ A great deal of confusion surrounds the implications of Sukarno's "Ngak-Ngik-Ngok" speech regarding jazz, as to whether or not jazz in Indonesia was ever banned or restricted (discussed further in chapter three). Part of this debate hinges on the anti-colonial and anti-Dutch actions of the Japanese during their occupation of Indonesia (1942–1945) that preceded Sukarno. Questions remain about the influence of Japanese military marching bands as comprising similar instruments to earlier jazz dance bands and the transitional period between 1945 and 1955 where Dutch and *Indo* (Eurasian, mostly Dutch Indonesian) musicians continued to influence Javanese musical culture.⁸ For example, Dutch radio musician, composer, and jazz performer Jozef Cleber arranged what continues to be the official version of the Indonesian national anthem. Many point to "Ngak-Ngik-Ngok" speech as a temporary anti-Western knell to jazz in Indonesia, but upon closer study, experiences are muddy.⁹

Lagu Untukmu describes how jazz might be related to other Indonesian styles and social practices. Chen's recording specifically connects the influence of the Portuguese-influenced

⁷ "Ngak-Ngik-Ngok" was Soekarno's pejorative term for Western popular music as noise, especially rock and roll (Farram 2007:249).

⁸ There has been recent debate calling this period the Revolution (*Revolusi*) from the Indonesian perspective or *Bersiap* from a Dutch perspective (see Triyana 2022).

⁹ Cf. Keppy 2019:44–47. Peter Keppy describes how some Filipinos returned to European and American music during the during the Japanese occupation. Mary Talusan shows how Filipino marching band music related to the United States returned during the Japanese occupation (2021:227–229).

string and flute kroncong ensembles and nationalist langgam as interrelating with jazz.¹⁰ The personnel, with Bubi Chen of Chinese ancestry and Jack Lesmana of mixed ancestry, recounts a cosmopolitan and varied ethnic history of jazz in Indonesia. Many of these jazz musicians are from groups who received the approbation of colonial power structures. Appreciating Chen and Lesmana as cosmopolitan subjects also includes both their early lessons with European teachers and continued association with Indonesian upper-class postcolonial groups. A study of these musicians demonstrates the ongoing fashioning of cosmopolitanism in the archipelago. This cosmopolitan history has been the target of nationalist and anti-imperialist backlash at different points in Indonesia's history, such as during the Japanese occupation and early Independence eras.¹¹ As jazz in Indonesia interweaves with cosmopolitanism, it sometimes supports hegemonic and nationalist historiography, and at other moments destabilizes simplistic state narratives by not being explicitly anti-imperial or anti-colonial. The history of jazz in Indonesia provides useful insights into dominant and non-dominant aspects of Indonesian culture.

Lagu Untukmu is one of my *gila* vinyl. Through my archival and ethnographic research, I found the album's producers have a history that supports and disrupts hegemonic tellings of Indonesian history. This cosmopolitan recording, rooted in Indonesia, unsettles any single anti-imperialist position under first President Sukarno, and any single version of history that positions

¹⁰ I have chosen to spell kroncong, technically the Javanese spelling, instead of keroncong, the accepted national spelling. In my research, I encountered the word almost exclusively spelled as kroncong.

¹¹ Even though Jack Lesmana is known to have mixed Madurese, Javanese, and Dutch ancestry, his daughter, Mira Lesmana, publicly revealed the results of a DNA test via news outlet *Kompas*, which showed "genes from China to Iraq Kurdi" (Adita 2019). She described her own long-time confusion, as her mother Nien Lesmana "always said she was purely from Central Java" but her "father wasn't very clear." Mira's DNA test results consisted of "East Asian 49.66 percent, South Asian 38.10 percent, Asian Dispersed 12.21 percent, and Middle Eastern 0.03 percent." Simply, these results show how the Lemmers background of Jack Lesmana's history is social rather than biological.

second President Suharto as violently returning Indonesia back into an American-led economic world order in 1965. A study of jazz in Indonesia explains how the historical breaks and ruptures of Indonesian history, often figured as peaks, have activist antecedents and repressive residues. This dissertation considers the music making practices related to jazz by Indonesian actors as well as the political processes through which these actions are remembered and forgotten.

ENGAGING HISTORIES

A central interest in the story of jazz in Indonesia hinges on origins. Scholars often ask about when jazz came to Indonesia, what it is, and who or what brought it. I doubt the some of the assumptions of a linear framing of cultural origins, as if jazz was introduced one time and caught on, rather than through a series of interactions that sustained, rejected, and reproduced interest in jazz for a variety of reasons. Because of my misgiving, I am less interested in the origin of jazz in Indonesia, even though academic audiences often ask. Instead, I consider how and why jazz stayed relevant and meaningful to Indonesians through many historical and political eras, and how and why it was kept and reproduced by variety of social actors.¹²

While there are many ways to examine how and why Indonesians kept and reproduced jazz, this dissertation focuses on the actions of Indonesian grassroots archivists who have formed popular music archives that contain jazz. In particular, I ethnographically researched with the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia, the Lokananta Project, Irama Nusantara, and Arsip Jazz Indonesia, all established since 1998, the current political era known as the *Reformasi*

¹² Peter Keppy's book (2019) focuses on the early colonial instances of jazz, as he discusses early figures like Miss Riboet and jazz in the Dutch East Indies culture industry of the 1920s–1940s. Andrew McGraw (2012) provides a useful overview, through Möller (1987) and Alfred Ticoalu of Arsip Jazz Indonesia. Henk van Dijk (2019) provides many primary documents of early jazz history in Indonesia.

(Reformation). These archivists are actors who, among discordant groups, construct social meanings and values around Indonesian popular music styles, specifically jazz, but also dangdut, kroncong, indie, rock, pop, and others. I also ethnographically studied with contemporary Indonesian jazz musicians to understand how jazz is meaningful today and if it is recognized as having a history. Importantly, the grassroots archivists are contemporary community members who share materials with their communities and invite elder and contemporary musicians to contribute to the archives. The grassroots popular music archivists provide an opportunity for musical communities to know themselves in a new way by keeping and organizing documentation.

I use three main bodies of theory in this dissertation. One is the public sphere, drawing on the Habermasian concept through Nancy Fraser and Michael Warner, applied to Indonesian studies by anthropologist Karen Strassler and media studies scholar Emma Baulch. I argue the grassroots archivists, through their methods and ethics, contribute to the production of the national, secular, and democratic public sphere and maintain the ethos of the early Reformasi. The second body of theory is anthropological theories of value, drawing from the ideas of Marxian and Maussian value theories adopted and expanded by social theorists like David Graeber, Nancy Munn, Annette Weiner, Fred Myers, Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, and Arjun Appadurai, taken into music studies by ethnomusicologists Timothy D. Taylor and Anna Morcom. I argue objects of archival value can be understood as produced through the actions of keeping and protection, and paradoxically circulated through a process negotiating “how to keep-while-giving” (Weiner 1992). Finally, the third body of theory is critical archive studies. This includes work by archival studies scholars Anne Gilliland, Marika Cifor, and Michelle Caswell, who articulate the affective turn in archival science to discuss ethics, care, and activism in

various human rights and community archives contexts to interrogate, reconsider, and repair structural power inequities; taken into Indonesian contexts by anthropologists Ann Stoler, Karen Strassler, and Doreen Lee. Through this literature, I argue new “postcustodial methodologies” (Gilliland 2017) that seek to circulate digitized materials freely online should be understood as a “weapon of the weak” (Scott 2008 [1985]) against hegemonic structures. These postcustodial methodologies of digital circulation also need to negotiate an archival ethics of care. These three bodies of theory are used to interpret archival and ethnographic research undertaken from 2016 to 2022 in Indonesia, the Netherlands, and the United States.

I use these theories to analyze how the archivists create spaces for Indonesians to grapple with their own history. Before their recent disclosure during the post-1998 Reformasi, archivists feared their collections might face public backlash and be dismantled as jazz recordings from the 1910s to the 1940s are intertwined with Dutch colonial culture that did not support Indonesian independence. Historical jazz recordings remain suspect and are mostly excluded from postcolonial state institutions, whose leaders continue to propagate nationalist narratives, comprising an amalgam of selective remembering and forgetting that support entrenched constructions of racial, ethnic, and class hierarchies. Today older jazz recordings and related media provide crucial material evidence that destabilizes official narratives and helps reconstruct forgotten aspects of Indonesian society. These grassroots archival processes reframe jazz from an exclusively high-class, colonial endeavor, into a transformative space that mixes classes, integrates multiple traditions, and reveals the contributions of minorities. *Peranakan* (Chinese Indonesian) and *Indo* (Eurasian, mostly Dutch Indonesian) jazz musicians disproportionately contributed to Indonesian jazz recordings during the 1940s–1960s, while being simultaneously affected by larger political developments, causing termination of employment, forced labor,

exile, death, and name changes, documented through the archival record.¹³ I analyze archiving as a performance, furthering Ann Stoler's framing of archiving as a process (2009), to explain the multiple imaginaries that considered jazz in Indonesia benign at one moment and politically suspect at another. My analysis draws out how archivists negotiate the value of jazz in Indonesia amid economic, political, and artistic concerns, when circulating collections that both support and challenge official narratives.

POWER, MUSIC, AND ARCHIVES

The surfacing of these grassroots archives coincides with the politics of post-Suharto Reformasi, an era marked by liberal policies and increasingly pluralistic projects. A renewed interest in Indonesian history has occurred not just in music studies but throughout Indonesian culture. Anthropologist Karen Strassler described this phenomenon as a renewed interest in a “culture of documentation” (2010), which in her work involves practices like collecting ephemeral fliers and circulating photographs through independent media. She argues Indonesians understand the “culture of documentation” within a teleology of global progress, as proof of a technologized modernity that would firmly root national history. Indonesian people, particularly student activists, normalized the practice of documenting as a non-Marxist “fetish” of secrets and keepsakes (Strassler 2008), as a practice to think through and possibly against the Indonesian state control over official renderings of history, what Indonesian historian Taufik Abdullah calls New Order “hegemonic knowledge” (1999). Anthropologist Doreen Lee (2016) describes the

¹³ Throughout this dissertation, I choose to favor the celebratory aspects of the memories of my interviewees. Even though many of these histories contained intense feelings around the details of racial and political violence around Independence, 1965 (*Peristiwa Gerakan 30 September*), and during Reformasi, I choose to leave much of it out, to respect and reflect the discussions I had with interviewees.

Indonesian “culture of documentation” as starting decades earlier through a 1980s “proto-history” (31) as increasing historical reflection, transparency, information gathering, and self-study by bringing public secrets into the open. Lee describes the production of metaphoric “activist archives” of themed document collections domiciled in places like the street and the *kost* (rented rooms in urban settings). Lee and Strassler’s books focus on the Reformasi as a transition that could bring an end to the hegemonic knowledge of Suharto’s New Order, but my research during an aging twenty-year old Reformasi has shown how hegemonic knowledge has not fallen away. In contrast to Lee, the domiciles were no longer only imaginative, but rather physical and digital spaces that sought to attract members of many social classes to contribute to and benefit from the culture of documentation.

Indonesian cultural studies scholar Ignatius Aditya Adhiyatmaka introduced me to the existence of the popular music archives in a 2016 presentation at Monash University in Melbourne. Adhiyatmaka worked with members of the Lokananta Project and visited members of Museum Musik Indonesia and Irama Nusantara. His scholarship focuses on the “DIY preservation practices” (Bennett 2018) of the non-metaphoric “activist archivists” (Collins and Carter 2015). These activist archivists look to preserve materials left out of institutional, commercial, and governmental archives, framed as an emergent in Raymond Williams’ epochal analysis. Adhiyatmaka’s analysis of an antagonistic relationship between the grassroots archives and government institutions did not reflect my ethnographic experiences with the archivists. Instead, most of the archives during my research, except Arsip Jazz Indonesia, maintained some formal relationships with government organizations. For example, Museum Musik Indonesia consulted for the central government libraries, the Lokananta Project worked directly with members of the governmental recording and printing company Lokananta, and Irama Nusantara

worked with the Indonesian Creative Economy Agency (BEKRAF) on various projects. I experienced an ambivalent relationship between the grassroots archivists and the state. The archives in this dissertation are both metaphorical and physical, with archivists interested in historical reflection, transparency, and self-study, as well as DIY preservation practices of material history.

In this way, I find more in common with anthropologist Peter Toner's descriptions of archives as "contact zones," from his research of the Yolngu Music archives in Australia. He uses the term "contact zones" to describe contexts where two kinds of institutions collaborate with or compete over the same archival collections (2019:656). This is important in the Indonesian case as not only did the activist archivists collect, preserve, and recirculate materials left out of government institutions, they also produced those materials as objects of archival value recognized by government institutions, who later wanted a stake.

Toner sees these kinds of archival collaborations and competitions as supporting contemporary neoliberal forms of power. He describes early colonial archives as first an expression of the enlightened despotism of nation-states, which often later shifted into the modern liberal archive as a public possession that necessitates access. This signaled a "shift from the sovereign to liberal forms of power, supported by archival practices" (Toner 2019:657). The archive then helps produce liberal citizens through fostering self-help and voluntary action, and through "the idea that knowing one's society led to knowing oneself and future cultural improvement" (657). The formation of subjects constitutes a form of power. I wish to further Toner's analysis to describe the grassroots archives as public sphere making and producers of archival value. This public sphere is realized and imagined with end users in mind as a public,

acting as a restricted space to circulate objects of archival value. This archival public sphere can also act as a space for political organizing.

PUBLICS

The users of the Indonesian popular music grassroots archives embody a group participating in a democratic and liberal public sphere. I trace theories of the public sphere through Jürgen Habermas, Nancy Fraser, and Michael Warner, applied to Indonesian studies by anthropologist Karen Strassler and media studies scholar Emma Baulch. Theories of the public sphere are useful to analyze archival users as well as how archivists imagine their archives might be used and structure their modes of address.

Jürgen Habermas theorized social spaces distinct from work and from the household made of private citizens, where people could be critical of institutions like the state and church. He theorized this as a bourgeois public sphere:

the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor. (1989:27)

Feminist scholar Nancy Fraser has productively critiqued Habermas noting the inability of “interlocutors in a public sphere to bracket status differentials and to deliberate as if they were social equals” (1992:7). Fraser notes how the bourgeois public sphere discriminated against women and other historically marginalized groups. However, Fraser did not wholly reject Habermas’s theory; she identifies it as “not wholly satisfactory,” and offered a reformulation that include “subaltern counterpublics”:

parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs. (1990:67)

For Fraser, publics exist through exclusion, often the exclusion of women, and reflect the existence of hegemony. She notes how it is “not possible to insulate special discursive arenas [or public spheres] from the effects of social inequality” (66).

This framing is useful to consider the Indonesian grassroots archives as formed in response to the exclusion by governmental institutions. But this is not enough. While providing a valuable critique of the state, the grassroots archivists often become interwoven with the state and sometimes work with and for state officials. Even as grassroots archivists circulate sometimes utopic counterdiscourses, in other ways the processes continue to favor groups with the time and ability to read, such as the middle- and upper-class groups and those with higher levels of education. Importantly, all the main archivists in this study are men, who had little to say about gender dynamics.

Social theorist Michael Warner points out “counterpublics are publics, too” (2002:83). Publics are generative for the fashioning of identities, identifying others like themselves, and the formation of alliances, but also maintain forms of exclusion. I include aspects of exclusion in my analysis but focus on how the grassroots archivists organize themselves through the circulation of visual and audio texts, “picked up at different times and in different places by otherwise unrelated people” (Warner 2002:51), similar to Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*.

Warner goes on to note how publics (and counterpublics) are formed through attention (2002:60), where a public comes into being through virtual assemblies resulting from a common orientation to texts in circulation. For my study, not only are the imagined communities of archival users of interest, but also the “public culture” (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988) born alongside these processes of public sphere making. This public culture can act as fertile grounds for political ideals.

Even as “a public seems to be self-organized by discourse,” it in fact “requires preexisting forms and channels of circulation” (Warner 2002:75). The grassroots archives are constituted by many people, including musicians, members from Indonesia’s music industry, and other community members with interconnected political and economic networks. Anthropologist Jeffery Juris theorizes how these kinds of activist communities inscribe their “political ideals into emerging organizational architectures” (2008:298) as parts of politically inflected networks that are both locally situated yet globally connected. The organization of the archives as oriented towards its users as a public is a political endeavor, contributing to the politically ideals of a democratic and liberal public sphere, I relate to the ethos of the early Reformasi.

Warner’s formulation of publics is taken up in Indonesian studies by media scholar Emma Baulch’s theorization of a “genre public” (2016; 2020) and by anthropologist Karen Strassler (2020). Baulch understands a “genre public” as a more classic Habermasian reading public that takes popular music texts (recordings, magazines, and other musical media) to consider how a musical genre enables people to “‘feel’ their assembly” as a public (2016:103). She describes a genre public as not just those who listen to the certain popular music styles, but also those who “read with certain genres of popular music, and those who do not read with other genres” (103), embracing Fraser’s critique. Baulch’s notion is useful for my case study in that any public based upon a musical genre involves culturally driven forms of exclusion.

Strassler applies the concept of publics in Indonesia to grasp the sociocultural shifts post-1998 focusing on ideas of accountability and awareness in history, arts, and politics. She describes the public in Indonesia as an ideal authorizing and monitoring agency to check state

power that represents the collective will of the people.¹⁴ In my research, the grassroots archives can act as one of these authorizing agencies of accountability, awareness, and transparency to reproduce a democratic and liberal Indonesian public sphere. Users of the archive can access primary materials as evidence to grapple with Indonesian history and foster political opinions.

In Strassler's case study, the public grapples with "image events," often photography, as "a political process set in motion when a specific image or set of images erupts onto and intervenes in a social field, becoming a focal point of discursive and affective engagement across diverse publics" (2020:9). She laments how the public remains a figment, "a potent ideological figure of the democratic imagination" (16) that is "constantly being spoken of and spoken for, but it can never be pinned down" (Strassler et al. 2021:388). Even as the Indonesian public sphere circulates image-events that increase awareness and transparency, a growing authoritarianism in the late-Reformasi era continually witness the state co-opting revolutionary narratives as ultimately supportive of the state, rather than critical of it.

Ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger extends Strassler's visual focus to understand how audiovisual recordings can be especially useful resources for people in transformative times (2019:154). Written hegemonic histories are created by the powerful and victorious, but audiovisual documents might include the voices of the less powerful and oppressed. I understand the public sphere making by grassroots archivists as allowing users to feel themselves as historically conscious agents and as part of a longer history in Indonesia, monitoring the qualities that reproduce a democratic and liberal Indonesian public sphere. By circulating audio materials

¹⁴ Andrew Weintraub asks who are "the people" (*rakyat*) in Indonesian popular music, with a focus on dangdut (2006). He analyzes how popular print media "speaks for" people. He begins to discuss the public and the public sphere although does not spend much time on it. This open-ended potential of the "people" is part of the slipperiness of picking up unintended addressees and forming unlikely encounters and unpredictable responses.

to the Indonesian public, muted narratives of Indonesian jazz provide evidence of Indonesia's diverse heritage. Archivists foster a new public of users, who through the liberal self-education can form political positions that support, resist, or destabilize hegemonic knowledge.

Education Centers as Grassroots Archives

These archives relate to anthropologist Brent Luvaas's study of indie "distros" (distribution outlets) in West Java focused on the production and sale of DIY music and clothing. The distros, spaces of "deep hanging out" (2012:xx), relate to the archives, museums, and galleries in this dissertation as spaces where productive *nongkrong aja* (just hanging out) occurs, as a way to figure out, define, and debate cultural positions in "public culture." The grassroots archives in my study were often *ramai* (busy) with debates among archivists and community members over how to present, exhibit, and preserve materials as well as spaces of enjoyment, listening and foster discussions of personal and political matters.

Luvaas describes some distros as "education centers" (2012:77) and "practical resources" (81) where community members could learn about the music, design skills, and clothing making. At the time, he warns not to overestimate distros for these educational qualities as people uploaded and downloaded content from shared computers that amassed into a vast communally owned and maintained collection. Years after Luvaas's research, some of these spaces have focused on these latent educational qualities to refashion their practical resources into grassroots popular music archives. Literally some of the same people Luvaas interviewed made this transition, such as David Tarigan, who participated in Bandung-based distros and started the indie music label Aksara Records. Tarigan now continues as the figurehead of the grassroots archive Irama Nusantara. Outside of Luvaas's research, Alfred Ticoalu of Arsip Jazz Indonesia

greatly benefited from deep hanging out through discussions via an active an online Yahoo! Group listserv. Museum Musik Indonesia started as a community meeting space for Malang-based musicians and music journalists for the magazine *Aktuil*. The Lokananta Project grew out of a group of friends who studied and collected art, photography, journalism, and music. Some of the spaces of deep hanging out allowed collections to be organized, shared, and examined by others and spread awareness through a culture of documentation.

After the nascent years at some distros of collecting and sharing music and media, individuals and groups have continued projects focused on preservation, organization, and sustainability. Computer memories and record collections have become systematized, and spaces transformed into archives. Concerns shift from only collecting and sharing with friends, to pragmatic issues like long-term storage, building maintenance, and economic stability. Further the technological possibilities of digital preservation had greatly shifted since the early 2000s, with digital technologies becoming widespread in more parts of Indonesian society (see Lim 2018). Some distros as education centers have offered their practical resources to foster knowledge of diverse musical lineages that include jazz.

The Islamic Public Sphere

One of the major intersections to the democratic public sphere in Indonesia is the religious public sphere, particularly the Islamic public sphere.¹⁵ Most scholars who use theories of public spheres in Indonesia describe the Indonesian Islamic community as a counterpublic (Hirschkind 2006; Millie et al. 2019; Weng 2022); some take the next step and describe it as an “Islamic public” (Strassler 2020). In my focus on jazz and grassroots archives, specific religions

¹⁵ For an in-depth study of Islamic music in Indonesia see Rasmussen 2010.

were less emphasized. Both the jazz and grassroots archives are more or less secular spaces. People with specific religious convictions involved in jazz and the grassroots archives also maintained firm beliefs in the secular, democratic, and liberal public sphere. The vast majority of Muslim participants in the jazz community could be described as Javanese Abangan, who practice a more syncretic form of Islam.

Jazz does intersect with the Islamic public sphere, such as the Ramadhan Jazz Festival in Jakarta and the official prayer breaks during every large jazz event. In my interpretation, this has more to do with the more general influence of Islam over Indonesia's democratic public sphere rather than anything specific to the jazz communities or grassroots archivists. I imagine an in-depth study of Islam in the Indonesian jazz community would yield similar results as any major secular community or non-explicitly religious event. Ethnomusicologist Anne Rasmussen provides a useful analysis of Islamization in Indonesia as an expression of popular culture (2021). Applying a similar religious analysis to Indonesia's jazz community would reveal the influence of the Islamic public sphere on commercial culture and on urban Indonesians.

A religious analysis of the jazz community would also reveal an overrepresentation of Christians. I argue this is due to the intersection of the middle class, Chinese Indonesians, and Christianity with jazz as a class affirming practice rather than jazz relating to religious or ethnic identity. In my focus on the democratic public sphere, I focus on the (re)production of liberal self-educated citizens who often imagine themselves as urban and modern, working in or towards the middle class, in favor of political reform, and who have largely not articulated themselves in religious terms.

CHINESE INDONESIANS AND HEGEMONIC INDONESIAN HISTORY

In this dissertation, the term “Chinese Indonesian” refers to people with various Chinese heritage living in Indonesia focusing on identity formations in the postcolonial period. The related, sometimes overlapping, terms of “Peranakan,” “*Totok*,” and “Ethnic Chinese” refer to the broader colonial and postcolonial history of Chinese immigration and settlement throughout Southeast Asia. The first significant Chinese settlements in Java began in the fourteenth century with immigrants from Fukien Province of mostly Hokkien ethnicity. The flow of immigration continued throughout the nineteenth century as a distinctive mestizo, Malay-speaking culture developed in Java and other parts of Southeast Asia known as “Peranakan.” Newer immigrants since the 1900s were known as “Totok” (full-blooded) because they were born in China and tended to maintain a more exclusively Chinese milieu.¹⁶ “Ethnic Chinese” refers to Chinese in Indonesia as related to other Chinese communities outside of China. While these other terms remain relevant, I focus on “Chinese Indonesians.”

In this section, I provide many historical, legal, and cultural particulars to detail the Chinese in Indonesia. Historian Charles Coppel describes how the group has been understood in the colonial and postcolonial era as the quintessential “outsiders within” (Coppel 1977). I argue any understanding of postcolonial Indonesian national modernity must include Chinese Indonesians within its frame. To do this requires a thorough understanding of the anti-Chinese discrimination in Indonesia.

Anti-Chinese sentiments and actions in the archipelago go back to the colonial era. For example, Dutch colonial policies required Chinese individuals living in Batavia (Jakarta) to carry distinctive registration papers. Those who did not comply were deported to China (Setiono

¹⁶ For the distinction between Totok and Peranakan see Suryadinata 1978.

2008:111–113). As part of colonial urban structures, the Chinese in Batavia were moved to what is now the Glodok neighborhood in Taman Sari, West Jakarta. In the colonial governmental structure, Chinese held positions as tax collectors and loan providers that stereotyped them as Other and associated them with money to their Javanese and Sundanese neighbors (173–181). The Dutch colonial government later legally categorized the Chinese as “Foreign Orientals” (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*), along with Indian and Arab people, thus subjecting them to different tax laws and abilities to move through certain areas (Taylor 2009). This status also privileged them above their Javanese and Sundanese neighbors, who were categorized as *Inlanders*, which afforded less rights in colonial institutions.

Throughout this dissertation, I often reference what Indonesian historian Taufik Abdullah calls New Order “hegemonic knowledge” (1999) of the state in the historical area as well as what Dutch historian Gerry van Klinken calls the “orthodox nationalist stream” of Indonesian history (2005:237). In the simplest sense, this refers to how Indonesian history has been narrativized with the main task of creating patriots, at the exclusion of conflicting details. The “orthodox nationalist stream” draws upon the logics of Sukarno’s political speeches that invoked the *trimurti*, a three-stage concept of Indonesian history first used in the decolonial struggle, which spoke of Indonesia’s “bounteous past,” the nation’s “dark ages,” and the “promise of a brightly beckoning future” (Sukarno 1975[1931]:79). Indonesian history as structured by Abdullah’s “hegemonic knowledge” is centrally aimed at making heroes and is also extremely flattening. Van Klinken writes: “School history lessons, ignoring every other social, cultural or economic dynamic, turned the previous three centuries into one continuous struggle for the Indonesian state against an array of enemies — first the colonial Dutch, then internal enemies such as communists

and separatists” (2005:234). The “hegemonic knowledge” of the state in the historical area creates patriots and relies on the creation of new enemies for the patriots to defeat.

New definitions of the “enemies” of “national heroes” came about during the 1965 anti-leftist politicide against communism, specifically targeting members of the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, PKI). The mass violence of 1965 gave rise to Suharto’s New Order. These new “enemies” were further inscribed by the New Order’s Minister of Education and Culture, Nugroho Notosusanto, who directed the writing of the final volume of the official “National History of Indonesia” (*Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*) published in 1975. Notosusanto’s text became the basis for the New Order’s school history books. It continued an anti-communist ambiance that privileged the military as “national heroes” against the nation’s “enemies” at every crucial moment (Van Klinken 2005:235). This historiographical process also required the repression of other histories with contradictory details, including those of women and Chinese Indonesians.¹⁷ Southeast Asian studies scholar Mary Zurbuchen writes how many of the enemies of the 1965 Indonesian state were accused of the suspicion of communist “contamination” (2005:14). Indonesian cultural scholar Ariel Heryanto describes how this suspicion has lingered long afterwards as a “discursive phantom of the Communist threat” (1999:155). Similarly, Dutch sociologist Saskia Wieringa writes:

After October 1965, institutes, offices, schools belonging to the PKI or any: organization belonging to the “communist family,” as well as the private homes of members of those organizations (and of suspected sympathizers), were ransacked and pillaged and all documents, books, periodicals and newspapers were seized and destroyed. All the publications ever issued by any of these organizations were banned and removed from public libraries, government offices, educational institutes and bookshops. Individuals had to remove this material from their personal collections under penalty of being branded a suspected communist (which made the person liable to be persecuted). By the

¹⁷ Other minorities were also targeted in this way, including the Indos and Christian Ambonese of Eastern Indonesia. The Ambonese were known to be Dutch military collaborators, who continued to have a “bad odor” after Independence, in part due to a 1950s separatist declaration (Van Klinken 2005:247).

middle of 1966, virtually all documentary sources that had a communist “taint,” even speeches of Sukarno and publications of the leftwing of the PNI, had been destroyed. Fiction and literary works by leftist authors such as Pramudya Ananta Tur (who would later be sent to the concentration camp on Buru) were also banned. (2002:21)

For these reasons, the resurfacing of archival sources that have gone missing for fear of suspicion are particularly exciting for the potential alternative histories they may reveal. Even with the existence of alternative narratives to the “orthodox nationalist stream” of Indonesian history, truth commissions have been difficult to institute on the national level. Zurbuchen explains several examples of how the victims and survivors of the 1965 violence must overcome considerable risk and fear to tell their stories (2005:15). She describes how many Indonesians who have experienced these traumatic moments remain reticent to speak back to “the shadow of New Order authorized history” (16). Despite the ongoing tensions, I suggest that these histories have been resurfacing in other ways, such as the grassroots popular music archives of this dissertation. While many Indonesians and global activists still aspire to fully realized truth commissions on the national level, the power of “hegemonic knowledge” to hold contradictory histories back has waned and the absolute authority of the “orthodox nationalist stream” has been destabilized.

Changing Indonesian Laws for Chinese People in Indonesia

This is a brief overview of laws regarding Chinese people in Indonesia after Independence. This overview provides a backdrop for why issues like name changes and the celebration of Chinese Indonesian cultural heritage in relation to popular music and jazz is significant. As mentioned above, anti-Chinese sentiment predates Indonesian Independence, but it was legally inscribed again as Indonesians formed their national structure.

In 1955, while Indonesia was debating its legal structure, the first Premier of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai, declared that Chinese citizenship was *jus sanguinis*, meaning that a child's citizenship is determined by its parents' citizenship. This triggered a bilateral Sino-Indonesian Dual Nationality Treaty in the same year that provided a two-year period in which dual nationals of China and Indonesia were to choose a single nationality and renounce their other status. This treaty prompted the basis for the 1958 Indonesian Citizenship Law (Effendi and Prasetyadji 2008:14–15). This Indonesian law formally required all Chinese Indonesians to choose between Chinese and Indonesian citizenship, with approximately 390,000 ethnic Chinese rejecting Chinese citizenship and becoming Indonesian (Purdey 2006:9). In May 1959, the Sukarno government passed legislation revoking the trading rights of foreign nationals in rural areas, thus requiring all Chinese businesses to be in urban areas. One of the results of this law was a large exodus of over 100,000 mostly rural Chinese on ships headed for China sent by the Chinese government (Tan 2008:28).

Between 1963 and early 1965, the situation for Chinese Indonesians generally became more stable. Chinese-language schools and numerous Chinese-language presses flourished.¹⁸ However, minor attacks still occurred targeting Chinese Indonesians in Cirebon, Sukabumi, and Bandung in 1963 (Purdey 2006:13). At this point, the Chinese that remained in Indonesia should have been unquestionably considered Indonesian, but this did not end anti-Chinese discrimination.

Importantly, during the violence following 1965, Chinese Indonesians were sometimes targeted. Crucially, the 1965 violence was not specifically targeted at Chinese people, rather the

¹⁸ In 2019, I visited the *Museum Pustaka Peranakan Tionghoa* in Banten, West Java, which tells a much longer history of this era.

main targets were members and associates of the Indonesian Communist Party, to which very few Chinese belonged. Historians Robert Cribb and Charles Coppel describe how much of the violence against Chinese in 1965–1966 was opportunistic and comparatively limited. They call it a “genocide that never was” (2009). Their best estimate is that thousands of Chinese Indonesians were killed, with documented massacres taking place in Makassar and Medan and on the island of Lombok (447–465).

Despite the 1965 violence not being primarily targeting Chinese, the aftermath did lead to significant anti-Chinese legislation during the New Order. For example, Chinese Indonesians were forced to take up Indonesian-sounding names (Setiono 2008:987). In April 1966, all Chinese schools, at the time numbering 629, were closed (979). In 1967, the usage of the term “*Cina*,” considered deriding (similar to the English “chink”), became mandated for all official national communications (987). Further, Chinese Indonesians were required to obtain extra proof of citizenship (1028).

To promote the assimilation of influential Chinese Indonesians, the Suharto government passed several laws as part of a systematic cultural erasure plan called the “Basic Policy for the Solution of the Chinese Problem” (Department of Information Republic of Indonesia 1967). For example, one of the laws allowed for only one Chinese-language publication to continue under the control of the Army. All Chinese cultural and religious expressions, including the display of Chinese characters, were prohibited from public space (Tan 2008:230). In 1978, the government began requiring a Letter of Proof of Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia (*Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia*, or SBKRI). Although the SBKRI was legally required for all citizens of foreign descent, in practice it was mostly applied to the Chinese. The SBKRI led to difficulties for Chinese Indonesians when enrolling in state universities, applying to be

civil servants, or joining the military or police (Effendi and Prasetyadji 2008:50–51). In total, forty-five directly or indirectly discriminatory laws were passed during the New Order (Tan 2008:247).

Since the beginning of the Reformasi, many of these New Order laws have been repealed. In 1998, President Habibie passed legislation requiring the elimination of the official usage of the terms “*pribumi*” and “*non-pribumi*” (native Indonesian and non-native) in national discourse. The use of the term “*Cina*” was removed from official policy in favor of “*Tionghoa*,” the vernacular term for “Chinese.” “*Tionghoa*” is still regarded as the respectful and politically correct term for indicating a person of Chinese descent. In 2000, President Abdurrahman Wahid recalled the legislation forbidding the practice of Chinese culture and use of Mandarin Chinese in public. In 2002, President Megawati Sukarnoputri declared Chinese New Year a national holiday. Although most of the New Order discriminatory legislation has been rescinded during the Reformasi, instances of enforcement have continued (Purdey 2006:179).

This political history provides a context for why Chinese Indonesian heritage has been segregated from Indonesian heritage. I argue that the telling of jazz history in Indonesia reveals the contributions of Chinese Indonesians as a meaningful part of Indonesian history and culture. These histories are not independent of other Indonesian histories, as the Chinese Indonesian community has been a constant contributor to Indonesia through cultural, political, and economic means. This participation has not been towards a multicultural society, but towards a plural identity. For example, Chinese Indonesian printing presses were paramount in the use and dissemination of the Indonesian language (Hoogervorst and Nordholt 2017). *Sin Po*, a Chinese Indonesian newspaper, circulated the first newspaper printing of the musical notation and lyrics

of the Indonesian national anthem, “Indonesia Raya,” against the wishes of Dutch authorities. Chinese Indonesians have made many specific and direct contributions to the Indonesian nation.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORIES OF VALUE

Throughout my ethnography, I observe how Indonesian grassroots popular music archivists produce objects of archival value. The grassroots archivists collect what institutional (state or commercial) archives did not. I use anthropological theories of value to understand the processes through which the grassroots archivists went beyond just collecting and preserving objects; they made materials into objects of archival value that could be recognized as something other than ephemera left out of institutional archives or unsold commercial merchandise.¹⁹

In order to understand my framing of objects of archival value, I review anthropological theories of value to position archival value as relating to a multitude of forms of value. Some forms of value are economic, analyzable through a Marxian labor theory of value, and many appear to be noneconomic. Anthropological theories of value build upon two main discourses: the commodities and capitalism of Karl Marx (1990) and the gifts and non-capitalist societies described by Marcel Mauss (2016). Later scholars have shown these as categories to be less rigid than originally assumed (e.g., Graeber 2001; Tsing 2015). Noneconomic values tend to be difficult to reckon with, for, and against, for example, aesthetic value, ethical value, culinary value, or celebrity value. Archival value appears to be a noneconomic form of value.

In theorizing archival value, I draw upon anthropological theories of value with Marxist and feminist components. The Marxist component draws on the foundational conceptions of the

¹⁹ Part of institutional archival methods includes disposal practices that weed out material considered ephemera, such as noncurrent records, extra copies, and materials without “enduring value” (e.g., Chatfield 1968; Core 1976; Schellenberg 1996 [1956]).

social production of things, such as the use-value and exchange-value of commodities (1990). The feminist component draws out important forms of social production left out of earlier Marxist theorizing, such as the importance of action as a medium of value (Munn 1986) and the social production of people in the home as part of socially necessary labor time (Graeber 2001). Just as commodities and gifts are socially produced, an analysis of archival value focuses on its production and performance of recognition. As the production of objects of archival value is a social process, I understand that process as embedded in the culture of its producers, through Sherry B. Ortner's practice theory updates to the culture concept that better focuses on the role of power in culture. She defines culture as "(politically inflected) schemas through which people see and act upon the world and the (politically inflected) subjectivities through which people feel – emotionally, viscerally, sometimes violently – about themselves and the world" (2006:18).

In understanding archival value, I am particularly interested in the social lives of things, in what Igor Kopytoff has called an object's "cultural biography" (1986), as objects circulate through various "regimes of value" (Appadurai 1986). This means that once something is made as commodity, it can be exchanged or sit as unsold merchandise, but it also can be reproduced as a gift, become ephemera, and be reproduced as an object of archival value. Timothy D. Taylor has made similar argues about how music exists before it is a commodity and has a social life after its production as a commodity (2016b). This is to say that capitalism is not all encompassing and all flattening, but rather an economic system of value production that competes with other regimes of value. Other possibilities of an object's social life before and after a commodity include, but are not limited to, being reproduced in regimes of value defined by ethnic and national identity (Myers 2001:31).

I understand archival value as a particular “regime of value.” Appadurai’s concept centers on the exchange of commodities (with a broader interpretation than Marx’s definition), through which he recognizes how standards of value may not remain commensurate in intracultural and intercultural situations. A particular regime of value ascribes goods a particular value or meaning for people, but their valuations may not cohere when goods cross regimes and enter new situations. Further, goods may exist in multiple regimes at a given time, and these regimes may co-exist and compete (Appadurai 1986; Myers 2001; Taylor 2017). Taylor continues this argument by saying things “circulate because they have value for people . . . And where there is circulation and value, there is exchange, not just of money but of time, work, action” (2020:255).

Archival value is a specific sphere of exchange, with specific parameters about how to produce and circulate objects. Archival processes, conventionally thought of for their storage and preservation capacity, can become recentered as nodes in circulation through actions that make archival holdings more accessible (often through digitization projects), generate greater awareness of archival holdings, and seek to decolonize the archive. I relate the production of objects of archival value to more generalized forms of exchange. I explore this concept more deeply in chapter three, through the ethnographic example of the Lokananta Project and a 1963 recording by jazz pianist Bubi Chen. As with other forms of exchange, manifestations of archival value are culturally specific. A theory of archival value as made through circulation presents a paradox with the goals of long-term preservation that seeks to keep things.

Anthropological theories of value focus on the important of actions rather than being inherent in things (Munn 1986, Marx 1990; Graeber 2005; Lambek 2013; Morcom 2020; Taylor 2017; 2020). Things are made to be valuable, but also “objects are an important medium of social activity precisely because they have properties, because they are vulnerable, fragile, and

losable, because they rot or endure” (Myers 2001:14). I am interested in the actions of protection and preservation, and how things become what anthropologist Annette Weiner has described as heirlooms and “inalienable possessions” (1992). The circulation of inalienable possessions resides in a paradox Weiner explains as “how to keep-while-giving” (5). An inalienable possession must circulate publicly to some extent, as these objects must be known to maintain the power they hold. However, they must not actually be given away, for then their owners lose the authority gained by their possession. David Graeber explains this as “transcendent value,” as “an effect of all the efforts people have made to maintain, protect, and preserve” inalienable possessions (2001:45). This is the same circulation paradox for objects of archival value.

Objects of archival value can be understood as produced through the actions of keeping or unequal giving in order to maintain, protect, and preserve. I build upon work by ethnomusicologist Anna Morcom, who applies Weiner’s theories to Hindustani traditional music, describing the musical practice as being endowed with “inalienable value” (2020:5). A difference between Weiner’s inalienable possessions and objects of archival value is that objects of archival value are oriented towards the users of a public, while inalienable possessions do not have that duty towards this imagined and real entity. The value of inalienable possessions and archival objects is realized through exchange, although often long deferred, limited, and paradoxical.

An important question about the preservation of musical media is to understand how objectified music, such as a recorded musical performance, is used by social groups who ascribe it culturally specific meanings, and classify and reclassify it into culturally constituted categories. Ethnomusicologist Anna Morcom posits what is “given” or “received” through musical performance is intangible and highly subjective, making it particularly unpredictable in its value (2020:2). Timothy D. Taylor, drawing on anthropologist Anna L. Tsing, argues that performed

music is translated into inventory in the form of recordings, which can become part of capitalist supply chains (2020:263). Understanding the long-term storage of popular music recordings as holding on to unsold merchandise locates it as part of pericapitalist processes that at any time could be translated from a noncapitalist mode of production into capitalist inventory (Tsing 2015:64). The production of archival value is one of these noncapitalist modes. These actions of keeping are also part of the production of “friction” (Tsing 2005) that can slow or stand against “translation” between regimes (Chakrabarty 2009 [2000]). Tsing demonstrates how this friction can be generative of capitalist gaps and patches (2005:4; 2015), but inalienable possessions tout an immovability and longevity through the actions of keeping that make them less likely to be converted for subsistence reasons.

In theories of value, an important question arises concerning the ways in which value can be stored. David Graeber describes three ways value is stored in tokens: presence/absence, rank, or proportionality (75). Once value can be stored, the discussion turns to the degree in which this can happen. Graeber points to two extremes. On one end are economic forms of value that can be stored as money, as something that is a “durable physical object that can be stored, moved about, kept on reserve, taken from one context to another” (78). On the other end, social values are stored through “performances like chiefly chanting [and] the deferential behavior of subordinates,” examples which Graeber argues are not obviously stored to be “consumed” later on (78).²⁰ Graeber contends performances must be circulated and realized together. Social values, like “family values, altruistic charity, selfless devotion to a faith or cause” (257) can be created in non-public spaces, but their display requires an audience.

²⁰ David Graeber made this concept the subtitle (or title depending on the writing phase) of his book *Towards an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (2001:vii). The coin is false as one needs each side to realize the other, simply economic forms of value need an audience to recognize them.

Timothy D. Taylor builds upon Graeber (who is building upon Terence Turner) to expand understandings of musical performances as also needing to be “(potentially) realized” (2020:31) in public spaces. He argues how “value isn’t ‘stored’ in performances/rituals/festivals, it is built up through various actions” (33). This is very similar to how Graeber writes “value is not *created* in that public recognition. Rather, what is being recognized is something that was, in a sense, already there (2001:77, italics in original). What was already there in musical performances is made through practicing and rehearsing, “which is then displayed and potentially transmitted in certain key moments that are socially and culturally agreed upon as key moments” (Taylor 2020:33). From the public recognition of musical performance, Taylor writes elsewhere how music performances, like classical concerts, rock concerts, and Irish bar sessions all function as mediums of value. These music performances can be stored in things like photographs (2016b:114). These photographs are stored as tokens of value that can be later socialized and realized in other public spaces (like archives) away from where it was created.

Overall, these theories address my concerns to think of archiving as a performance of a medium of value. The performance of archiving, as a collection of human action, produces objects of archival value in public or non-public spaces then recognized through structured public circulation. My framing moves against thinking of archival objects as ends in themselves, where the objects themselves can seem like embodiments of values like democracy and liberal thought. My focus is on the actions of archiving that occur backstage, those that culminate in a public display and allow for the awareness of archival objects.

Why Archival Value?

I came to understand and reconceptualize “archival value” when reviewing the information studies literature, where the word “value” abounds. From this literature, I understand archival value as produced from an archivist’s appraisal leading to the allocation of time, materials, and labor resources for protection, preservation, and structured use. Archival value also includes the subclassifications of “long-term value,” “exhibit value,” “research value,” “evidential value,” “informational value,” “enduring value,” “academic value,” “narrative value,” and “community value” (Brown 1991; Gilliland 2011; Gilliland 2014; Gilliland 2017b:688–714). I delve into in these concepts more deeply in each case study.

“Exhibit value” is one concept some interviewees disparaged as “just display.” But placing exhibit value in context of the anthropological theories of value, the exhibit value of archival objects is very important in the overall production of “archival value.” Archival performance needs to be publicly recognized, as the archive is needing to be known to exist, otherwise an archive might just be a collection of things or something else entirely. This is important to the production of the grassroots archives as being archives, rather than collections. I demonstrate through ethnographic research how the actions usually regulated to formal institutions and governmental bodies have been complemented by the powerful inscriptions of archival value from the grassroots archivists. These grassroots inscriptions have been taken up by formal institutions, demonstrating that the archival value inscribed by non-state institutions can be related to the archival value of state institutions.

My interest in value draws on Clifford Geertz’s search for meaning. I agree with ethnomusicologist Timothy D. Taylor, who writes how “considering questions of value helps us focus on what is meaningful to social actors” (2020b:35). Taylor relates Geertz’s search for

meaning to anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn's value project. Kluckhohn was Geertz's teacher (see Graeber 2001:2–5). Questions of value allow scholars to ask about the maintenance of what societies collectively value, when those “societies continue to change, whether internally or through external forces” (Taylor 2020b:26). This is why archiving and jazz are so interesting to me in the Indonesian context. These are both nominally newer interests that also relate to many longstanding issues such as memory and politics, how one culturally relates beyond one's comprehensive community, and modes of authority. For archiving, many Indonesian people have not been overly concerned with a written archival record of their social history (Jeurgens 2013:85–86) until the recent decades with the interests in a “culture of documentation” (Strassler 2010).²¹

²¹ Indonesia is not the only place where grassroots archiving has taken on new prominence in the last few decades. To demonstrate this, I provide a brief list of case studies. Each of these examples show new involvements of increasingly multinational coalitions. For example, in Malaysia there are several new grassroots archival projects. The Malaysia Penang House of Music safekeeps early collections from Radio Malaya/RTM, including recordings and printed materials like old cinema flyers. The MyArchives (Malaysian Audio-Visual Archives) consists of a digital archive with the goals of sustainability and viability of the performing arts related to the International Council of Traditional Music National Committee of Malaysia. The Malaysia-based Ricecooker Archives serves as a “Southeast Asian Rock'n'Roll Treasury.” The Malaysian Jazz Piano Festival Committee made the *Malaysian Real Book*, in part through archival recordings.

Cambodia also has many new preservation and heritage projects. Of particular note is the Cambodian Vintage Music Archive based in the diasporic Cambodian communities in Long Beach, California. Through the exemplary work of director Rotanak Oum and archivist Nate Hun, the Cambodian Vintage Music Archive brings awareness and access to musical communities affected by the brutal Khmer Rouge mass killings. In India, the Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (ARCE), part of the American Institute of Indian Studies in India, first led by ethnomusicologists Nazir Jairazbhoy and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, has been a longstanding success story as a center for audio repatriation. Recently, ARCE has focused on supporting community access and new archiving initiatives by Indian scholars.

Another recent related project is Decolonizing Southeast Asian Sound Archives (DeCoSEAS), led by Dutch musicologist Barbara Titus and Filipino performance studies scholar meLê yamomo. DeCoSEAS is a three-year research and community engagement project funded by the Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage

While the archive might not be as firmly rooted in Indonesia, notions of the politics of memory have long been of interest. For example, in 1921, a member of the People's Council, the Volksraad in the Dutch East Indies, Soetatmo Soeriokoemoeso, characterized the quest for precise information about the past as a typical Western requirement that he saw little value in for his people. In his view, reconstruction of the past "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" [as it really was] did not have any great value for Indonesians (cited in Klooster 1985:184). Archival scholar Charles Jeurgens, drawing upon sources from Nancy Florida, details the post-Enlightenment West writing of history as varying greatly in purpose and method with Indonesian indigenous historical tradition such as the Javanese *babad* (laudatory poems, chronicles, and travelogues with historical components) (2013:85). But the post-Enlightenment West writing of history in and of Indonesia interrelates with indigenous historical practices like the *babad* and many

and Global Change supported by the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme. DeCoSEAS proposes the decolonization of heritage curation with three formative orientation points: the improvement of access to heritage, the transfer of agency to stakeholders of their heritage, and the diversification of the dialogue about this heritage's curation. For this aim, researchers based in Europe work together with academics, curators, and NGOs in Southeast Asia to improve access to European sound archives with Southeast Asian materials. Of particular interest has been the sharing of recordings by early Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst.

Some major projects in Africa include work by Sylvia Antonia Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Associate Professor of Music and Head of Performing Arts and Film Department at Makerere University. Nannyonga-Tamusuza is the founder and curator of the Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Audio-visual Archive (MAKWAA), which houses Ugandan traditional music and music collected through colonial conditions. New York-based Ostinato Records has carried out various limited preservation and circulation projects in Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Senegal, Cabo Verde, and Sudan with national governments and radio stations (see Sohonic 2019). From the work of ethnomusicologist Noel Loble, I have learned a great deal from the International Library of African Music (ILAM) in sub-Saharan Makhanda/ Grahamstown on the Eastern Cape of South Africa (2012). This archive developed equitable and sustainable methods to curate recorded sonic heritage with local Xhosa communities.

While I focus on sound archiving, which has become particularly flourishing, other kinds of minority heritage archives have also recently emerged in Indonesia like the Queer Indonesia Archive launched in 2020 and the *Museum Pustaka Peranakan Tionghoa* (Chinese Peranakan Library Museum) opened in 2011.

Indonesian scholars have adopted post-Enlightenment historical practices. Taking this into consideration, I notice culturally defined objects of archival value articulated through culturally defined notions of time, materials, and labor resources made through the actions of protection, preservation, and structured use (keeping-while-giving). This idea of archival value as part of an object's cultural biography attends to the question if and how archiving means differently to various groups over several eras.²²

Similarly, jazz is a musical style in the background of Indonesia in the modern era. Jazz is a music of elsewhere that sounded colonial hotels and swimming pools, “gone inside” after the Independence era (Pasaribu 1986[1955]:85), and became the brand of one of the largest annual festivals in Indonesia. This is not the first music of elsewhere. Benedict Anderson theorizes an Indonesian layer theory of identity (1966), where Javanese people encounter historical waves of cultural influences from elsewhere that were accepted, reinterpreted, and rejected. Jazz in Indonesia intersects with these other cultural waves. A historiography of jazz from these contemporary grassroots popular music archives helps describe pertinent modes of authority of how cultural history is remembered through the body and physical material.

CRITICAL ARCHIVE STUDIES

I began to review the information studies literature on archives after UCLA archival scholar Anne Gilliland came to speak at the UCLA Anthropology lecture series Culture, Power, and Social Change about her recent work on “the archival multiverse.” She conceives of the

²² The concept of the “archive” has been actively debated since the 19th century (Moore 2008:197–236). Summarizing these theoretical debates, archive studies scholar Charles Jeurgens writes, “despite the theoretical delineation of what an archive was, in practice what actually happened was often different” (2013:87), hence my focus on what archivists do and how objects of archival value are used.

archival multiverse as addressing the “philosophical, cultural and media aspects of the Archive and its societal functions in a ‘multicultural, pluralistic, and increasingly interconnected and globalised world’” (2017:32). The archival multiverse includes ethnographic approaches and social analysis of archives, to better grasp the role of archives as cultural institutions and has contributed to the affective-turn in critical archive studies over the past decade. From Gilliland’s work I began to find many concepts in archival multiverse useful to understand the Indonesian grassroots popular music archives. I will introduce more of this literature in each chapter as it is pertinent to each case study. For now, I introduce the concepts of postcustodial methodologies and theories of archival care that have been broadly useful to interpret my ethnography.

Postcustodial methodologies comes from a longer literature about archival life cycles, once thought to be a linear, step-by-step process of archival management. Archival scholar Gerald Ham first coined “post-custodial” to describe how “archivists would not be merely keepers of records, but managers of records within the context of a technological society” (1981:88). In practice, archival scholars Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario Ramirez describe postcustodial methodologies as follows: “rather than accept physical custody of records,” archivists can borrow materials, digitize them, and make them freely accessible online to anyone in the world with an Internet connection (2016:58). Theoretically, postcustodial methods draws on a new archival methodology called the “records continuum model,” first developed in the 1990s in Australia by Frank Upward in collaboration with Sue McKemmish and Livia Iacovino as a response to evolving discussions about the challenges of managing digital records and archives (McKemmish 2009). This framework better articulates the reuses and ongoing circulation beyond the archive as integral to understanding archival materials. The records continuum model challenges the linearity of historical production in conventional

archival theory as archival materials are circulated, remade, and reused in a much more simultaneous and porous process. The activist archives in my research often rely upon newly available digital tools and online platforms and utilize postcustodial methodologies.

All the grassroots archivists in this study were aware of and interested in this model (although none used the term). Since the popular music materials in the archives have a legal copyright status, the circulation through postcustodial methods requires a negotiation with international and national copyright laws as well as a negotiation with community members when copyright laws conflict or are not sufficient. I take up this issue most directly with Irama Nusantara in chapter four. Irama Nusantara's postcustodial methodologies are a process of electronic record preservation where the original records can be retained by their creators with archivists acting as the managers of digital versions or copies. This postcustodial methodology resists some of the responsibilities and limitations of institutional archives. Postcustodial methodologies allow for new formations of power in relation to evidence and historical consciousness. End users can take part in historical production and self-define their own liberal political subjectivities. End users can reshape how the gaps and silences of history can be understood, witnessed, and acted upon.

The other important concept from information studies used in this dissertation is the concept of archival care, through which feminist theories and affect theory challenge older individual, rights-based models of the linear archival life cycle. An ethics of care approach requires archival methodologies to better engage with the everyday recordkeeping activities of individuals, groups, and organizations part of the "archival multiverse" (Gilliland 2017). Part of archival care is the process of cherishing collections other individuals or institutions have considered ephemera or unsold merchandise, and translating them into objects of archival value.

Archival care realizes how archives operate as much more than spaces for preservation, archives also function as spaces for activism and community-building that are “affective as much as they are intellectual” (Cantillon et al. 2017:41).

Archival scholars Marika Cifor and Anne Gilliland review the resonances of the “affective turn” in archival studies since the 1990s and notice how affect relates to the “ongoing discussions of archival ethics and activism in various human rights and community archives contexts” (2016:3). Cifor relates archival methodologies to major affect theorists Ann Cvetkovich, Sara Ahmed, and Lauren Berlant to argue that the ethical concerns of archival studies must consider the deeply implicated webs of affective relations (2016:7). This call to care has gained renewed attention as methodological processes such as the continuum model, postcustodial methodologies, and the archival multiverse seek to digitize, recirculate, and decolonize collections that explicitly locate archives as part of disparate communities. These goals of the recirculation of collections push to support and steward materials rather than own or maintain legal custody over archival holdings (Shein and Lapworth 2016; Zanish-Belcher 2019).

Postcustodial archival methods immediately confront the challenges of archival care as part of more generalized circulation. Archival scholar Andreas Pantazatos discusses these tensions as the “ethics of trusteeship” (2016) in the biography of objects at institutional museums; I extend this understanding as also integral to grassroots practices. While postcustodial archival methods seek to make objects of archival value freely accessible online to anyone in the world, issues like copyright, fair use, and royalties need to be immediately considered through different local, regional, national, and international protocols. Further, and more importantly, while some situations allow for materials to be freely accessible online, others require more delicate and ongoing negotiations with sadness, trauma, empathy, and trust.

Concerns around privacy, disclosure, and transactions complicates the ongoing relationships with record creators, the objects, and various communities.

Archival scholars Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario Ramirez examine how this ethics of care approach can be applied to digital archival projects to reconceptualize digitization as “as more than a singular event” but rather understood as part of ongoing relationships among a record’s creators, subjects, users, and communities (2016:160). They promote of the complex affective web of “discovering yourself existing” in the archive. Returning to the value literature, this moment “discovering yourself existing” is when the premade archival value is recognized. Cultural studies scholar Temi Odumosu uses this ethics of care to interrogate, reconsider, and repair structural power inequities drawing on the wide-ranging manifestations of coloniality in technology in data and internet studies (2020:S290). The ethics of care approach strives to move beyond replicating existing structures and power inequities into the digital realm, but rather articulates the position of archivists and archives as record creators, as agents, within the field of power and ongoing negotiations of race, gender, and class.

Through these three main bodies of theory, publics, anthropological theories of value, and critical archive studies, I return to my ethnographic research on jazz in Indonesia with grassroots popular music archivists. I focus on the contemporary and historical encounters of jazz in the cultural politics of Indonesia, that is, the way culture—including the attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and perspectives, as well as the processes and ramifications of mediatization and cultural production—shapes and is shaped by social, economic, and legal realities. I consider how jazz in the cultural politics of Indonesia is mediated through the processual performance of grassroots popular music archivists.

INDONESIAN JAZZ AND JAZZ IN INDONESIA

Indonesian jazz and jazz in Indonesia are two ways to examine similar phenomena. To discuss “Indonesian jazz” is to focus on an aesthetic practice with questions of authority, authenticity, and poetics. To discuss “jazz in Indonesia” is to focus on conceptual framings of “jazz,” conceptual framings of “Indonesia,” and examine their relation. Both Indonesian jazz and jazz in Indonesia are of interest in this dissertation, although my focus is mostly on the later. These concepts are not exclusive of one another as I discuss in chapter six, where jazz musicians who are Indonesian (or Indonesian jazz musicians) listen to the history of jazz in Indonesia and went on to produce an anthology containing their articulation of Indonesian jazz.

When looking at jazz in Indonesia, the historiography of the origin of jazz in Indonesia, as with most origin stories, is full of contention and an ethos of discovery always ready for new evidence. Andrew McGraw (2012:274–275) summarizes the contentious and vague early history of jazz in Indonesia. This history includes multiple bands called the Black and White Band in Sulawesi and Jakarta potentially from as early as 1902 from sources cited in Sutopo (2010) and Dwifriansyah (2011), and through a more evidenced 1930 Black and White Band (Möller 1987).

Using the word “jazz” to describe a history spanning multiple eras can easily become anachronistic and cause misunderstandings. Simply the polysemous “jazz” in Indonesia meant different things at different times, also well documented in research on jazz in the United States and everywhere in the world. What might be more revealing is how people used the word and applied the concept of jazz, such as in Dutch East Indies advertisements in the 1920s and 1930s.

Per s.s. „ROBERT DOLLAR”
 Pas ontpakt:
 „Ludwig” Jazz Band
 „King” Saxophones
 „Jean Marbeau” Schuif Trombones
 „Columbia” Guitaren & Banjo’s
 „Columbia” Mandolines
 „Hohner” Saxophones a f 25.—
 (Reclame prijs)
 Gegarandeert Beste Kwaliteiten.
 Prijzen - Scherp Concurrerend!!
 Muziekhandel „GLORIA”
 428 e

Figure 0.3. An advertisement for the music store Gloria in De Indische Courant, a Dutch language newspaper. March 31, 1925.

The word “jazz” had other meanings compared with contemporary uses. The use of the word “jazz” could also mean more generic dance music or simply a drum set. The “Jazz Band” referred to in this music store advertisement (see figure 0.3) is in the sense of a “Ludwig” musical instrument, most likely the drum set. The photo of the drum set is not mentioned elsewhere in the ad. Ludwig advertised similar “Trap-Drum” sets from the late 1910s and throughout the 1920s in the United States such as the “‘Tango’ Trap-Drum Outfit,” the “Jazz-‘Er-Up Outfit” and the “Home Outfit,” gesturing towards different uses of the names and categories of musical genres.²³ This “Ludwig” Jazz Band describes a specific drum set rather than a whole ensemble. When a group called itself a jazz band throughout the 1920s–30s in Java,

²³ Similarly, a very common electric bass guitar model for indie rock bands in the United States in the 2000s–2010s was the Fender “Jazz” Bass.

it may simply mean that a group performs with the recently invented drum set. By doing this, the group could be understood by themselves and others as a modern group, who play modern rhythms like rhumba, foxtrot, or swing when accompanying popular dances. Only a small number of groups were concerned with playing African American jazz and were often self-described as “hot jazz” (Ticoalu, personal communication, December 16, 2019).

Early jazz in Indonesia celebrated jazz as a commodity that masked the particulars of American racial history, such as the 1917 recordings of the Original Dixieland Jass Band. These recordings were the first jazz compositions to appear in the archipelago, instead of African American jazz performers like Jelly Roll Morton or King Oliver. The first documented jazz song in Indonesia I found in my research was played in June 1919 by a pianist named d’Alessio, a Venetian name, at the Deli Cinema in Medan, Sumatra (cited in Van Dijk 2019:9). The song, “Fidgety Feet Jazz,” was performed among a number of European classic compositions and Hawaiian-inflected foxtrots and waltzes. “Fidgety Feet Jazz” was recorded one year earlier on the victor Label by the Original Dixie Jass Band.

The first live jazz music group advertised in a newspaper in the archipelago was called “The American Jazz Band,” and was part of the San Francisco-based “Columbia Park Boys.” The group toured through Batavia (Jakarta) in 1919 in early August, with an article printed in *Het Nieuws van den Dag*.²⁴ Their eclectic program included singing, dancing, tumbling, and marches played on cornet, trombone, trumpet, saxophone, and percussion. This group had just toured the Netherlands and was reviewed with mixed feelings as a “sort of cocktail entertainment” that was amusing although it caused “stomach cramps.”

²⁴ August 8, 1919, page 7. Cited in Ticoalu 2013.

Finally, another early instance of jazz in Indonesia is with the *strijkorkest* (string orchestra) group “Tiong Hwa Jazz” (Chinese Jazz), recorded on the German labels Beka and Odeon in the early 1930s on Central Java’s northern coast in Semarang. While no documentation has been found to further describe the personnel of this ensemble, all that can be assumed is that they were *Tionghoa*, most likely Peranakan.²⁵ The group accompanied many singers like Miss Moor in songs labeled “stamboel” and “krontjong.” Alfred Ticoalu of Arsip Jazz Indonesia understands this group as “not one hundred percent jazz . . . but there is jazz in their music” (2020). He notes how Tiong Hwa Jazz had fused kroncong with rhumba, langgam with blues, and foxtrot with kroncong. Ticoalu describes the groups as “a kind of *campur/sari*. There is Hawaiian, kroncong, langgam, and also jazz.” Ticoalu’s description of Tiong Hwa Jazz as *campur/sari*, relates the idea of *campur* (mixed), and *sari* (essence/content).²⁶ The Tiong Hwa Jazz ensemble played songs like “*Mata Gelap (Korban Djoedi): Krontjong Blue*” [Dark Eyes (Gambling Victim): Blue Kroncong] (Odeon A 278102 b), suggesting a categorical mix of kroncong and the blues. They also played “*O Sarinem*” (Beka A. 121, B. 88 364-11) that features a trumpet solo and rhythmic drum break with the “hot jazz feeling” quickly followed by a slide guitar feeling closer to the Hawaiian style. While these three examples are early instances of jazz in the archipelago, they do little to explain why jazz continued to be valuable for Indonesians through later historical and political eras.

I find it important to consider how Batavia was an urban cosmopolitan center that had much in common with other cosmopolitan centers such as Amsterdam and New Orleans. In some ways, Batavia had more in common with those cities than with other geographically nearby rural

²⁵ See glossary for the specifics of these terms.

²⁶ Campursari is a more defined musical style in the 1980s and 1990s. To ease some confusion, I write *campur/sari* to reference to many styles with mixed essences, which includes but is not only the Javanese *campursari*.

and inland communities, such as negotiating new mixed-race identities. In this regard, Batavia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries compares strikingly well to the cultural politics of New Orleans in the same era, as an intensely complex, multiracial societies in which cultural codes, formal education, and musical styles often mixed and overlapped, (cf. Jean Gelman Taylor 2009; Bolin 2021; Cohen and Sheringham 2016). I understand jazz as there from of the beginning of the recording industry in Java, not so different from the spread of jazz via the music industry in the West. Jazz in Indonesia is part of the same problematic as many global circulating technologies, as coming from elsewhere but localized almost simultaneous with encounter.

One of the few other ethnomusicologists who has written about jazz in Indonesia, Andrew McGraw, wrote “Indonesian jazz *means* differently than American jazz” (2012:274, emphasis in original), where he contends there is “always unique and indigenous” difference between the word “jazz” in Indonesia and in the United States. He does so to avoid accusations of mimicry, with the representation of mimics as being those lacking culture, culturally inauthentic, and internalizing a colonialized mentality. Accusations of mimicry also serves to delimit the agency of musicians who can pick up skills fairly quickly.²⁷ Like McGraw, I am not interested in writing an Indonesian footnote to the grand history of American jazz. Instead, I am interested in how people who could be defined as “Indonesian” (sometimes easily and sometimes with more difficulty), were listening to and performing a musical style as well as social sensibility that involved jazz. My interest will not produce a hagiographic clarity or simplicity, rather it will hopefully reflect multiple ongoing entanglements that both reside and emerge in uneven ways.

²⁷ I draw insights on mimicry in Southeast Asian postcolonial contexts from ethnomusicologist Mary Talusan’s analysis of the Philippine Constabulary Band as less assimilating to American culture, but rather a continuation of their “native *banda* tradition” (2021:24). McGraw’s notion of Indonesian jazz forestalls the same issue.

In slight difference to McGraw, I would describe jazz in Indonesia as a global phenomenon that becomes embedded in societies by local agents relating and harnessing existing cultural forms. Instead of analyzing why jazz in Indonesia is different, I ask why it was not refused and why it remained meaningful. Of course, the early instances of jazz that arrived on cruise ship tours, played by cinema pianists, or articulated through campur/sari approaches was different from the jazz rituals of New Orleans or the processes of commodification (along with their own jazz rituals) going on in Chicago and New York. My role as an ethnomusicologist is not to pick a definition of what jazz is in Indonesia. Rather, my role is to listen to and collaborate with authorities, elders, and community members of various kinds to understand how and why jazz in Indonesia has value and how and why the “jazzing” (Greenland 2016) actions in Indonesia now also encompass archiving. Instead of research on jazz in Indonesia, I work for the Indonesian jazz community, with its interests, and highlight work by its community members.

JAVA JAZZ AND JAZZ IN JAVA

My title *Java Jazz* gestures towards the centering of jazz in urban Java, making jazz in Indonesia more or less a regional music in Indonesia; even though many archivists, musicians, and journalists tend to speak of “Indonesian jazz,” and many musicians come from other places in Indonesia besides Java. Every major Indonesian jazz musician comes to Java to play and learn from other jazz musicians. The early colonial nodes of international trade on the northern coast of Java directly relate to places where jazz has been rooted the longest.

Jazz was a part of the cosmopolitan ethos of colonial Java (Keppy 2019), concentrated through a touring circuit following the Dutch infrastructure development projects connecting Batavia, Bogor, and Bandung in West Java to Semarang on the Northern coast, and Surabaya and

Malang in East Java. The built environment of the Dutch infrastructure development projects included art deco train stations, hotels, swimming pools, cruise ship ports, luxury social clubs, and dance halls, all serving as venues for jazz (Möller 1987). Despite the spread of jazz to smaller cities and to islands outside of Java, noticeably increasing in the past thirty years, jazz in Indonesia retains high-class, urban, and Javanese connotations even as it became increasingly accessible and attractive to the rising consumption-oriented middle class throughout Indonesia.

My title credits the Indonesian jazz supergroup Java Jazz, who released their first album *Bulan di Asia* (Moon in Asia) in 1994. Led by pianist Indra Lesmana (son of Jack Lesmana and Nien Lesmana), the group featured saxophonist and flautist Embong Rahardjo, guitarist Dewa Budjana, bassist Jeffrie Tahalele, drummer Cendi Luntungan, and percussionist Ron Reeves. The group partly sought to combine jazz and Javanese music for a global audience at events like the North Sea Jazz Festival in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The supergroup Java Jazz also built upon the work of Indonesian jazz musicians of previous generations, including Indra's father Jack Lesmana and his piano mentor Bubi Chen. Java Jazz changed personnel in 1998 for their second album *Sabda Prana* released with the new bassist A.S Mates, guitarist Donny Suhendra, and drummer Gilang Ramadhan; the latter two also play with Indra Lesmana in the well-known jazz-fusion group Krakatau. Their personnel stayed the same for the 2009 release *Joy Joy Joy*.

My title also gestures towards the Java Jazz Festival, officially the Jakarta International Java Jazz Festival, first held in 2005, founded by Indonesian businessman and diplomat Peter F. Gontha.²⁸ The event hosts upwards of 100,000 annual attendees in North Jakarta with a large number of Indonesian and international artists over the three-day event. The Java Jazz Festival is

²⁸ There is tension from Indra Lesmana for the use of the name Java Jazz for the mega-festival without credit to the ensemble.

definitively upscale, akin to the expense and extravagance of major music festivals throughout the world. The performers at Java Jazz are certainly campur/sari and reproduce an understanding of jazz as not just one thing in Indonesia.

I also mention the Java Jazz Festival to notice how jazz is increasingly becoming popular in less urban places through the emergence of new medium-sized jazz festivals outside of big cities. Even though the largest festivals still occur in Java, there are over 70 annual medium or small jazz festivals in many parts of Indonesia such as the Maumere Jazz Fiesta in Maumere, Flores; Jazz Gunung in Bromo, East Java; and the North Sumatra Jazz Festival in Medan, Sumatra. Increasingly, rural areas maintain their own jazz communities as part of regional festival networks with rural groups in places like Kediri and Madiun in East Java and the Waropen Regency, in Papua.²⁹ Each festival and community can promote other understandings of jazz such as Ngayogjazz in Yogyakarta that is free of charge and hosted in a different *desa* (village) or *kampung* in the Yogyakarta region each year. Ngayogjazz also has new annual theme that connects jazz to other parts of Indonesian society, often framing jazz as a way of life for Indonesians. The 2018 theme, “*Negara Mawa Tata, Jazz Mawa Cara*,” adapted the Javanese proverb “*Desa Mawa Cara, Negara Mawa Tata*,” connoting how every region has its own rules, customs, and cultures. Ngayogjazz’s theme includes jazz as another one of these customs. Another medium-sized festival, the decade-old Ramadhan Jazz Festival, relates jazz in Indonesia to Islam in Indonesia. My title Java Jazz begins to address complexities of jazz in Java.

²⁹ I theorize this as part of the creation of jazz communities in Indonesia as “regional scenes” (Stuparitz n.d.).

WHY JAZZ IN INDONESIA?

Jazz has been there since the beginning of my experiences in Indonesia, even when I was more focused on traditional musical cultures. During my first visit to Indonesia in 2008, I performed with the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign “East West Ensemble” at the Bali Arts Festival, led by composer and scholar I Ketut Gede Asnawa. The group of percussionists, jazz musicians, new music composers, and a probable ethnomusicologist (me) played a reassembled version of “Kebyar Ding,” a lengthy early *gong kebyar* composition broken up into six parts on the first commercial recordings in Bali (see Herbst 2009:34–42). Some of our other repertoire included new compositions with Balinese gamelan and jazz quartet, a rhythm section with saxophone. Our performances seemed well received by Balinese audiences, particularly “Reng Gam-Jazz” by Christopher Reyman.³⁰ While many of us in the ensemble thought the combination of jazz and gamelan to be novel, I am struck now by some comments from members of the audience, who came up afterward and described their love and interest in jazz.

That trip was guided by prolific fieldworker, meticulous scholar, and recordist of Indonesian musics Philip Yampolsky, in his duties as the director of the World Music Center at the University of Illinois. He took some of us to a gamelan workshop outside Ubud in Central Bali and taught me the charm of *sirsak* juice, and I shadowed him to observe the *Perang Pandan* (a ritualized battle where men fight with bamboo swords) in the Tenganan village in Karangasem

³⁰ The first performance of “Reng Gam-Jazz” was December 8, 2007, at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. In the concert’s liner notes, Reyman writes, “This piece represents my exploration and interpretation of the gamelan and displays my view of its compatibility with jazz.” Reyman did not cite any previous Western musicians who have combined gamelan practices with Western idioms, such as Colin McPhee or Tony Scott. Reyman writes this was his “first exposure to the gamelan.” This piece had three sections, which had “improvisational elements in the jazz rhythm sections that overlay the specific [non-improvised] gamelan role” and one of improvisational dialogue of the metallophone [*ugal*] and the piano.”

Regency of East Bali. Upon returning to the United States, I would often pass by his office and hear early recordings that became part of his articles, such as “Three Genres of Indonesian Popular Music: Genre, Hybridity, and Globalization, 1960–2012” (2013b).³¹ In those articles, Yampolsky remained occupied with the idea that some of these popular music styles were “doomed to disappear and be replaced by ‘ordinary Jazz’” and were “nearly overcome by Western dance idioms and jazz” (2013b:49–50). Yet for me, what was interesting was that jazz seemed to appear in relation to many popular musics in Indonesia since the beginnings of the recording industry in Java. Further, jazz did not seem to have successfully replaced other styles, but jazz had been taken on a different path. During this period, my ears were being fanaticized by the “radical tradition” (McGraw 2013) being invented down the hall, of the new *gong kebyar* and *kreasi baru* compositions of I Ketut Gede Asnawa. In my head, Thomas Turino’s four fields of music making, rattled every musical utterance into a new kind of category (2008).³² Through Turino’s fields, I heard urban Shona musicians and the “micro-urban” Champaign-Urbana old-time community relating to rural traditions in new contexts.³³ The process of rural to urban transition seemed to always dissembled music practices from a singular ritual use that causes tension and power imbalances between rural and urban groups over the specific use of musical practices. I heard this same issue in the urban traditions of *kroncong*, *stambul*, and *gambang kromong* (Yampolsky 2013b), all musics prone to mixing groups and cosmopolitanism. These urban Javanese popular music styles have parts of their histories from elsewhere, *kroncong* with Portuguese roots, *stambul* with Malaysian and Arab roots, and *gambang kromong* with Chinese

³¹ See Yampolsky 2010; 2011; 2013.

³² Participatory, performance, high-fidelity recording, and studio sound art.

³³ The term “micro-urban” was used in the Champaign-Urbana area by the University Chancellorship of Phyllis Wise, Champaign Mayor of Don Gerard, and Urbana Mayor of Laurel Prussing (Krannert Center 2014).

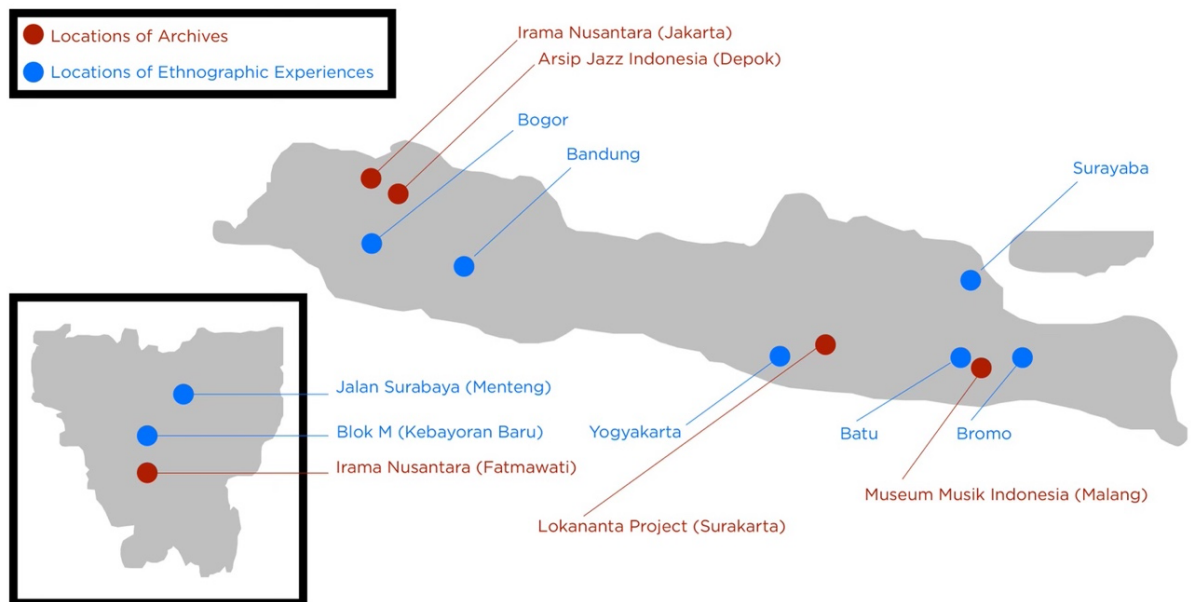
roots (Cohen 2006; Yampolsky 2013b). If the process of bringing those styles into urban contexts involved mixing groups and cosmopolitanism, why would this mixing process stop? I understood jazz early on as part of this mixing, as something being selected by Indonesians, a choice that happened many times. It could become something similarly localized as these other urban Javanese popular music styles, bearing a global history but also becoming locally representative.

When I began my graduate studies, I focused on Balinese traditional music with an interest in how Balinese musicians learn about, incorporate, and sometimes reject outside influence. During my studies of the *gender wayang* with Gusti Komin, who is part of the “radical tradition” in Pengosekan, Central Bali, I traveled up the road to the 2017 Ubud Village Jazz Festival. I knew the festival had an even mixture of Indonesian and international jazz musicians, but I was surprised to encounter a nearly even mixture of Indonesian and international audience. I thought a jazz festival in over-touristed Ubud would attract a starkly white and vacationer crowd. When I met with Agus Setiawan Basuni of the Indonesian jazz news media group Warta Jazz at the festival, he divulged how the Indonesian crowd mostly came from urban Javanese cities, including Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya (see Map 0.1 and Appendix D). I later learned the Indonesian musicians came from, or at least studied in, the same places. After I was certain about an Indonesian interest in jazz, I began to think of jazz as part of urban musical communities.

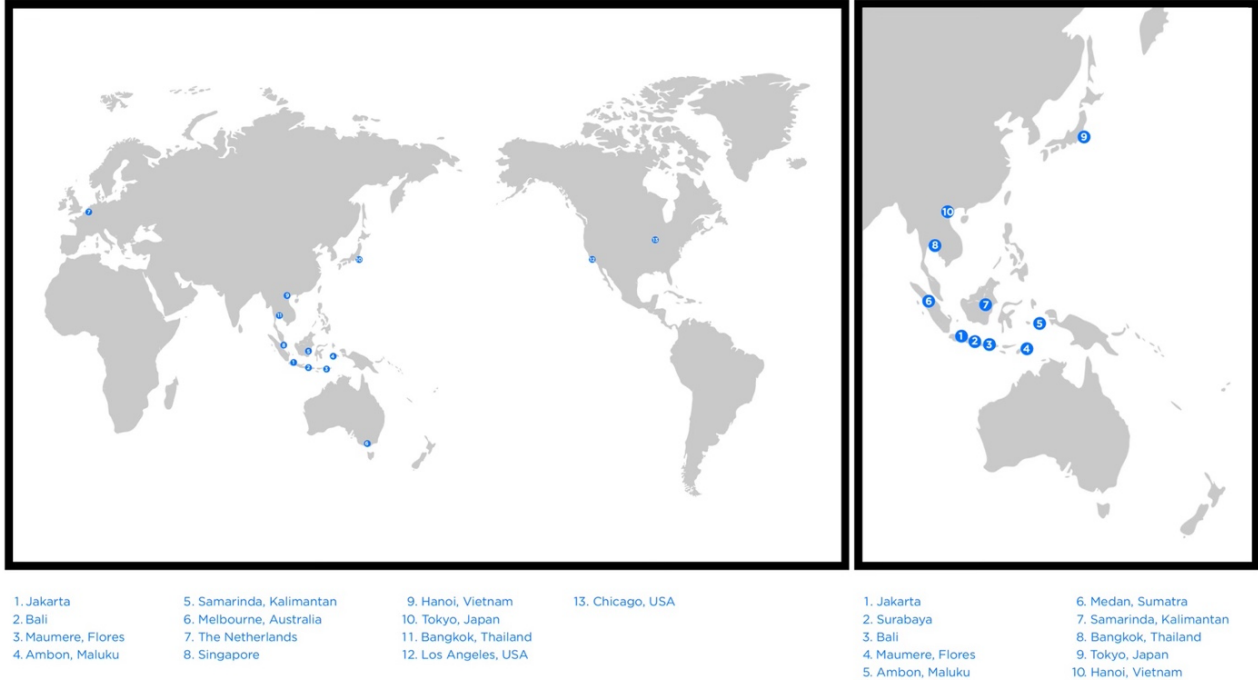
I returned to Los Angeles and began participating in parts of the filming and planning process for the 2017 film *Bali: Beats of Paradise*, a documentary that narrates the life story of I Nyoman Wenten from his village of Sading, Bali into becoming an arbiter and scholar of Balinese traditional music and dance in Southern California (see Map 0.2 and Appendix D). I had not realized that the Balinese jazz guitarist Balawan would also be involved, whom I had just

interviewed in Bali months before. In an event sponsored by Umar Hadi, the Los Angeles Indonesian Consul General, I was again performing gamelan with jazz, but this time with less fanfare, at least in my mind. Jazz is a music in Indonesia and jazz is part of Indonesian music.

In this dissertation, I focus on my ethnographic research with grassroots popular music archivists, to recognize how Indonesian individuals, groups, and publics analyze, categorize, and understand jazz. I understand grassroots archivists as part of musical communities, performing roles that enact jazz, together as journalists, performers, photographers, collectors, aficionados, and DJs before becoming jazzing archivists. Most of the archivists in this study describe themselves as popular music archivists, but jazz was there from the beginning so that each Indonesian popular music collection contains jazz. I include detailed month-by-month information on my main fieldwork period in Appendix D.



Map 0.1: Jakarta (left) and Java (right), noting locations of archives and ethnographic experiences.



Map 0.2: Maps noting fieldwork locations in the world (left) and around Southeast Asia (right).

JAZZ IN INDONESIA AND SOCIAL CLASS

When I spoke to my Indonesian traditional music teachers and friends about starting to focus on jazz in Indonesia, the response was often lukewarm. When I started sharing my preliminary research at conferences, towards the middle of my process, I often received positive reactions, the sentiment being “finally someone is doing it.” But some would respond, “Isn’t that just high-class music?” It is true that jazz still maintains a high social status in Indonesia; however, as I have already noted, jazz has also become accessible to many more people, particularly the middle class. Importantly, there many free events attempting to socialize jazz beyond exclusive forums. Nevertheless, feelings about jazz have not changed quickly. On a motorbike ride via the ride-hailing application Gojek to the 2018 Ngayogjazz festival, I introduced myself and the Ngayogjazz community based upon my driver’s queries. He told me

he lived near Gilangharjo, the *desa* where the festival was being held that year. I invited him to join if he wanted, but he said he could not afford it. I assured him the event was free, to which he replied, “events like this aren’t free” as he dropped me off. I need to nuance how to describe jazz as part of Indonesian culture, while respecting this caveat some Indonesian still hold.

Since the Reformasi, jazz has increasingly related to a growing middle class negotiating new statuses by attending jazz events and presenting themselves as part of an attentive public. This study of a modern urban music of Java serves as an important vantage point to understand Indonesian class relations. Jazz in Indonesia was immediately cosmopolitan and urban, part of longer histories of cosmopolitanism and urban communities on Java. An analysis of jazz in Indonesia provides insight into the social classes of urban Java, and the cosmopolitan intersections of ethnic and racial divisions, gender relations, and religiosities.

Jazz in Indonesia has long been understood as a music of the upper classes, disqualifying it from most academic studies of Indonesia focused on traditional culture, including most canonical ethnomusicology. One scholar who analyzes the Indonesian, more specifically Central Javanese, upper class is anthropologist John Pemberton in his article “How to Not to Listen to a Javanese Gamelan” (1987). Pemberton critiques the upper-class group as disinterested, status-driven consumers, who are somehow “unmusical” guests to traditional musical performances (27–28). Pemberton’s analysis denies the agency of the *halus* (refined) upper-class guests as having musical interests beyond the court gamelan, in favor of an essentialized *kasar* (coarse/rude) lower-class Indonesian, through his bracketing of everyone as a character in a vast cosmic wayang shadow play. But Pemberton’s bifurcated class analysis ignores how Indonesia has had a middle class (Dick 1985; 1990; Tanter and Young 1990; Robison 1996) that produces music (Wallach 2008; Moore 2010; Luvaas 2012; Baulch 2016, 2020). Each of these scholars

addresses the problem presented in Pemberton's article, about how to battle the essentialist histories of anthropology and ethnomusicology, and later anti-essentialist turns. Benedict Anderson asked how ethnomusicologists might understand music he might describe as "lazy, imitative, clunky, saccharine, etc." when the music, like metal music, is still of anthropological interest (Anderson, quoted in Wallach n.d.). I deal with part of this issue in this dissertation, as jazz in Indonesia is a high status non-canonical music, falling outside the academic discourse of Indonesia as a source of traditional culture. The social politics of Western music studies remains a process whereby a scholar of Indonesian jazz is asked to justify themselves against the hagiographic processes that produce the "great" Western composers. This often leads a music scholar to a defensive position over the artistic merits of vernacular, non-canonical musics. In my ethnography, the affection towards jazz in Indonesia is neither overtly cold nor overtly warm. Instead, the focus remains on how Indonesian communities have figured jazz as part of their cultural heritage (which some still reject). I pose my role as a researcher towards the idea of ethnographic analysis of how communities analyze, categorize, and understand the music for themselves. In chapter six, this involves forms of musical analysis through transcription and community consensus by interview as well as a process of listening back to recordings through the subjective ear of community members that I describe as aural discography.

ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

This dissertation is hopefully delicious like *nasi bungkus*, an extemporized rice dish with a mix (*campur*) of meat, vegetables, and *sambal* chili sauces traditionally wrapped in banana leaf (otherwise in cheap paper). The outside bananas leaf chapters, one and six, consider the archives from their outside, from the perspective of archival users. The first chapter presents several

ethnographic experiences with the Indonesian jazz public of fans, musicians, and media professionals as potential archival users. The final body chapter concludes with Jakarta jazz scene members as archival users creating an anthology of jazz in Indonesia drawing on archival materials. The middle campur meat, vegetable, rice, and sauce chapters each focus on one out of a total of four archives, including founding tales, goals and scope, and examples of jazz materials in their collections, ordered in a way that theoretically blends and builds. Parts of the three main bodies of theory appear in each chapter, to interpret the ethnographic and archival research. With the public sphere, I point to the real and imagined users of the archives and the production of a democratic, liberal, and secular public sphere, where one can use objects of archival value as evidence to produce knowledge and political attitudes through self-education. The anthropological theories of value describe how objects are socially produced as archival. Objects of archival value are able to be circulated through the paradox of “how to keep-while-giving.” Approaches from critical archive studies bring together ideas from institutional logics and grassroots archival practices to focus on affective implication in the process of archiving.

The first chapter observes the audience at a jazz festival in Bromo, East Java, with performances by musicians Djaduk Ferianto and Chandra Darusman. I discuss jazz in Indonesia’s music industry and then move to a public commercial music museum in Batu, East Java. This museum features an exhibit of the jazz fusion band Krakatau, piano prodigy Joey Alexander, and 1980s “Dixie Jazz” singer Ermy Kullit to illustrate a public interest in jazz. I map out how jazz has been historically understood in Indonesia, through popular press, jazz festivals, and a commercial music museum.

The second chapter details the grassroots archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia in Malang, East Java, who bifurcate the public as tourist (*turis*) users and student (*mahasiswa*) users

of the archive. Some of the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia were music journalists who wrote for the alternative magazine *Aktuil* but recognize jazz as an important early popular music in Indonesia. Museum Musik Indonesia maintains an early magazine called *Musika* (1958–1959) that served as a kind of trade magazine for Irama Records, with stories of label owner Suyoso Karsono and Nien Lesmana, and details the live performance royalties through Radio Republic Indonesia (RRI) during the late 1950s.

The third chapter on the Lokananta Project, based in Surakarta, Central Java, delves into the production of archival value. The Lokananta Project archivists sought to maintain the recordings of the governmental recording company Lokananta through postcustodial methods, ultimately causing the student-led grassroots archival project to fail. I pay particular attention to a recording by jazz pianist Bubi Chen, whose 1963 Lokananta recording had not been valued as an archival before the grassroots Lokananta Project.

The fourth chapter, on Irama Nusantara in Jakarta, theorizes postcustodial methodologies as a “weapon of the weak” (Scott 2008 [1985]) that resists copyright status in favor of community access. I illustrate this through the actions of “archival *pemuda*,” as nationalist activist agents who provoke change through archiving. The archivists at Irama Nusantara share their collections in public forums, such as at the Jazz Buzz Festival in South Jakarta with one of the top contemporary Indonesian jazz pianists, Sri Hanuraga.

The fifth chapter analyzes the methods of archival care at Arsip Jazz Indonesia and through the production of objects of archival value relating to Indonesian minority groups, including detailed lineages of Peranakan and Indo musicians. Arsip Jazz Indonesia maintains one of the most comprehensive collections of Indonesian jazz and jazz in Indonesia. Through Arsip Jazz Indonesia, I tell the story of Chinese Javanese jazz journalist, record producer, and label

owner Harry Lim, who lived in Java in the 1930s and recorded musicians in the United States in the 1940s such as saxophonist Coleman Hawkins.

The sixth chapter, back to the banana leaf, returns to the archival users with a Bourdieusian practice theory analysis regarding embodied listening and transcription practices. The musicians and educators from the Jakarta jazz scene produced the *Anthologi Musik Indonesia: Jazz dan Populer* (*The Anthology of Indonesian Music: Jazz and Popular*) in 2017, a book of 173 songs transcribed as lead-sheets. The producers of the Anthology describe it as an “Indonesian Real Book.” The practice theory of the sixth chapter pervades my understanding of the other concepts as both produced and reproduced through contention. Archival value could also be seen as kind of symbolic capital that archivists treasure and present in the field of struggles.

CONTRIBUTIONS

This dissertation offers several contributions to ethnomusicology, Indonesian studies, and archive studies. One of the aims is to present histories and ethnographic insights regarding the Indonesian jazz community to better understand the broader Indonesian and global contexts and contribute to the still growing field of Indonesian popular music studies. The Chinese Indonesian community is discussed through a sidelong glance, mostly due to several members of the community insisting to me that jazz in Indonesia is not only about the Chinese Indonesian community. This is a strategy to not make jazz in Indonesia a potential target of ethnic violence. This is also an argument to designate the contributions of Chinese Indonesians to Indonesian jazz as a contribution to national culture rather than an ethnic minority culture. Through the historiographies presented from these archives, I highlight the cultural similarities and long-term

collaborations among many Indonesian social groups, including Chinese Indonesian, Indo, and *Pribumi*, rather than highlighting the differences among them. In this way, I frame Indonesian national identity, an identity to which most of the grassroots archivists ascribe, as layered, plural, and produced through long-term inter-ethnic collaborations. This should unravel any essential notions of an Indonesian cultural identity, as only multicultural, into one that has been politically and historically constituted and hence can be reconstituted.

The theoretical components of this dissertation are informed, confirmed, and expanded by my ethnographic work. The focus on archiving came about through participant observation within musical communities, where some people in the musical community were archiving. The ideas of grassroots archives and the public sphere came about through reading about the constant anxieties expressed in popular press regarding the continuation of a liberal and democratic public sphere during the late-Reformasi. While the archivists in this dissertation were not, to my knowledge, on the front lines of the 1998 political transition, they very much carry on the Reformasi ethos, while many recent analysts begin to wonder if Indonesia's democratic days are numbered.

My theorizing of archival value might be applied to information studies, where scholars increasingly recognize the relationships of libraries and archives to contemporary economics and politics. Instead of thinking of archives as only preservation focused, a shift in thinking of the value of archives as made through exchange can help scholars in calls to decolonize the archive, make more materials open-access, and find other ways to “give-while-keeping.”

I see my methods of ethnographically researching archival projects as something that will increasingly become common in ethnomusicology as the access of archival technology becomes more ubiquitous and more communities choose to archive themselves. This will expand how

social scientists understand emerging grassroots archival projects defined in different contexts. Throughout this dissertation, I focus on methods and processes that are archival, rather than the metaphor of the archive. I acknowledge it is possible for the practice of archiving and the metaphor of the archive to become more interwoven as archival value emerges in more spaces.

Finally, I develop some ethnomusicological tools to engage communities who have more access to older recordings than ever before, through archives and other forms of mediation. In chapter six, I suggest a feedback methodology of aural discography, where the listening subjectivities of discographers organize recordings in a culturally relevant manner that might become the future focus of entire ethnomusicological projects. While many decolonizing archive methodologies have focused on forms of repatriation, there may be new possibilities in granting large-scale access to recorded collections for culturally knowledgeable listeners. Beyond learning about names of performers and information for archival metadata, new generations are increasingly able to get a sense of the musical and cultural ethos of earlier generations, such as those of their parents or grandparents. Listening back to older recordings might not only reveal insights about those musical performances, but also about the contemporary subjectivities of listeners as shifted for various reasons.

Archives make public spheres. The new Indonesian grassroots archives make new public spheres and contribute to, challenge, and destabilize other publics, including the dominant, democratic, and neoliberal publics of the nation-state. These interactions are compounded by the internet age and postcustodial archival methodologies that help increase historical reflection, transparency, and self-study, produced and consumed by liberal citizens through voluntary action. This builds upon a premise that knowing one's society will lead to knowing oneself and

foster future cultural improvement. Citizens as archival users will be better equipped to combat the global upheavals against democracy and foster more representative democracies.

In the waning years of Jokowi's presidency, expected to end in 2024, there has been increasing danger amid a shrinking civic space (e.g., Janti 2022). How and if Indonesian activists can speak truth to power is in jeopardy, as organized governmental efforts aim to quash dissent and criminalize outspoken critics. There is a feeling of the beginnings of the New Order era, where all dissent was criminalized and figures like Pramodya Ananta Toer were set away to Buru Island. Just as those figures have begun to tell their stories at the beginning of the Reformasi, such freedoms and human rights are being challenged as the Indonesian Reformasi is on the cusp of backsliding change.

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE STAGE FOR PRESERVING JAZZ IN INDONESIA

In this chapter, I provide several ethnographic case studies to articulate some of the qualities of an Indonesian jazz public. I begin at the medium-sized jazz festival in Bromo, East Java to understand jazz today as continuing the *campur/sari* characteristics also heard on the 1930s Tjong Hwa Jazz recordings. I move to a series of vignettes that observe jazz in the Indonesian music industry. I conclude with a visit to the *Museum Musik Dunia* (literally, World Music Museum), a commercially oriented tourist institution containing traditional instruments, Indonesian popular memorabilia, and a jazz lounge.

These ethnographic case studies express some of the qualities of members of the Indonesian jazz public, as they attend events, use music industry categories, read along with media reviews, and experience audiovisual documents of events related to jazz. They could be understood as public formed through attention (Warner 2002:60) to a certain popular music style and inattention to other musical styles. Social theorist Michael Warner theorizes publics as coming into being through virtual assemblies resulting from a common orientation to texts in circulation. For Warner, “attention is the principal sorting category by which members and nonmembers are discriminated. If you are reading this, or hearing it or seeing it or present for it, you are part of this public” (61). Media scholar Emma Baulch expands this notion to musical “genre publics” as not just those who listen to the suggested popular music styles, but those who “read with certain genres of popular music, and those who do not read with other genres” (2016:103). This jazz genre public serves an important group of imagined users who already consume Indonesian jazz media and might interact with grassroots archives containing jazz.

Their dispositions and class status as members of middle- to upper-class groups causes the imagined and real users of the archives to be very technology savvy, with have constant internet access, and enough income to spend on leisure. The Indonesian jazz genre public members do not articulate themselves in overtly ethnic or religious terms.

The chapter is divided into two main thematic sections: jazz in the Indonesian music industry and jazz objects of archival value on display at a commercial museum. The first section focuses on the Indonesian music industry through the 2019 Jazz Gunung (Mountain Jazz) festival, as part of a series of jazz festivals mediated through the Warta Jazz news network. I introduce the Warta Jazz media network as it is intimately connected with the grassroots archive Arsip Jazz Indonesia. Second, I trace discourses about jazz through debates by musicians and in relation to other music industry practices such as shopping for jazz records in the categorized vinyl racks at Pasar Santa in Jakarta and meeting with Indonesian music industry professionals like David Karto, the leader of the Indonesia's largest independent record label demajors.

In the second section, I move to discuss Museum Musik Dunia, a for-profit collection of instruments from across the world, Indonesian popular memorabilia, and a jazz lounge in a tourist-driven resort mall. The jazz lounge exhibit provides insights into the modes of address used for the Indonesian jazz public. The exhibit makes assumptions about the class, gender, and racial sensibilities of the Indonesian jazz public, useful to analyze the presumed role of jazz in Indonesian society. The exhibited materials at Museum Musik Dunia allows the Indonesian jazz public to garner a deeper understanding of jazz in Indonesia and jazz in the world. This museum presents many images of Jazz Gunung from previous years, although the museum and festival are not officially connected. Museum Musik Dunia is a self-described "selfie museum" where attendees are asked to post images to social media (most often Instagram), with text and labels

drawn from the exhibits. Through these examples, I notice an Indonesian jazz public formed through attention, who read, listen to, and witness live and recorded jazz in Indonesia.

I conclude this chapter with a warning from the other grassroots archivists in this dissertation, as these examples demonstrate some of the biases of the Indonesian jazz community with some members more interested in economic value, using jazz as a brand, and the conspicuous consumption of jazz rather than jazz as part of their cultural heritage. Many of objects held in the grassroots archives are rare, unique, and often expensive. It is possible to exhibit and consume them as such. Museum Musik Dunia endeavors to translate objects of archival value into a commodity, in this case a ticketed museum entry. As the objects of archival value are commodified in this museum, their social relations of their curation into the exhibits are masked in favor of hopefully astonishing visitors with only the exhibit value of the musical objects. The translation of objects of archival value into commodities value exchanged by businessmen aiming to profit from vague notions of “educational tourism” instead of supporting and building community memory projects that straighten out history. From the archival science literature, the objects in Museum Musik Dunia are used only for “exhibit value” rather than their “research value,” “evidential value,” “informational value,” “enduring value,” “academic value,” “narrative value,” or “community value” (Gilliland 2017b:688–714). The other grassroots archivists in this dissertation seek to move beyond exhibit value that can attract attention but often flattens and reduces the possibilities of using objects of archival value in other ways.

JAZZ ON TOP OF THE MOUNTAIN

The 2019 Jazz Gunung festival was held over two days near Mt. Bromo, the most recognized volcano in East Java. This now decade-old annual event brought jazz performers into

a remote area, more well-known for the culture of the Tengger ethnic group, who maintain a Javanese Hindu religion that incorporates many Buddhist and Animist elements similar to Balinese Hinduism (see Hefner 1985). The area is also a mountain tourist destination for photographers and backpackers interested in the scenic beauty of Bromo's somma volcano. Before the regular destination festivals like Jazz Gunung, jazz has appeared mostly in urban contexts in Java. These remote festivals have become increasingly popular with Jazz Gunung events planned at Mt. Ijen in the Banyuwangi Regency of East Java, at Mt. Toba (Jazz Danau Toba) in North Sumatra, and at Mt. Burangrang in West Java near Bandung, attracting crowds of two to ten thousand people.¹

The original Jazz Gunung at Bromo was established in 2009 by Sigit Pramono, a senior Indonesian banker, jazz lover, and photography enthusiast in collaboration with musicians and artists Butet Kartaredjasa and Djaduk Ferianto. Pramono began several bank-funded infrastructure and economic programs in the area, including initiating a Bromo national park that benefited some Tengger people. Pramono also used the area to indulge his passion for photography and over the years he has published several photography books of the volcano, the surrounding terrain, and the local people. During the 2007 *Kasada* festival, Pramono was honored as a senior, honorary member of the Tengger people (Patterson 2010), which is to say officially his presence and economic programs are welcomed by the locals.²

At 2019 Jazz Gunung, several of the most well-known and commercially successful Indonesian jazz artists from the 1980s and 1990s performed, such as the smooth jazz pianist Candra Darusman and modal jazz pianist Idang Rasjidi. The audience remained demure for these

¹ Many of these events were cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Some have returned as online-only events.

² On *Yadnya Kasada*, devotees journey up the mountain, pray together, and throw their offerings into the crater of the volcano.

more canonical musicians against the bamboosed mountainous backdrop, even as Darusman seamlessly blended his jazz training with signature synthesized tones and laidback pop grooves from his 1980s recordings. The audience responded much more enthusiastically to the *campursari* star Didi Kempot, who performed earlier that evening with world music, jazz, and *campursari* musician (and festival co-founder) Djaduk Ferianto and his Ring of Fire Project.³



Figure 1.1. Crowd dressed warmly at Jazz Gunung 2019. July 26, 2019.

Kempot rose to popularity in the 1980s for his lamenting ballads with a novel musical style officially called *campursari* that draws influences from pop, *kroncong*, Javanese *gamelan*, and *dangdut*. “Lord Didi” has enjoyed a resurgence after 2010 among young urban audiences,

³ Unfortunately, since this event both Djaduk Ferianto (November 13, 2019) and Didi Kempot (May 5, 2020).

some of whom exoticize his music as enjoyably “kitschy” and nicknamed him “The Godfather of Broken Hearts” (Swaragita 2019). His placement at the center of Jazz Gunung compelled some explanation if the festival is a jazz specific festival. Kempot has never presented his work as jazz, although he has dabbled in styles related to jazz, such as composition and production credits in the album series *Bossanova Jawa*. As I watched Kempot perform his 1980s hits in the volcanic landscape of Jazz Gunung, people literally jumped out of their seats and sometimes tumbled down a nearby slope.



Figure 1.2. Saxophone statue at Jiwa Jawa Resort that hosts Jazz Gunung Bromo.

Didi Kempot has a huge following among Indonesia’s poor and working class while the same groups have generally not given their attention to Indonesia’s jazz musicians. Organizers told me they booked Kempot idealistically hoping to “socialize” (*sosialisasi*) jazz in a way that would accommodate and appeal to this poor and working-class audience. Although it is also

likely that Kempot is an ironic figure from the Indonesian middle-class perspective that attracts the attention of a young urban audience looking for kitsch in an idyllic setting.⁴

Didi Kempot is definitely campursari, that of campur (mixed), and sari (essence/content), a quality that goes back goes back to 1930s (and earlier) with the example of the Tiong Hwa Jazz. Tiong Hwa Jazz played kroncong with rhumba and langgam with blues that was “not one hundred percent jazz . . . but there is jazz in their music” (Ticoalu 2020). The influence from Tiong Hwa Jazz to Kempot is not direct, but jazz continues to be part of an Indonesian culture of mixed essences. Ethnomusicologist Andy Sutton analyzes the concept of genre and hybridity in campursari musicians after the 1990s as a kind of “new authenticity” (2013:83) and a more “open-ended response” (90) to global forces by appealing to local tastes. Ethnomusicologist René Lysloff argues a similar point about musical genre as more open-ended and contingent in Indonesia than elsewhere (2016). These critiques move against the early work of foundational Indonesian music scholar Jaap Kunst, who complained about kroncong as a mixed and hybrid genre and set the colonial tone for “purity” as a quality of authentic music in Java (Kunst 1934; see Barendregt and Bogaerts 2013; and Heins 1975).

Mediization at Jazz Gunung

The Warta Jazz media network promotes festivals like Jazz Gunung for a reading and listening jazz public. Warta Jazz started as a physically printed *Warta Jazz Bulletin* in Yogyakarta in 1996, by Ajie Wartono and Ceto Mundiarso, part of the Jazz Society of Yogyakarta. Today the nationally and internationally recognized Warta Jazz maintains an

⁴ Kempot performed at the Synchronize Fest later that year in Central Jakarta. Synchronize Fest is organized by the demajors independent record company and event promoters Dyandra, who aim for a “multi-genre” festival. A demajors representative, Aldila Karina Putri, was a central organizer of the media coverage at Jazz Gunung 2019.

interrelated media network of websites, print publications, festivals, a booking agency, recording compilations, merchandizing, event management, archives (the Arsip Jazz Indonesia network), and travel tours. Warta Jazz mediatizes the jazz events through lived streaming via social media (often Instagram) or near constant digital updates during events. The in-person attendees at Jazz Gunung bounced between their physical experience at the event and following along with online updates that announce set breaks, start times, and other events at the festival. The Warta Jazz journalists write about these festivals, with image and video content, as main attractions for the reading jazz public. Warta Jazz is not the only media network circulating images and text about Indonesia jazz festivals, others include jazz specific media outlets like Jazzuality and All About Jazz, music outlets like Bolehmusik, Bahas Musik, and Surara Surabaya, as well as general media outlets like Metro TV and Kompas, all contributing to the Indonesian music industry.

Agus Setiawan Basuni and Ajie Wartono, two leaders of Warta Jazz, also serve on the advisory board of Arsip Jazz Indonesia. Their Warta Jazz mediations of the jazz festivals are soon archived in the collections of Arsip Jazz Indonesia. The repertoire performed at these festivals is mediatized through groups like Warta Jazz and can later become objects of archival value, including concert images, concert reports, video recordings, and other media from the festivals aimed at an Indonesian public interested in jazz.

The grassroots archivists participate directly in the musical communities they preserve. At Jazz Gunung 2019, the Arsip Jazz Indonesia advisory board members celebrated pianist Bubi Chen and his Surabaya community through a lifetime achievement award presented at the festival. The only living member in attendance, bongo player F.X. Boy, expressed his excitement for the recognition as the audience applauded. He happily accepted the award on behalf of his

departed community.⁵ The grassroots archivists are very much involved with contemporary jazz musicians and audiences. By noticing the audience at live Indonesian jazz events, a recognizable public of musicians, industry professionals, fans, and grassroots archivists begins to corporealize. The audience and performing musicians are all potential users of the grassroots archives, who can use the archives to learn more about the heritage of jazz in Indonesia.

In and Out of the Festival Gates

The Jazz Gunung venue at the Jiwa Jawa resort was comparatively expensive to other venues in the area, and much beyond the economic reach of nearby Tenggerese neighbors. I witnessed benefits to the Tenggerese community as their food stalls were over-patronized and all the tourism businesses boomed with many journalists and media personnel forced to stay in impromptu homestays as all the hotels were fully booked. One family even held a wedding up the road from the festival stage. I learned the wedding was purposely held in tandem with the jazz festival to show visiting family members the area's prosperous tourist businesses. But jazz had not been integrated into the wedding itself, which featured Réog, the East Javanese lion dance, instead of listening to jazz recordings or having live jazz musicians. Réog performances are trance performances led by dancers in lion-headed costumes with an exaggerated peacock feather mane. These dancers enact a dramatized and narrativized trance performance with several other masked dancers, including the *Jaran Keping* (horse-riders trance dancers) (see Timur 1978 about this tradition). The wedding Réog performance burst with sound from amplified drummers and gong players executing excitable and repeating trance rhythms. The dynamics responded to

⁵ The Surabaya-based bongo player F.X. Boy performed in several groups with Chen during his lifetime and has initiated several events entitled the "Remembrance of Jazz Maestro Bubi Chen."

the dance narrative as a singer lilted above. *Jaran Kepang* trance dancers often perform feats of strength like eating glass, walking on fire, or enduring hits from horse whips. In this case, one dancer balanced a bass drum on his chin while continuing the narrative dance drama with the Réog lion. There were no reading materials explaining the narrative or order of events, only the names of the newlyweds printed on a banner hung over the stage. I learned the dance narrative from an exhausted photographer from the all-day wedding and now evening dance performance.

The sounds of the wedding music and trance performance permeated the Jazz Gunung stage during set breaks throughout the festival. When the Warta Jazz members presented the lifetime achievement award for Bubi Chen to Chen's bongo player colleague, F.X. Boy, the drum tones for the Réog performance filled the sonic gaps between speeches. After the award, I found time to walk up the block to enjoy the trance performance and understand how that event was unfolding, simultaneous to the jazz festival. I did not encounter another member of the jazz audience at the Réog performance, they remained attentive to the jazz festival.

I did walk with members of the Jazz Gunung audience to other parts of the Jiwa Jawa resort during set breaks. They kept their attention as a reading public on jazz, as they surveyed a pavilion with photographs of past festivals in enclosed galleries credited to the festival founder Pramono. The galleries had closeup images of Indonesian jazz musicians like pianist Bubi Chen, singer Syaharani, and pianist Riza Arshad. Nearby festival booths sold festival merchandise and CDs of some of the artists. Some of the commercial sponsors like the cigarette company MLD, a subsidiary of Djarum, featured specific brands of their products like "MLD Jazy" cigarettes. MLD had also sponsored a jazz ensemble called the MLD Jazz Project, who were one of the festival performers. The Jazz Gunung audience kept their attention as a public on the festival, even when the stage was temporarily silent allowing for local sounds to reverberate.

At Jazz Gunung (as I did during many jazz festivals), I helped take photos, conduct interviews, and write reviews as part of the media group and festival organizers of Warta Jazz. Through Warta Jazz, I frequently met other media personnel, who grappled with the discourses of jazz in Indonesia. Frans Sartono, a long-time journalist for the major news organization *Kompas*, explained to me how he often writes about jazz as part of Indonesian diversity, so the Jazz Gunung lineup with Didi Kempot did not surprise him. Sartono described Indonesian jazz festival attendees to me as “not really caring that it’s jazz, as long as it’s a big event that they can attend. They would like anything” (fieldnotes, October 27, 2018). He also noted jazz as a part of the middle to higher economic groups in Indonesia.

I also met Ismail Surendra, a part-time music journalist from nearby Lamongan, East Java working with the media group DNK.id. Surendra confessed to me his confusion experiencing his first Jazz Gunung, seeing that people departed before the “most official jazz name” (Darusman) at this “expensive jazz festival” (fieldnotes, July 27, 2019). He confirmed my revelation that the Jazz Gunung audience seemed especially interested in Didi Kempot. Sartono’s comments and Ismail’s reaction furthers the idea that jazz is mostly associated with class rather a mutually agreed upon musical understanding among Indonesians.

In discussions with the attendees of the festival, the discursive labeling of the festival as a jazz festival did not seem an issue. The fact that it was a jazz festival was enough for many attendees, who sought to present themselves via social media as part of the Indonesian jazz public. Through the attendees’ inattention to the nearby and extremely lively wedding event, they fashioned themselves as an Indonesian jazz public, formed through their attention to and reading along with jazz, and non-attention to other genres.

I continued these discussions with musicians at the event, such as saxophonist Sebastian Geraldo Bhaskara Putra, known as Bass G, who played with Darusman. Bass G described the Indonesian jazz festival attendees as “looking for easy listening rather than anyone’s unique voice” (fieldnotes, June 19, 2019). The Jakarta-based pianist Adra Karim of the jazz group Tomorrow People Ensemble said at a later jazz workshop in Jakarta that “we can use jazz to explore other genres” (fieldnotes, February 28, 2019). Karim followed this later with a comment in the *Jakarta Post* that “genre distinctions should not stop us from creating and enjoying music” (Simanjuntak 2020). Djaduk Ferianto, who both performed as a musician for Jazz Gunung and helps organize it, told me that “when we curated festivals, we choose contemporary, avant garde, extreme, pop, even ethnic, because I saw and read jazz in them” (fieldnotes, July 21, 2019), reminiscent of Ticoalu’s comment (2020). The musicians, organizers, and media allow for an indistinctiveness and eclecticism at what would seem to be a jazz specific festival. It was to no one’s surprise (except for the neophytes) that the audience of this upscale jazz festival delighted in Kempot’s recognizably campursari (campur/sari?) performance.

IS JAZZ A GENRE?

The notion that Jazz Gunung would be a genre specific affair was quickly destabilized by the campur/sari character of the repertoire. Well-known composer, pianist, vocalist, teacher, and academic Tjut Nyak Deviana Daudsjah, wrote in an open Facebook forum that “various Jazz Festivals in Indonesia should be replaced with Music Festival to be more neutral as they can display various genres such as Pop, Jazzy Pop, House, Funk & Soul, RnB, Rock etc.)” (June 29, 2019). She went to say how “in terms of marketing, it might be advantageous to use the word “Jazz,” but in terms of information and education for the community in general, it should be

reconsidered because there are too many terms in Indonesia that deviate from facts and have a bad impact due to misguidedness.” In the online discussion, Pra Budidharma, bassist for the Indonesian jazz fusion band Krakatau, responded by saying, “Please check out Montreux Jazz Festival. The lineup has Sting, Lauren Hills, ZZ top ... and others. Most of them are not jazz musicians!!” Deviana repeated similar ideas at roundtable discussions I attended at the TP Jazz Weekend festival at the Papandayan Hotel in Bandung in October 2018. She continues her mission of jazz education for Indonesians at the Daya Indonesia Performing Arts Academy, through a process she describes as a mission to make Indonesians “jazz literate” (quoted in Simanjuntak 2014).⁶

Many jazz musicians have related to me similar concerns about how to understand the concept of genre at Indonesian jazz festivals. West Javanese pianist David Manuhutu said he sometimes “feels stuck and doesn’t know where or how to do something next with jazz in Indonesia” because the “prized gigs for jazz musicians” are places interested in “pop and commercial aesthetics” (fieldnotes, June 19, 2019). In many ways it seemed jazz festivals in Indonesia were more about music industry definitions than the performed musical aesthetics of Indonesian jazz musicians.

The idea of musical genre as being defined through other characteristics than musical aesthetics is common in much popular music scholarship. Communications scholar Keith Negus identifies genre as an organizing principle in corporate practice, complicated by the fact that the industry uses whatever categories do the job, “although genre and style are central ones”

⁶ In her early life, Deviana moved with her parents to Japan and then Thailand, where she attended Indonesian schools provided by the Indonesian consulates. She studied music in Germany in 1977 at Freiburg Music College, majoring in classical piano and composition and then later in 1990, a degree in vocal jazz and a doctoral degree in music education. Deviana was professor in the jazz department at the Music Academy Basel in Switzerland.

(1999:26). Music studies scholar Fabian Holt considers how “the process of genre formation is in turn often accompanied by the formation of new social collectivities” (2009:3) and how once genres are “founded (and codified),” they are again “changed through further negotiations” (20). I have already shown some disruptions to the linearity of Holt’s analysis, whereby new social formations and genres happen more-or-less at the same time in a more dynamic process than he allows. Conversations at the Indonesian jazz festivals with organizers, musicians, and attendees by and large focused on community or socialization sooner than aesthetic generic guidelines and showed genre creation to be an extremely porous process.

The corporate practice of the Indonesian music industry used jazz primarily as a marketing term, and never rigidly defined the kind of jazz played by Indonesians. When jazz artists appeared in major news outlets, they are alongside other popular musicians, even in jazz specific media like *Warta Jazz* and *Jazzuality*. Indonesian jazz festivals, as part of the Indonesian music industry, do not rigidly articulate the jazz aspects of their lineups, rather simply brand the festival and the products sold at the event as related to jazz.

Selling Jazz in the Indonesian Music Industry

Several newer vinyl records stores in Jakarta sort their older Indonesian popular music recordings together instead of segregating them by genre, style, or record label. These stores are part of a vinyl revival that draws on new and used recordings from international, national, and local recording labels, many of which are featured in the book *#Gilavinyl* (Acum 2017). I looked to purchase Indonesian jazz recordings (as categorized by archivists at the *Arsip Jazz Indonesia*) such as Nick Mamahit’s *Serenade* and Bubi Chen’s *Lagu Untukmu*. I found those recordings at Laidback Blues Record Store at Pasar Santa in South Jakarta on a sales rack labeled

“Indonesian- Local Wisdom,” mixed with other old and new Indonesian popular music recordings (see figure 1.3).



Figure 1.3. Indonesian popular recordings rack at Laidback Blues Record Store. April 1, 2019.

Other international recordings at the store, mostly from Japan, the UK, and United States were separated by genre such as “punk rock” and “hip-hop/break.” Jazz had its own rack with the subcategories of specific labels such as, “Blue Note,” “CTI,” “AM,” “Pablo,” “Verve,” and “Prestige” and styles like “Fusion,” “Spirituals,” “Free Jazz,” and “Others. . .” Indonesians making jazz did not fit into this “Jazz” rack, which made that jazz rack an “[International] Jazz” rack. The Indonesian jazz recordings were sorted with the other Indonesian popular music recordings of “Local Wisdom.” The lack of differentiation of the generic aesthetic qualities of

Indonesian jazz (or jazz by Indonesians) by the Indonesia corporate industry renders opaque its genre characteristics for consumers. Importantly, the Indonesian music industry has gone without a major jazz label, without an analog to American labels like Blue Note. Indonesian jazz recordings have all been released labels such as demajors, Musica, Irama, and Aquarius that release all kinds of popular music.⁷

David Karto, the co-founder of the independent record company demajors, is one of the most prominent supporters of independent Indonesian jazz releases today. As music industry professional, he stressed to me the noticeable class connotations of jazz by saying that “class C and D . . . cannot ever dream of going to jazz spaces today” (interview, August 8, 2019). He confirmed for me that a lettered class system is still in use by Indonesian industry professions today that directly relates class to specific genres. Ethnomusicologist Jeremy Wallach follows the lettered socio-economic classes (A–E) used by the major label Indonesian music industry to classify its markets in the late 1990s and early 2000s (2002).⁸ At the time, those classed as A and B consumers were understood to live in large cities like Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, and Medan and prefer Western music like Pop and Jazz, while their counterparts in smaller cities, still considered class A and B, were said to favor upscale *pop Indonesia* (2002:86). These assumed industry preferences were contradicted at Jazz Gunung when the jazz audience moved away from its classed genre to enjoy a music industry defined *campursari* performance understood as related to classes C and D. For me, jazz remains part of an Indonesian culture of mixed essences.

Karto went on to say that “jazz, dangdut, ethnic fusions, various forms of indie rock, and even nonconforming styles of pop are all outside of the official Indonesian music industry

⁷ Warta Jazz has begun to release compellations of jazz in Indonesia and could be considered a jazz specific label.

⁸ Class C and D are said to tend toward melodramatic pop, *dangdut*, and *campursari*. E and F are part of economic levels too poor to buy music, less considered in Indonesian music industry strategies (Wallach 2002:86).

mainstream” (interview, August 8, 2019). Yet these artists from demajors’ releases like Dewa Budjana (jazz), White Shoes & The Couples Company (indie rock), Mocca (indie rock), Maliq & D’Essentials (pop/jazz), and HiVi! (nonconforming style of pop) perform and headline some of the most prominent festivals like Java Jazz and the Synchronize Festival. Further, the primacy of the major labels has begun to shift as top industry players like Aldo Sianturi, who worked at leadership positions for Universal Music Indonesia, Billboard Indonesia, and Musik Bagus, now works for the independent demajors. Regarding corporate practice in Indonesia today, categories relating to genre are less differentiated by musical aesthetics but remain differentiated by class.

Understanding jazz in Indonesia as a genre puts a focus on its attendant social collectivities, the Indonesian jazz public, marked by where and how they can read, listen, witness, and be present. Karto relate jazz in Indonesia as continuing in elite and expensive jazz clubs such as the Motion Blue venue in Jakarta. Other upscale venues like TP Stage in Bandung and the Fabster Stage in Jakarta, are not as expensive and offer quality performers for the price of a drink (a cost affordable to most of the consumerist middle class). Other events like the Monday night jam sessions in Yogyakarta’s Jazz Mben Senen and the annual Ngayogjazz festival are free. Ticketing for the jazz festivals is usually done by a similar lettered socio-economic class grouping, making the visibility of class explicit. Surprisingly or not, the lowest level tickets typically sellout first, in the back for general audience, while the most expensive, front row, highly visible tickets often remain unsold.

The explosion of jazz festivals in Indonesia in the recent decades mirrors the expansion of consumer capitalism in Asia, a process amplifying the cultural power of the middle classes (Baulch 2020; Liechty 2002; Mazzarella 2003). The Reformasi era in Indonesia post-1998 has solidified and reinforced several middle classes, what authors like Tanter and Young (1990),

Heryanto (1999), and Robison (1996) conceive of as a series of divisions of Indonesia's middle class. Robison theorizes the existence of the Indonesian "new rich," the "petty bourgeoisie," and the "lower-middle classes" (1996:84–93). While it is difficult to determine how and if Robison's conception maps onto the lettered classes of Indonesia's corporate music industry, it does support Frans Sartono's notation, as a news and culture journalist for *Kompas*, that jazz in Indonesia has expanded beyond the upper classes with many middle-class patrons (fieldnotes, October 27, 2018). These festivals serve as a continuation of middle-class cultural formations related to new educational and economic opportunities that arose towards the end of the New Order.⁹ Event organizers and musicians often commented to me how they imagine jazz as becoming socialized within the Indonesian masses during these festivals, but this remains partially true as most events, due to their expense, are only consistently affordable to the middle- and upper-class groups. Even as Didi Kempot played music that would appeal to the lower classes at Jazz Gunung, there were no actions to get those listeners through the gate.

Instead of using a conception of jazz from Negus or Holt, my understanding of jazz as a genre in Indonesia corresponds with anthropologist Brent Luvaas's theorization of the Bandung indie music and fashion community, drawing on the sociologist Ryan Moore, to describe the community less as a genre than a "general sensibility" (Moore 2010:2).¹⁰ Genre for Luvaas was

⁹ Some of the first large scale jazz festivals in Indonesia are the Jazz Goes to Campus at the University of Indonesia in 1977 and Jak Jazz Festival in Jakarta that started in 1988.

¹⁰ I conducted interviews with jazz musicians like Indro Hardjodikoro, Jason Limanjaya, Cucu Kurina, Dwiki Dharmawan and Pra Budidharma about the idea of jazz sensibility in Indonesia as related to what I heard as "rasa jazz." Rasa jazz might mean jazz flavor/feeling as affect, mood, and intuition. I thought that "rasa jazz" could be a kind of Raymond Williams-like structure of feeling. Marc Benamou has written an in-depth analysis of *rasa* in the Surakarta karawitan community (2010). Importantly for Benamou, "the Indonesian word *rasa* is not always an exact translation of the *ngoko rasa* since Javanese people often insert the *ngoko* word into an Indonesian sentence" (41). Was "rasa jazz" a similar phenomenon for another community?

“just a tendency, something one gravitates toward at certain moments, but at other moments may very well move away from” (Luvaas 2012:90). This phenomenon of musical genre in Indonesia as a general sensibility is not limited to jazz and indie music. In a 2013 collection, *Recollecting Resonances: Indonesian–Dutch Musical Encounters*, edited by anthropologists Bart Barendregt and Els Bogaerts, multiple authors present arguments about how hybrid Indonesian genres should be considered as encounters, or social spaces without definitive aesthetic bounds. This lack of distinct boundaries is important in the identity making processes of the musicians and important features of the genres themselves. Barendregt and Bogaerts concentrate on listening to an Indonesian–Dutch musical heritage and describe genres with Indonesians, Filipinos, Malaysians, Italians, and Dutch performing together, from Western classical instrumental music, opera, Malay folk songs, gamelan, jazz, and American popular music that are categorized differently in different sources (2013:1–30). Indonesian musical genre is understood as creating social spaces of constant debate and applies to Indonesia’s contemporary jazz community.¹¹

The Indonesian jazz public, as a genre public similarly moves their attention towards and away from discourses of jazz. Attention to jazz must suit the Indonesian public’s sensibilities as class conscious group and this attention is not often based on musical aesthetics. One can read jazz or be jazz illiterate but still part of the Indonesian jazz public through attention to things discursively labeled jazz.

¹¹ Scholars of other Indonesian musical genres such as *musik kontemporer* produce similar interpretations. Andrew McGraw finds that *musik kontemporer* “does not retain a consistent meaning across its history or across Indonesia’s various regional cultures” (2013:3). Ethnomusicologist Christopher Miller investigates *musik kontemporer* as a genre and finds a nonconformity of strict aesthetic musical definitions. His dissertation begins with an epigraph from I Wayan Sadra who asserts, “Kontemporer is not a genre, but a phenomenon. It’s an adjective, not a noun” (2014:1).

JAZZ IS A BRAND

Through Aji Wartono of Warta Jazz, I met Redy Eko Prastyo a composer of pan-Indonesian ethnic musics who works in the radio and media department of Universitas Brawijaya in Malang, East Java. Stating my interest in the history and contemporary practice of jazz in Indonesia, he bluntly asserted “jazz is a brand in Indonesia” (fieldnotes, July 29, 2019).¹² I had heard similar remarks from archivists and musicians of various styles commenting on commercial and advertising campaigns that use the word and concept of jazz, such as at festivals.

I had noticed the word “jazz” on consumer products such as soap, clothing, umbrellas, and contact lenses.¹³ Major companies, most prominently by cigarette and mobile technologies companies, sponsor Indonesian jazz festivals that feature heavy advertising in their promotion and at the events themselves. Some of those companies have specific “jazz” focused merchandise such as the cigarette company Djarum with their Djarum Super MLD “jazz” line and another major cigarette company, PT Nojorono Tobacco International, with their “Jazy Mild” line. The Djarum Super MLD have begun sponsoring the formation of jazz ensembles with record contracts and performance opportunities through public contests and auditions. These groups, labeled by season that indicate the year, like the 2018–2019 group called the MLD Jazz Project (Season 4), played at Jazz Gunung 2019 as well as many major jazz festivals in Indonesia that year. The jazz festival lineups become a branding opportunity part of an

¹² I came to realize the significance of this quote upon the final revisions of this chapter. I will need to compare branding practices in Indonesia to other places and more general theories (e.g., Aronczyk and Powers 2010; Banet-Weiser 2013; Raseuki, Alkatiri, and Sondakh 2020; Bustomi and Avianto 2021).

¹³ The Honda “Jazz” is a very common and popular automobile in Indonesia first introduced in 2003. Although a global brand, Honda produces these cars in Indonesian factories. These cars have been the perfect option for upwardly mobile Indonesians. Despite the coincidence, the name I would argue is happenstance to my research and not locally specific.

advertising campaign for Djarum Super MLD.¹⁴ Similar to the explicit use of the word “jazz” to insinuate a certain advertised affect for a product, some festival attendees would offer me a critique that jazz festivals themselves were popular music festivals branded as jazz for a sense of class; they assured me that Indonesian jazz festivals were “not all jazz.”

The media group Warta Jazz sometimes uses jazz as a malleable brand to attract sponsorships from government funded tourism boards and commercial products seeking to associate themselves with new festivals. For example, the all-terrain motorbike company Suryanation and the national government electric company PLN sponsored Warta Jazz’s Maumere Jazz Fiesta in 2018. Through the efforts of many people, jazz in Indonesia is part of a mixture of corporate branding and community networks throughout the Indonesian archipelago, often touted in Indonesian popular press and new government initiatives as the cutting edge of Indonesia’s emergent creative economy.¹⁵

This idea of jazz as a brand in Indonesia is more in line with Luvaas’s observation that for the Indonesian middle class during his fieldwork, “or at least that segment of the middle class that identifies as ‘indie,’ what one consumes is simply no longer as important as how one consumes it” (2012:95). Similarly, for some in Indonesia’s multilayered middle class, the content of jazz is less important than how one consumes it and how one can be recognized as a jazz consumer. While some in the jazz community work against the idea of jazz as brand, the possibility of jazz to be used in branding and advertising campaigns remains pervasive.

¹⁴ These annual groups play mainstream popular songs for Seasons 1–3. Season 4 is different featuring Puspallia (vocals), Timoti Hutagalung (drums), Yosua Sondakh (guitar), Hafiz Aga (bass), Noah Revealin (piano), and Anggi Harahap (wind & brass) all come from jazz training. Some of the earliest jazz ensembles during the 1930s colonial era like the Silver Kings were also named after and supported by cigarette companies.

¹⁵ For more recent updates on aspects of the creative economy in Indonesia see *Ekonomi Kreatif* 2014; Kim 2017.

Surakarta-based jazz pianist Aditya Ong wrote in a public discussion on Facebook about jazz festivals critiquing this phenomenon saying that:

“Today, jazz is used as a trademark to portray someone as trying to be truly classy and unique. Strangely, many people who attend jazz festivals, don’t necessarily like jazz. Many just want to brand themselves as “high class.” EO [Even Organizers] are responsive to this phenomenon. . . . I prefer to attend jazz community events. They are more sincere to love jazz and educate the public about ‘what is jazz.’” (August 10, 2019)

Many musicians and organizers like Djaduk Ferianto also criticize this phenomenon by saying that some of these events only “use the name jazz” (personal communication, September 9, 2019). Jazz guitarist and new music composer Tesla Manaf, who now explores noise-tolerant electronic compositions, has relabeled one of his effect pedals with marker and tape as “NOT*FREE — NOT*JAZZ” (fieldnotes, July 23, 2019). These musicians and organizers find the malleable nature of jazz as brand in Indonesia, with an implicit elitism and without musical precision, a disservice to their communities. While there are many routes to consider jazz as a brand, for now I will take a modest course to say that thinking about jazz as a brand considers it less for any rooted musical conventions or authentic stylistic components part of Holt’s genre (2009), than its associations with the sensibilities of consumerism, prestige, and the Indonesian recording industry.

Jazz as a brand in Indonesia is attached to many money-making processes related to the Indonesian music industry. This frustrates most Indonesian jazz musicians who think of it otherwise or have given up on the concept of genre all together. Unfortunately, many of the Indonesian musicians I spoke to, particularly younger musicians, did not present a clear picture of how jazz in Indonesia was supposed to be, rather they felt what was happening at the jazz festivals and through the music industry categories misrepresented their musical practice. These comments about missing cultural history makes evident the ways in which the musicians are

ideal candidates to become users of the grassroots archives. The archives would allow musicians to learn more about their history. This would help them to better rebuff music industry classifications of jazz by structuring their definitions through archival self-study.

In this chapter I have discussed how the jazz audience at Indonesian jazz festivals, through their consumption of live and mediated jazz performances could be considered an Indonesian jazz public. The musicians who produce the music for festivals also consume live and mediated jazz performances, as other members of the Indonesian jazz public. The Indonesian jazz public is an important physical and imagined community for which archivists can present and seek to address as potential archival users. In the next chapter, I discuss how the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia imagine different users of their archive, influencing how they collect, present, and make materials accessible. For now, I continue this logic of jazz as brand in Indonesia applied to a commercial museum context.

STAGING A JAZZ EXHIBIT IN EAST JAVA

This last section focuses on Museum Musik Dunia, a commercial “selfie-museum” in the city of Batu, nearby Malang, East Java to notice how the Indonesian jazz public has been addressed to attract attention to objects of archival value related to jazz. The Museum Musik Dunia owners compare themselves to other grassroots archive in popular press, which is why I am analyzing the commercial museum through archival logics for comparative purposes. Museum Musik Dunia, which translates itself in advertisements as the World Music Gallery, serves as a space to exhibit musical objects only for their “exhibit value” to attract attention for commercial purposes. This is compared to using objects for their “evidential value” that is the idea “as *evidence of* a particular event or activity” (Furner and Gilliland 2016:610; emphasis in

original). “Evidential value” requires a critical examination of the multiple, overlapping narratives emmeshing objects to recover multiple perspectives. For archival scholars Jonathan Furner and Anne J. Gilliland, it is the “evidential value of archival resources, rather than their informational value, that tends to take priority in all archival activities” (609). By only using objects of archival value for their “exhibit value,” multiple narratives are flattened and the social relations that produce the museum are masked.



Figure 1.4. The entrance to the Museum Musik Dunia with life-size figures of Elvis Presley, Ebiat G. Ade (an Indonesian singer-songwriter from Banjarnegara, Central Java), and Michael Jackson. July 29, 2019.

Museum Musik Dunia seeks to present all the musical styles of the world. It contains traditional musics from many geographic regions, popular musics including memorabilia from well-known Indonesian musicians like Koes Plus, God Bless, and Waldjinhah, and a collection of

Indonesian popular music magazines like *Hai* and *MG (Musik Guitar)*. One exhibit featured a jazz lounge that articulated the coexistence Indonesian jazz musicians with jazz and popular musicians from elsewhere and jazz as part of Indonesian society. The exhibit conveyed a jazz sensibility and provided insight into usual modes of address for the Indonesian jazz public.

On my way to meet the archivists of Museum Musik Indonesia in Malang (chapter two), I learned upon arrival that the archivists take Mondays off. With my unintended free day, I took the advice of a friend from Gadjah Mada University, Michael Haryo Bagus Raditya, who had recommended I look at the World Music Gallery. (I will use World Music Gallery for the Museum Musik Dunia to lessen confusion with Museum Musik Indonesia.) Michael described the World Music Gallery as copycat museum that was taking part in the recent trend of new Indonesian museums and archives. Indonesian museum and cultural studies scholar Desi Dwi Prianti evaluated the Gallery as a very expensive commercial museum that does not contribute to “*sejarah perjuangan bangsa*” (history of the nation’s struggle), a requirement of for museums to receive national funding (personal communication, March 25, 2022).

In a *Jakarta Post* article, the World Music Gallery’s operational manager, Agus Priyanto, notes how he understands the gallery “as part of educational tourism” and the World Music Gallery strives “to work in a synergetic and complementary way” with *Museum Musik Indonesia* (Aw 2018). Museum Musik Indonesia does work in the discourse of *sejarah perjuangan bangsa* (the history of the nation’s struggle), where its materials are meant to legitimize national history (discussed in the next chapter), while the World Music Gallery is simply for-profit. The World Music Gallery openly represents itself relationally to Museum Musik Indonesia and regards itself as an education center that can lucratively blend business with education.

As a city, Batu is highly dependent on tourism, a business model from the Dutch colonial era where Batu served as the site of luxury hotels and villas that drew colonial officials interested in a temperate respite. Batu continues as a tourist destination for Indonesians with one of the largest amusement parks in Indonesia, opened in 2001, called the Jawa Timur Park (Jatim), broken up into three locations: Jatim 1 features water parks and rollercoasters; Jatim 2 focuses on learning about the natural sciences and animals; and Jatim 3 combines these two themes of amusement and education with paleontology and geology facilities, an architecture museum, and the World Music Gallery.



Figure 1.5. The jazz lounge exhibit entrance.

The World Music Gallery opened in November 2017 with three floors. The first floor is focused on traditional musics, the second floor dedicated to popular musics, and the third floor has musical machines, recording devices, sound technologies, and small concert hall with a 500-person capacity. The exhibits feature instruments from around the world, collections of memorabilia from Indonesian and international musicians, and life-size Madame-Tussaud style wax figures. Most instruments and exhibits have very little contextualizing information, usually only the name of the instruments or musician(s) and about one sentence of description focusing on geography and time period.¹⁶ The descriptions offer a progressive and evolutionary perspective of musical styles. Most exhibits blast sound, bleeding into the entire sonic space that results in a battle of volume and proximity. Museum attendees are also urged to touch and play most of the instruments, adding to a *ramai* (busy/noisy) quality for the whole museum. There are other businesses in Jatim 3, including a theme park called the Millennial Glow Garden (*Milenial Glow Garden*), a haunted house, and robotic dinosaur park exposing the entertainment thrust of this Las Vegas-like mall.

The World Music Gallery operational manager Agus Priyanto describes the gallery's mission as "aimed at appreciating top musical artists in Indonesia and abroad, thus making the gallery a place of education to gain better knowledge of the musical world" (quoted in Aw 2018). This comment is against my experience at the World Music Gallery where the entertainment quality was paramount. Tour guides were post nearby every exhibit to answer

¹⁶ For example, the "nay Turkey" was described as "an extremely typical Turkish instrument that has been played for 4,500/5,000 years, making it one of the oldest examples of a musical instrument that is still used." Each exhibit is classified geographically, with Africa being without differentiation, and the native cultures of North and South America lumped together. China and India were broken down into many detailed subsections. These classifications provide a perspective into how the curators categorize and prioritized geography and culture.

questions and provide extra information. When probed, the tour guides instead suggested taking my picture to upload to Instagram rather than offer much extra information. Every exhibit features a recommended and explicitly labeled “selfie spot” with #musueummusikdunia to be used when posting to Instagram. The gallery attendees contribute to the experience by promoting their consumption of the World Music Gallery experience into social media and serving as free advertising for the Gallery.



Figure 1.6. (left) An Ermy Kullit, the “Queen Bossa Indonesia” wax figure with various authenticated memorabilia. (right) An exhibit in the jazz lounge at the World Music Gallery.

The second floor, dedicated to popular musics, featured a dangdut karaoke bar where a museum attendee could sing alongside a photogenic wax Rhoma Irama, walk across Abbey Road next to wax Beatles, and a jazz lounge with a wax B.B. King, Ermy Kullit (the Indonesian “Queen of Bossa”), and Elton John (see figures 1.6 and 1.7). This jazz lounge provided insight into what might constitute parts of a classed jazz sensibility in Indonesia, with vinyl recordings from Indonesian and international artists—jazz as synonymous with the “industry”—and a display of hard-to-get liquor bottles (theatre props without alcohol) (see figure 1.8). This exhibit

presented broad associations of jazz related to other kinds of popular music, alcohol, and the materials of an upper-class lifestyle such as vinyl/players, neon lights, and hotel lounges.



Figure 1.7. A B.B. King wax figure sits next to an official Gibson reissue “Lucille” guitar, one of the few instruments marked “do not touch.”

Even while many Indonesians drink alcohol, beverages like whiskey, vodka, and gin have powerful associations with Western wealth and decadence. Jazz at the World Music Gallery is presented in association with a boozy nightlife, even though there was no alcohol served at Jazz Gunung. The Jazz Gunung audience, while maybe tired and cold, was sober. In Indonesia, such a boozy lifestyle is considered upper-class, while similar lounges and bars are more associated with working class and middle-class Americans. The performance of jazz in lounges and bars in the United States was often due to Inaccessibility due to race and class to concert halls or public

facilities at different periods of history. The establishments where jazz was performed in America associated it with lower classes. The establishments where jazz was performed in Indonesia, lounges, and bars, instead are spaces of exclusivity and prestige.

The World Music Gallery jazz collections reveal a lack of concern for a strict American or African American hagiography of jazz. The American musicians mentioned at the jazz lounge, in the form of lineup vinyl above the dry whiskey bar, were Louis Armstrong, Frank Sinatra, Miles Davis, Duke Ellington, Tommy Dorsey, Robert Johnson, Norah Jones, Clark Terry, Charlie Parker, and John Coltrane. Equally weighted on the other end of bar were the Indonesian musicians: Syaharani, Tohpati, Dewa Budjana, Joey Alexander (a very young photo), Mus Mujiono, Gilang Ramadhan, Pra Budi Dharma, Dwiki Dharmawan, Tulus, Sandhy Sandoro, Ermy Kullit, Tompi, Andien, and Glenn Fredly. The exhibit ended with an image of Jazz Gunung 2016 with Djaduk Ferianto and his Ring of Fire Project capping off the exhibit of jazz materials in Indonesia.



Figure 1.8. Some of the Indonesian musicians featured in the jazz lounge at the World Music Gallery.

EXHIBIT VALUE

Although the World Music Gallery proposes itself as educational tourism, it mostly serves as entertainment for attendees to take selfies with wax musical idols and marvel at the collection of memorabilia. The labels were limited, and the tour guides offered little information beyond the photographic skills and social media prowess. The objects in the museum were used only for their “exhibit value,” the evidence of a particular event, such as when, where, and how the official Gibson reissue “Lucille” guitar was purchased to be placed next to the wax B.B. King, and why it could not be played when most instruments in the museum could, was left unanswered. While this sort of exhibit draws attention to and awareness of Indonesia’s jazz community, it does not fully express its history, contradictions, and intricacies.

Unfortunately, the tour guide could not explain to me the parameters of how materials were included in the jazz lounge exhibit. Also, I noticed a general gender imbalance, male musicians like B.B. King and Miles Davis were included, while female figures like Ella Fitzgerald and Billie Holiday were not. Why was the attention to the African American jazz tradition so limited? The exhibit only featured a solitary poster tracing the geographic history of jazz from New Orleans to other American cities. Why were some major Indonesian musicians like pianist Indra Lesmana, one of the most internationally commercially successful musicians, not included? Yet his bandmates Gilang Ramadhan, Pra Budi Dharma, and Dwiki Dharmawan were included in the vinyl roster? What about Indra’s guitarist father, Jack Lesmana, who has been widely acknowledged as a major driver of Indonesia’s jazz community since the 1950s and even called the “*Lokomotif Jazz Indonesia*” (the main driver of Indonesian jazz) by *Rolling Stone Indonesia* (2011)? What of his jazz vocalist mother, Nien? These questions were all asked and left unanswered. This exhibit exposes some of gaps in the representation of women in the

Indonesian jazz community and the general lack of serious discussion of the racial histories of jazz, both in the United States and in Indonesia. Most important for this exhibit was to identify jazz with an upper-class setting of a boozy lounge and with expensive vinyl recordings.



Figure 1.9. A top public post by Instagram user muthihasna (Muth'a Hasna Thifaltanti) using #museummusikdunia accompanied with the English text: "It was such a great time to meet BB King in person! Or at least a statue of it." October 6, 2018.

After scanning news and social media, I did find any complaints about the representation of any of the musical styles at the World Music Gallery. Instead, I only found a mall-going consumerist Indonesian audience with little concern over further negotiating the aesthetic

boundaries of jazz (or other styles) (see figure 1.9). There were no further questions about how certain styles were founded or codified. Simply the images expressed the enjoyment of being around interesting objects without having to ask or answer anything more.

Jazz in Indonesian is not only thought of as a sonic practice. The mall-going audience, who become part of the Indonesian jazz public, can recognize jazz by seeing it in images and reading these limited texts. The visual cues of wax figures, whiskey bottles, and vinyl album covers can all be understood as the neon signs of jazz.

CONCLUSION

This kind of presentation sends a warning to the other grassroots archives in this dissertation as it demonstrates the commercial value of their emerging grassroots materials in Indonesia. The commercial value of objects of archival value can be exploited in business initiatives aiming to profit from “educational tourism” instead of building community memory projects that straighten out history. These objects are defined by an Indonesian music industry less concerned with jazz defined by musical aesthetics, and more concerned with how jazz can be used to brand festivals and to advertise products. Musicians encountering a museum like the World Music Gallery will not gain the tools to rebuff industry definitions, as they will not be able to examine the evidential value of objects of archival value.

While World Music Gallery in Batu openly represents itself relationally to Museum Musik Indonesia in nearby Malang. Museum Musik Indonesia had little to say about working with or relating to World Music Gallery. Museum Musik Indonesia archivists could serve as community experts to help with the educational tourism at the World Music Gallery, but

Museum Musik Indonesia also relies on educational tourism, and the archivists saw no benefit in helping a competitor.

Alfred Ticoalu of Arsip Jazz Indonesia lamented about situations like the World Music Gallery, where he understands Indonesian approaches to history “as storytelling instead of cold hard facts” with a focus on “the power in the storyteller” (personal communication, June 22, 2018). Despite this problem, the exhibit of archival materials very much benefits the “documentation awareness” (Strassler 2010) of little-known histories or materials. Objects of archival value used for their exhibit value displays some of the “cold hard facts” such as their existence and placement as objects of importance. But if the objects are never assessed for their evidence of other narratives, than “the power in the storyteller,” or the common metaphor of the *dalang* (traditional *wayang* master), remains absolute. Of course, cold hard facts are a kind of storytelling, too, and carry implicit biases. The challenge of the grassroots archives is to strike a balance, as the tenor of the debate changes over the modes of authority in the telling of history.

The World Music Gallery exhibit gets at Ticoalu’s qualms of kinds of historical projects that are “using history basically to make money” (personal communication, June 22, 2018). Although he “understands why they’re doing that” and sympathizes with groups with little economic opportunities in Indonesia, “but maybe they’re not giving you the best picture of history because it’s a certain flattening and a certain, performing of history.” He observes how once an Indonesian preservationist makes some money out of their collection, they call it an archive and they become an archivist. Ticoalu describes this as the performance of an Indonesian preservationist or archivist and opposes it to that “in the Western Hemisphere, you have to prove yourself to be a capable historian, then you can make money out of it.” For me, both practices are just different kinds of performances. The interest in the story itself versus the power to be an

autorotative storyteller remains an important question for the grassroots archivists. There is an Indonesian jazz public that can be addressed, and now the debate moves to effective and appropriate modes of address among the grassroots archivists as storytellers with a new form of material authority. The grassroots archivists can further evoke the Indonesian jazz public as something constantly being spoken of, to, and for, but never precisely pinned down.

Ticoalu, an avid reader of social theory and critical history, related the logic of the performance of an Indonesian preservationist to the Geertzian “theatre state” (1980), where polities display power through spectacle and ritual to uphold authority of exemplary centers. This is an understanding of archives in an older sense, where archives serve as sites of the “enlightened despotism” of nation-states and sovereign power (Toner 2019:657). Ticoalu is asking an accessible liberal archive that fosters self-help and voluntary action to produce liberal citizens that learn of their society through self-study to foster future cultural improvement.

To take the “theatre state” interpretation of the World Music Gallery seriously, then those museum curators should be understood as rulers serving as an externalization of the order of the world, who then order the subjects in their world. Archival display and exhibition could serve to demonstrate one’s power in Indonesian society through the control of large collections of musical instruments, recordings, older magazines, and the methods of computerized preservation. If an archive is part of the flow of power from the theatre state, then collections will be used by “noble rulers . . . less interested in administering . . . than in dramatizing their rank and hence political superiority . . . aided by his inborn charismatic force and of various sacred objects carried as heirlooms” (Geertz 1980:13–14). The performance of a “theatre state” archivist might only display splendor, or at least this is the worry. Luckily, archival value includes many possibilities and using an object for its exhibit value does not preclude it for it

being used in other ways, as long as the archivists allow it. This critique of the exhibit value of objects of archival value comes from grassroots archivists interested in sharing materials with users to allow them the chance to become historically conscious agents.

These ideas of exhibit value and evidential value is not a progressive narrative about archiving in Indonesia. Archival value, as a regime of value, coexists and interacts with other regimes. The examples in this chapter demonstrate how jazz has been exhibited in Indonesia as a commodity: at festivals, in the record industry, and at a commercial mall-museum. An Indonesian public has given their attention to jazz, as a genre, understood as something closer to an advertised brand than defined by aesthetic parameters.

Most importantly, there is an Indonesian public interested in listening to and reading along with jazz. They are already giving their attention to media outlets that cover jazz festivals, record companies that make liner notes for industry categorized jazz recordings, through branded products, and through the imaginings of commercial museum displays. This public can potentially continue to read along with jazz as users of the grassroots archives.

CHAPTER TWO

EVIDENCE OF INDONESIAN JAZZ AT MUSEUM MUSIK INDONESIA

My fieldwork centered in West Java, mostly in Bandung and Jakarta, where I would meet with musicians, music industry professionals, and archivists for interviews and participant observation: record collecting, digitizing recordings, listening to recordings, talking about recordings, hanging out, and playing music. I often took weeklong (frequently extended) excursions using numerous forms of transportation: planes, trains, boats, buses, *bemo* (small bus transport), cars, *ojek* (motorbike taxi), *Gojek* (an online app for motorbike and car taxi), bicycles, skateboards, and lots of walking on my way to visit people and archives in other regions. If possible, I would travel with Indonesian jazz community members, allowing plenty of time to talk and practical travel advice when arriving in places I had never been. Ethnomusicologist Ama Oforiwaa Aduonum (2021) theorizes walking as an ethnomusicological fieldwork method; walking and these other forms of transportation informed my research and pushed me to consider why Indonesia's train network, built upon colonial legacies, seemed to connect the oldest jazz communities, while newer toll roads and airport infrastructures better linked the younger communities. How people traveled, what they brought (or did not bring), and the breaks we took along the way for food, prayers, fun, and fuel informed my sense of how jazz community members fit themselves (and me) into various Indonesian contexts.¹

This chapter describes one of these trips to Museum Musik Indonesia (Indonesian Music Museum) in Malang, East Java. In the last chapter, I described an Indonesian jazz public made up of fans, musicians, and music industry personnel, some of whom also identify as archivists. In

¹ Most musicians traveled lightly and rarely brought instruments beyond what was absolutely necessary.

this chapter, I focus on how the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia talk to, about, and for the Indonesian jazz public (myself included) and act public sphere makers. I start with an experience transporting materials I encountered in the archive to jazz community members.

Circulating Archival Materials

During ethnographic research, I met many different jazz communities and shared materials I had gathered from archival research.² Most communities appeared unaware of nearby archives or archives in other regions. If community members knew the archives existed, very few seemed to have examined the jazz materials within the archives. The often-quizzing discussions with community aficionados would suddenly shift when I provided physical or digital evidence on topics of mutual interest. This opened discussions into moments of co-learning.

The materials I could provide, such as a silent photograph of performers or a newspaper advertisement of a forgotten concert, offered evidence of activities that took place. The recordings I could provide had limited information, often without a confirmed recording date, location, or names of performers. When I shared these materials, it rarely caused moments of sudden recognition, even those who participated in certain recordings (!). More often we sat back and enjoyed songs that have not been heard in a while. Sometimes listening several times to the same track. I always received further requests for materials beyond what I could provide. This gave me a chance to generate lists of names, recordings, labels, and magazines to search for in the archives.

² This excursion to Malang included stops at the Coffee Jazz Studio in Surakarta, Jazz Mben Senen in Yogyakarta, and Jazztilan in Ponorogo, East Java.

I invited people to join me on archival visits, but only a few ever took me up on the offer. Those few trips amounted to nice meals, friendly conversation, and coffee. Bringing materials back to community members proved much more generative. For example, I conducted a limited oral history with the Bandung-based pianist, radio host, jazz historian, and longtime community member Yongky Nusantara, known by the community as Om Yong, born Tan Tek Young (1936–2020). The materials I provided, such as *Musika* magazine (discussed later in this chapter) helped him recall stories, events, and people. He would sometimes bring out his own collection of recordings or printed materials, usually from large binders of burned CDs, in response to our discussions. Om Yong:

I have a Bubi Chen record, he came here [Bandung] to teach later in his career. . . . I have the recording by happenstance. This was recorded [in the early 2000s] at Bumi Sangkuriang with a simple machine . . . This is Bubi's recording when he came to Bandung. [He inserts the burned CD into his speaker system.] He plays Erroll Garner style. What I'm hearing now is Renee Rosnes's style. It's hard to play like this . . . He of course has a strong classical familiarity. Good huh? This was not sold because it was privately recorded . . . There is another musician who plays piano at the Hotel Mandarin in Jakarta, Nick Mamahit. He was the same age as Bubi. They were rivals. Nick graduated from the Dutch Conservatorium; Bubi was self-taught. Bubi's mother studied classical music. He corresponded with Americans, so he was given scores of many piano players like Erroll Garner. [. . .]

Our group was named Blue Ribbon. We changed it because there could no longer be Western named groups. We eventually became Crescendo. We played in Jakarta and Yogyakarta in hotels. It was dance music, for a dancing audience. We also played in Bandung at Bumi Sangkuriang. We were there every week for the large social dances with drums, bass, guitar, piano, and saxophone. Maybe 300–400 people. We played Swing and Latin. Also, commercial music. (September 11, 2017)

Neither Om Yong nor I had recordings of his band Crescendo. He later told me how:

In Indonesia, in the 40s, there were a lot of composers, like the famous Ismail Marzuki. But that was also the era of piano players like Harry Harso, the Dutchman. Later Nick

Mamahit performed jazz and classical songs very well. The arrangements were done well and with good playing. (March 12, 2019)³

In discussions with Om Yong, I learned of an aesthetic interest by some listeners and musicians in 1950s Indonesia for jazz incorporating Western classical music. Om Yong indicated such instances in the instrumental sections on recordings by vocalist Sam Saimun, as well as concerts and albums by Nick Mamahit and Bubi Chen. He told me about high-end events at the Bumi Sangkuriang country club in 1950s and 1960s Bandung that could begin classically and end in jazz. During our discussions, Om Yong asked me for recordings by Benny Pablo, a Filipino trumpet player, who played on Bandung radio beginning in the late 1920s or early 1930s. Some of Pablo's later 1950s recordings were published by Lokananta and featured other Bandung musicians like the Flores-born Theresa Zen (Amanupunnjo) and the Filipino E. Sambayon, who came to Indonesia in 1925 (Mundiarso and Nugroho 2001). I was able to connect Om Yong with some of his requests from the streaming recordings on a Leiden-based KITLV website of Indonesian popular music and the grassroots archive Irama Nusantara.⁴ Most of his other requests, such as lesser-known recordings by Jos Cleber at RRI Jakarta and an album called *Jazz Behind the Dikes* involving Eurasian bassist and composer Dick van der Capellen, I could only add to my planned study lists.

I did eventually find some of Om Yong's requests. I found recordings of Dick van der Capellen playing with Nick Mamahit as part of a group called the Irama Special, as a backing band for singer Sam Saimun on Irama Records. Irama Records is Indonesia's first record label

³ I have not found any other information about Harry Harso. Ticoalu suggested Om Yong might be referring to the famous Dutch East Indies pianist Harry Gaarenstroom, but unfortunately, Om Yong passed in 2020 so I cannot be sure.

⁴ <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/southeastasianpopmusic> and iramanusantara.org

after independence, whose first 1950s recording were of jazz musicians. The stories surrounding the disc recordings are explicated through *Musika* magazine, an object of archival value I found at the Museum Musik Indonesia.

I understand this encounter of bringing archival materials to Om Yong as the repertoire, “the repertoire of embodied memory” (Taylor 2003:19) of an Indonesian jazz community member, with the written, recorded, and photographed sources concerning jazz in Indonesia. Performance studies scholar Diana Taylor theorizes “the archive and the repertoire,” not so much to keep the concepts discrete, but rather to acknowledge how other modes of identity, memory, and community-building exist alongside the conventional modes of written history. Ethnomusicologists often privilege unwritten knowledges, but the archive and the repertoire work best dialogically. The archive cannot keep everything. The repertoire can forget when actions are not taken to remember. From my experiences bringing archival objects to Indonesian jazz community members, I notice how the evidentiary qualities, using materials as evidence of particular activities, called “evidential value” in archive studies (Gilliland 2017b:688–714), draws upon on embodied memories. The embodied memories that allow objects of archival value to be used for their evidential value is one the reasons why they circulate.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter describes my experiences with the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia in Malang, East Java, directly after attending the 2019 Jazz Gunung festival and my visit to the Museum Musik Dunia (chapter one). After I finally settling into Malang, nestled in the mountains a few hours outside of Indonesia’s second largest city of Surabaya, I planned to visit Museum Musik Indonesia to explore their popular music magazine collection, one of the most

extensive in Indonesia. One of the archive's co-founders, Hengki Herwanto, was a correspondent and journalist from 1973 to 1978 for the respected Indonesian popular music magazine *Aktuil* (which published from 1967 to 1978) and still maintains many music industry connections.

In the first half of this chapter, I discuss my ethnographic experiences at Museum Musik Indonesia with Herwanto. I provide a history of the archive and an analysis of what Herwanto describes as the archive's *turis* (tourist) and *mahasiswa* (college student) users. *Turis* users only visit the archive for short tours. Media scholar Ignatius Aditya Adhiyatmaka argues these tours only offer visitors a “wow factor” of “rare items” and “fantastic objects” (2018:68–69), or what could be called the collections exhibit value. *Turis* users take photos of and with rare musical media but do not encounter the archival record to understand some of the cultural context of each object of archival value. *Mahasiswa* users stay with the objects and examine them for their evidential qualities, witnessing primary documents that might engender new, forgotten, or different histories. These *mahasiswa* users often produce university level capstone projects; copies of which are kept in the archive. In my analysis, I draw upon definitions of “evidence” from archival studies to help describe the significance of how Museum Musik Indonesia seeks “preserve the history of music in Indonesia through a mission of documenting the track record of music in Indonesia” (Museum Musik Indonesia 2017).

In the second half of this chapter, I examine one of the popular music magazines I found among collections called *Musika*, published from 1957 to 1958. While *Musika* does not center on one style of popular music, it mentions jazz in just under half of its articles. The writers address their audience as critical and eager cosmopolitan subjects with interests in classical music, jazz, popular music, and, lesser so, traditional music. The *Musika* writers present jazz as a familiar and

popular music in Indonesia at that time, influenced and was being influenced by other styles like *kroncong*, *hiburan*, *pop*, *lagu Melayu*, Western classical, and Balinese and Javanese gamelan.

Before getting into the case studies, I draw upon the concept of “publics,” in order to understand the users of grassroots archives as a public and the archivists as public sphere makers. I begin by reviewing theories of the public sphere and then survey how these theories have been applied to Indonesian popular music contexts. I conclude my theorization by questioning the ways in which archivists and archival users become co-witnesses to historical processes related to theories of the public sphere.

Publics

Feminist scholar Nancy Fraser has famously and productively critiqued Habermas’s account of the bourgeois public sphere (1989) noting how it does not recognize the inability of “interlocutors in a public sphere to bracket status differentials and to deliberate as if they were social equals” (1992:7). Fraser notes how the bourgeois public sphere discriminated against women and other historically marginalized groups from this mythologized universal public sphere. She convincingly argues how it is “not possible to insulate special discursive arenas [or public spheres] from the effects of social inequality” (Fraser 1990:66). She contends that Habermas is guilty of “the liberal assumption that a sharp separation of civil society and the state is necessary to a working public sphere” (89). The false separation between civil society (for her, the public sphere) and the state presumes that “members of the bourgeois public are not state officials,” which falsely “confers an aura of independence, autonomy, and legitimacy on the public opinion generated in it” (90). Fraser does not wholly reject Habermas’s public sphere theory, but she identifies it as “not wholly satisfactory.” She offers a reformulation of “subaltern

counterpublics,” which are “parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs” (67). The grassroots archives are a kind counterpublics, but importantly, as social theorist Michael Warner points out, “counterpublics are publics, too” (2002:83). While the concept of publics has been generative for the fashioning of identities and the formation of alliances, organized around visual and audio texts, “picked up at different times and in different places by otherwise unrelated people” (Warner 2002:51), similar to Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, the problems of consumption and production and the role and qualities of agents remains debated by many theorists.

I most resonate with the Habermasian concept through Warner’s publics formed through attention (2002:60). This kind of public comes into being through virtual assemblies resulting from a common orientation to texts in circulation. For Warner, “attention is the principal sorting category by which members and nonmembers are discriminated. If you are reading this, or hearing it or seeing it or present for it, you are part of this public” (61). This possibility of a momentary or accidental encounter to be part of a public is important to how *mahasiswa* users at Museum Musik Indonesia begin their encounter many overlooked publics from Indonesia’s past. From here the “public culture” (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988) born alongside these processes of public sphere making, related to what archival scholars Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario H. Ramirez describe as suddenly discovering yourself existing in community archives (2016), and potentially act as fertile grounds for political ideals.

Importantly for the public sphere making archivists, “a public seems to be self-organized by discourse,” but it in fact “requires preexisting forms and channels of circulation” (Warner 2002:75). Museum Musik Indonesia, with members from the music industry, provides a

mediated path through its network into the history of Indonesia's popular music. The networks of circulation maintain gendered, ethnic, and classed biases that inform what is meant by public access. Public access is based on faith in the existence of publics and that the public can act and use materials by being "capable of being addressed, [and] capable of action" (Warner 2002:69). This also causes the public to be changeable and somewhat unknowable, as the archivists make their collections available to the public.

Warner's formulation of publics is taken up in Indonesian studies by anthropologist Karen Strassler (2020) and by media scholar Emma Baulch's theorization of a "genre public" (2016; 2020). They both understand the circulating texts of a public as a mediated technology shaped by the discursive qualities of those texts. Strassler focuses on photography and images and Baulch musical media, the ability to read along with these mediating processes through text-heavy trade magazines, popular press, social media, and other written discourse remains the important to the understanding of each public's modes of address.

Strassler applies the concept of publics to grasp the sociocultural shifts post-1998 in the Indonesian public sphere focusing on ideas of accountability, awareness, and transparency in history, arts, and politics. She describes the public in Indonesia as an ideal authorizing and monitoring agency to check state power that represents the collective will of the people. Museum Musik Indonesia acts as one of these authorizing agencies in the Indonesian public sphere. Users of the archive can access primary materials as evidence to further grapple with Indonesian history and enter the discourse through popular press and educational capstone projects. While Strassler concedes a grimmer Indonesian public sphere, I remain a bit more hopeful as the public nature of Museum Musik Indonesia's collections allows its users to feel this sort of access to

primary documents necessary and contributes a monitoring quality to a liberal and democratic Indonesian public sphere.

Baulch uses “genre public” in a more classic Habermasian reading public sense that takes popular music texts (recordings, magazines, and other musical media) to consider how a musical genre enables people to “‘feel’ their assembly” as a public (2016:103). In her case study of *Aktuil*, Baulch describes a classed reading public of *gedongan* (people of the buildings, connoting upper-class walled homes) feeling their assembly together in 1970s Indonesia, capturing “the notion of middle-classness” (103). Baulch describes the genre public of *Aktuil* as not just those who listen to the suggested popular music styles, but those who “read with certain genres of popular music, and those who do not read with other genres” (103). Hengki Herwanto as a former correspondent and journalist for *Aktuil* fits into the *gedongan* category and informs how the archive structures its modes of address. Museum Musik Indonesia address the *gedongan*, but differing from 1970s Indonesia, this social group has greatly increased as even poor Indonesians have cell phones and can access and read similar materials as those of other socio-economic classes. Even though Museum Musik Indonesia addresses a reading *gedongan* public, more Indonesians can access the archive’s materials online free of charge.

Baulch describes the *gedongan* sensibility compared to the illiterate *kampungan* (people of the *kampung*) public, who might hear certain styles but not read with them. These spatialized metaphors of *gedongan* and *kampungan* reference ideas of high and low culture; critical citizens versus unknowing masses; and serious male participants in the public sphere compared to gullible female consumers. Baulch understands reading as a key activity that activates critical participation in the public sphere. These binaries exist at Museum Musik Indonesia through the idea of making *gedongan* subjects literate, critical, and serious (although more gender mixed).

The concept of “genre publics” is most useful when thought of as within a Bourdieusian field of power. Not just members of a public encountering, consuming, and imagining themselves as a “community of strangers” who can act collectively by inhabiting the text’s circulation networks (Baulch 2016:88), but also as agents who read and listen to develop good taste as part of one’s cultural capital. Attention to a genre public can serve as a form of distinction for the reading and critical *gedongan*. The archival *mahasiswa* users are part of the *gedongan*, conversely the *turis* could be understood as related to Baulch’s *kampung*. The *mahasiswa* users are interested in evidential value, and *turis* users for the exhibit value. The archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia cater to both groups as potential archival users.

During my time as an archival user at Museum Musik Indonesia, I started as a *turis* user, as most everyone does, and became *mahasiswa* user of the popular music magazine *Musika*. I made this transition by actively reading and listening to many of the recordings the *Musika* authors referenced and promoted. When using these objects of archival for their evidential value, I found evidence of a jazz community in Indonesia during the lesser-known era of the late 1950s with figures like Jack [Lesmana] Lemmers, Nien [Lesmana] Suprpto, Suyoso Karsono [Mas Yos], and Nick Mamahit. I felt this text as addressing a *gedongan* reading and listening public, of critical and cosmopolitan citizens. This chapter ends questioning the ways in which archivists and archival users become co-witnesses to historical processes that simultaneously support and challenge received historical narratives. I gesture towards an earlier essay by Strassler analyzing the photographs documenting Indonesia’s Reformasi student protests as the material “witnesses of history” (*saksi sejarah*) (2005:278). She notices how students became historically conscious agents, as students of change and heroes of the Reformasi but this categorization ultimately contained the students within state narratives.

The creation of historically conscious agents who participate in fields of cultural production remains a paramount activity by the Museum Musik Indonesia archivists. Primary documents present information that can serve as evidence and circulate within Indonesian public spheres, including for an Indonesian jazz public. Historical consciousness at Museum Musik Indonesia comes from the access to a longer lineage of Indonesian music history, allowing members of genre publics including jazz to suddenly discovering themselves existing. From Strassler's example, historically conscious agents in Indonesia can feel a dissonance between their own experience and the state framing of historical movements.

Museum Musik Indonesia is not simply trying to reform the dominant, orthodox nationalist stream of Indonesian history (Van Klinken 2005), but rather it attempts to show the complexities of mainstream omissions. In doing so, Museum Musik Indonesia is an activist archive in the double sense, as a collection of documents of political activism (Lee 2016) as well as a collection meant to act a safeguard against those materials not held in institutional archives (Collins and Carter 2015). By allowing these materials to circulate again to the Indonesian public, lost or muted narratives of Indonesian popular music are known to exist. A history of an Indonesian jazz public can provide evidence of Indonesia's diverse heritage.

In my formulation, I notice how the evidential qualities of objects of archival value causes them to circulate. While objects of archival value must in some sense must stay at archives, these evidential qualities beckon people to circulate the materials to feel themselves as part of history. Archival users contribute to accountability, awareness, and transparency in the Indonesian public sphere when feeling themselves as part of the longer histories of overlooked genre publics and circulating evidence.

THE EVIDENTIAL MISSION OF MUSUEM MUSIK INDONESIA

Museum Musik Indonesia aims to “collect, maintain and exhibit recorded music and other objects related to music, especially music in Indonesia” (Museum Musik Indonesia 2020). Officially founded in 2012, Museum Musik Indonesia builds upon a project begun in 2009 called Galeri Malang Bernyanyi (Malang Singing Gallery). Galeri Malang Bernyanyi involved six co-founders—Hengki Herwanto, Pongki Pamungkas, Luthfi Wibisono, Mikael Agus Saksono, Retno Mastuti, and Rudya Widyastuti—transforming their personally amassed recording collections, mostly in cassette format, into a publicly accessible collection. Galeri Malang Bernyanyi also accepted donations of musical media: recordings in any format, popular music magazines and books, memorabilia, and instruments related to Indonesian popular music.

The archivists changed the name of the archive to Museum Musik when it moved to a larger building in 2012. In 2016, to help with the archive’s funding troubles, the archivists began a partnership with the Malang city government and a newly established national bureau called the Creative Economy Agency (*Badan Ekonomi Kreatif, BEKRAF*).⁵ As part of this partnership, the archive’s mandate expanded beyond popular music to include collecting Indonesian traditional instruments and traditional music recorded on commercial labels. The 2016 leaders of Museum Musik Indonesia officially reduced to two: Hengki Herwanto and Pongki Pamungkas.

Hengki Herwanto, born in 1957, works as the main figurehead of Museum Musik Indonesia. He holds many titles, including general manager, chairman, and director. Herwanto’s father worked in the military in Malang. In 1973, instead of pursuing a military career, Herwanto

⁵ The Creative Economy Agency (*Badan Ekonomi Kreatif*) in Indonesia has been on the rise since the mid-2000s, and officially became an agency in 2015 and closed in 2019/2020. The agency draws upon ideas about the “creative economy” from international sources that many Indonesian scholars encountered while studying abroad.

worked as a correspondent and journalist for the popular music magazine *Aktuil*, covering Indonesian rock bands like Gembell and SAS and the British rock group Deep Purple. After the magazine stopped covering music in 1978, Herwanto worked as a mechanic and engineer before beginning music preservation projects decades later.

In his projects, Herwanto aims to maintain and promote Indonesian music by preserving, cataloguing, and digitizing materials with an emphasis on cassettes. He focuses on recordings he considers at risk, primarily due to poor storage and long-term management. He recognizes the copyright of the Indonesian music industry of various eras and does not duplicate or sell recordings.⁶ The importance and respect of copyright for Herwanto draws on his history working in the Indonesian music industry and reflects his belief in copyright shared by many of his music industry colleagues and donors.

Pongki Pamungkas was born in 1956 and wrote for business magazines (*SWA, Editor*) and newspapers (*Bisnis Indonesia*) since the 1980s. In the early 2000s, he began to write self-help books relating spiritual and business practices.⁷ In the 2010s, he worked in upper management at PT Astra International, an automotive conglomerate. Throughout his career as a business writer Pamungkas remained committed to rock music. He collects international cassettes, VCDs, and DVDs of his favorite rock groups, such as Metallica, Guns N' Roses, and Dream Theater. He has funded music festivals and events in Malang, to keep Malang “a music barometer city” (quoted in Pasaribu 2013). Pamungkas has served as the main financial supporter of Museum Musik Indonesia and helps guide its business structures.

⁶ I discuss the history of Indonesian copyright in-depth in chapter four.

⁷ For example: *The Answer is Love: Life and Management Wisdom* (2013); *All You Need Is Love: Life and Management Wisdom* (2015); *To Love and To Be Loved: Life and Management Wisdom* (2017).

In 2012, Hengki Herwanto described how “the gallery is not private property but belongs to the community or organization” (Purmono 2012). He noted how “all the names of donors and the albums they donated were recorded with serial numbers. We put the [donor’s] names and numbers on the wooden shelves so they can be read.” In a 2016 presentation, Ignatius Aditya Adhiyatmaka mentioned how archival materials at Museum Musik Indonesia were said to become the collective property of donors and donors automatically become one of the archive’s collective proprietors. When I visited in 2019, Herwanto reiterated this policy to me, and I read through the vast donor lists. I am now also a donor, although I am unclear of what my donor status and donor rights fully entail. This practice of careful donor list labeling has continued through the present (2021–2022), such as a publicized donation of “large boxes” of cassettes, CDs, and DVDs with a “dominance of jazz music” (Yusuf 2021).

Theories of Evidence in the Archive

By documenting the donors and inviting their stories about the collections, Museum Musik Indonesia helps “preserve the history of music in Indonesia through a mission of documenting the track record of music in Indonesia” (Museum Musik Indonesia 2016). I interpret this “documenting the track record” (*mendokumentasikan rekam jejak*) as another version of the “persistent representation of the activities,” or what archival studies scholars define as an archival record (Caswell 2014:6; Yeo 2007:334). While the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia are interested in specific materials, they are also interested in the complex histories, involving the cultivation of evidence regarding musical events and activities.

Archival scholars Johnathan Furner and Anne Gilliland write how “archival resources are typically less likely to be useful in respect of their supplying information about a particular

subject than they are in respect of their being evidence of a particular event or activity” (2016:610). Evidence provides a contextualization of events that are often not full narratives but help to record a series of actions that are interpreted at the moment and reevaluated thereafter. Furthering this idea, archival scholars Wavell et al. (2002) discuss the impact of archives as distinct from museums and libraries insofar as archives contain archival “records” that demonstrate evidence of actions taken in addition to having information qualities. It is for this reason I analyze Museum Musik Indonesia as an archive rather than a museum.

The informational qualities are the details the document was most obviously meant to impart, such as the content of the liner notes or an album’s manufacturing number. In comparison, the evidential details are supplied by virtue of its existence that might include the informational content but also its form, structure, language(s) used, chemical elements, provenance, and other facets (Furner and Gilliland 2016:589). The evidentiary qualities of objects of archival value are what can be gleaned from the object’s existence, including its existence over time, traced through its record. These evidentiary qualities can be used to justify beliefs and clarify the coherence of holding certain attitudes. The idea of information-as-evidence involves a longer philosophical discussion than I embark on here, but I want to focus on evidential qualities as involving both the obvious informational details as well as the sometimes less obvious evidential details that might support or disrupt longstanding understandings through comparing contrary information in several contexts.⁸

Archival scholars Duff et al. (2013) analyze the relationship of archives and social justice by pointing to the wide-reaching impact of only “one person” accessing a record. The authors

⁸ The nature of evidence has very different implications in different philosophical disciplines, such as the philosophy of science and legal definitions. My tact is the epistemological route.

conclude that the “evidential value of archival records gives them greater power—as legal documents, as evidence in court, and as agents of accountability” (332). They go on to argue that the “preservation of the record, even if it is never accessed, can promote a culture of accountability and transparency, both as a safeguard and deterrent, in which governments act responsibly and citizens understand their rights in relation to government” (332). Archival scholar Sue McKemmish describes how in the continuum theory of archival recordkeeping:

Evidential qualities are seen as integral to their “recordness” which enables them to serve multiple purposes in support of governance and accountability, the formation of individual, group, corporate, and collective memory, the shaping of identity, and provision of authoritative sources of information. (2017:141–42)

Once a record is accessed, as archival scholars Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario Ramirez describe, users can “suddenly discover [themselves] existing” (2016:70). This relates back to the formation of a public through attention, whereby the circulating of objects of archival value offers the chance to encounter a genre public existing.

Founding Museum Musik Indonesia

The backdrop of Museum Musik Indonesia draws upon community initiatives starting in the 1970s in *kampung Kajoetangan*, a neighborhood in central Malang. *Kampung Kajoetangan* includes many buildings, built in the 19th century and early 20th century originally used for Dutch government offices and private residences for Europeans, who were forced to leave in the 1940s. The 1970s Indonesian community in *kampung Kajoetangan* sought to maintain historical objects found among these buildings such as cookware, radios, clocks, photographs, typewriters, bicycles, luggage, furniture, sports equipment, and 78 rpm discs.

In 2009, stemming from this enthusiasm for community heritage, *kampung Kajoetangan* was revitalized as a history-oriented tourist village by Malang based collectors and

entrepreneurs; the same six-cofounders of Galeri Malang Bernyanyi, with three additional Malang musicians: Donny Prass, Syla Saartje and Sigit Hadinoto. The group of nine called themselves the Lovers of Kajoetangan Community (*Komunitas Pecinta Kajoetangan/ Kapeka*). They imposed a 5000 Rp (~\$0.35) entrance fee for visitors to the area. The visitors were encouraged to take photos and selfies (some requiring an extra fee) with and of residents and antique collections (see Wardani and Kresno 2014 for a longer history of this project). These photos were then encouraged to be uploaded to social media, most commonly to Instagram.

Antiques could be purchased at *kampung Kajoetangan*, and many homes began offering a place to corporally and digitally socialize.⁹ Some homes used their kitchens to prepare small food options and serve quality single origin coffee, compared to the cheaper, and more common, mixed coarse grounds of *kopi tubruk*. 78 rpm discs were more often used as decoration on walls rather than for playback, possibly due to their warped or broken condition. At the same time in 2009, the six-cofounders, oddly without the three musicians, established Galeri Malang Bernyanyi specifically focused on preserving and sharing music recordings.

Galeri Malang Bernyanyi began in a 24 square meter garage owned by Herwanto's parents in Malang. The members independently funded the interior desks, shelves, and playback devices. The co-founders, all born in the mid-1950s and currently in their early 60s, were avid fans of Malang's music community of the 1970s and 1980s. In each stage of the project, Malang's music community has always been well represented. The garage space facilitated small

⁹ The area later became part of government sponsored tourism initiatives, and the area was renamed the Kajoetangan Heritage Neighborhood (*Kampoeng Heritage Kajoetangan*). This project drew upon the simultaneous "creative kampung movement" (*gerakan kampung kreatif*) elsewhere in Indonesia that galvanized *kampungs* with short-term economic grants to encourage tourism growth (see Rahmany and Djajadiningrat 2014; Kim 2017).

performances and allowed fans a gathering place.¹⁰ It featured about 200 cassettes, permanently given by group members from their private collections. Users could access recordings at the Gallery but could not borrow them. It was only open to the public on the weekends.



Figure 2.1. The label reads “Galeri Malang Bernyanyi Founders: Embryo Museum Musik Indonesia.” Back left: Pongki Pamungkas, Hengki Herwanto, Luthfi Wibisono, and Mikael Agus Saksono. Front left: Retno Mastuti and Rudyastuti.

After archiving the personal collections of group members, they invited the listening public, through Malang’s radio stations, to donate materials for the group to archive. They also invited specific personal and professional contacts to donate, principally through Herwanto’s connections with musicians and music industry professionals. By 2012 the archive’s collections had attracted 261 contributors and held 6,301 albums (Purmono 2012). The increase in the

¹⁰ Many of Indonesia’s top popular musicians and singers come from Malang: Ian Antono, Abadi Soesman, Sylvia Saartje, Totok Tewel, Inung Basuki, Laily Dimjathie, Mira Soesman, Syaharani, Yuni Shara, and many others.

collection's size required the group to rent a larger space in Malang at Griya Shanta. This move heralded the name change from Galeri Malang Bernyanyi to Museum Musik Indonesia. The archive began to be open during the week. Beyond its activities of collection, preservation, and access, the space served as a venue for performances, discussions, and social gatherings.



Figure 2.2. Author playing Museum Musik Indonesia's gambang (Central Java) donated by the mayor of Semarang, as Herwanto joined in on a langir badon (West Java) donated by the mayor of Bogor. Photo by Redy Eko Prastyo. July 29, 2019.

The archive began to receive donations of instruments: an electric keyboard, recording equipment, batik painted guitars, a drum set, and traditional instruments from around Indonesia. When I visited in 2019, users and archivists would play instruments and recordings, sometimes simultaneously, and for lengthy periods, often for more than half an hour. This added to the museum's *ramai* (crowded, busy) quality (see figure 2.2). I noticed how the space “moved in

waves from fairly quiet, to a more crowded feeling as people showed up to look at materials and work. Many people seemed to work there and quickly stopped by for official business. People would make plenty of noise playing instruments or recordings, talking, smoking, and drinking coffee” (fieldnotes, July 30, 2019).

I describe Museum Musik Indonesia an archive because of its focus on the evidential qualities of its materials. Indonesian culture and media scholars Ignatius Aditya Adhiyatmaka (2018) and Idhar Resmadi (2020) frame Museum Musik Indonesia as part of the trend of emerging grassroots popular audiovisual archives in Indonesia rather than as a gallery or a museum. Relatedly, Herwanto has some ambivalence to a specific category for the space, as he said, “thought young people might be put off by the word ‘museum’” (quoted in Graham 2013).

When Museum Musik Indonesia officially formed, the leaders began applying for governmental grants only available to “museums” from the Ministry of Education and Culture. Museum Musik Indonesia obtained a certificate as a “museum” in 2020 through the Government Regulation Republik Indonesia no. 66 of 2015. It became a “Type B” museum, determined by the institution’s management structure, allowing for specific funding allotments from the national government (Museum Musik Indonesia 2020). Part of their application was describing how they contribute to the “*sejarah perjuangan bangsa*” (history of the nation’s struggle), a common requirement of any institution receiving government funding, although not always explicitly specified. Despite this new funding source, Museum Musik Indonesia still needed to rely on community donations. In my 2019 meetings and ongoing WhatsApp discussions with Herwanto, he foregrounded the ideas of collection, preservation, and access, while secondarily considering exhibition. Overall, the changing designations from Gallery to Museum seemed to occur pragmatically, while keeping the project’s archival mission intact.

In our discussions, Herwanto portrayed Museum Musik Indonesia as contributing to other grassroots archival projects in Indonesia. For example, he understands the digital endeavors at Museum Musik Indonesia as needing to focus on journalism and magazines, because he knows Irama Nusantara (chapter four) already has a robust website for playing back recordings. Museum Musik Indonesia's website allows users to access scans of popular music magazines, album covers, and articles but users cannot access audio. Another example of archival mutual aid is when museum Musik Indonesia (then called Galeri Malang Bernyanyi) donated album jackets to Lokananta, to cover their sleeveless recordings as part of the grassroots archive the Lokananta Project (chapter three). Herwanto offered advice to the budding archivists and conducted a workshop in 2013 on how to clean vinyl (Zakaria et al. 2016:88–91; 150–157). After I described Arsip Jazz Indonesia (chapter five), Herwanto wondered if there was a way to connect Museum Music Indonesia with Arsip Jazz Indonesia's catalogue. In the context of other grassroots archives, Herwanto saw Museum Music Indonesia in relation to Irama Nusantara, the Lokananta Project, and Arsip Jazz Indonesia. Even though the nearby the Museum Musik Dunia mentioned a relationship with Museum Music Indonesia, the archivists at Museum Music Indonesia did not speak with any length about working with Museum Musik Dunia (chapter one).

Restructuring Museum Musik Indonesia

At the beginning of 2016, Museum Musik Indonesia experienced financial difficulties and the archivists could no longer afford their rent. They applied for assistance from the Malang city government and the recently formed national Creative Economy Agency (BEKRAF). The Malang city government allowed Museum Musik Indonesia to move to a city-owned arts building, the Gajayana Arts Building (*Gedung Kesenian Gajayana*) without an ending date.

BEKRAF funded new playback equipment, speakers for larger events, and digitization machines. BEKRAF also offered more direct access to the National Library (*Perpustakaan Nasional*) and library funding (Ratri 2018). Even with new funding opportunities, Museum Musik Indonesia still depends on the private funding from the archive's founders and community donations.

Archival maintenance and other non-archiving matters at Museum Musik Indonesia continue to be carried out on a volunteer basis. Ten regularly reporting volunteers from the Malang music community divided duties such as sorting donations and upkeeping memorabilia; administration and finance; and others like Redy Eko Prastyo (who told me “Jazz is a brand!”) focus on public relations and locating commercial opportunities to help cover operating costs. These volunteers are listed on Museum Musik Indonesia's yearly reports published on their website, posted at the archive's office, and filed with the city and national government (Museum Musik Indonesia 2020b).

After receiving hardware from the BEKRAF grants, Museum Musik Indonesia began digitizing issues of *Aktuil* and other popular music magazines in their collection, including *Varia*, *Favorita*, and *Musika*. Museum Musik Indonesia applied for further funding from Memory of the World Committee Asia Pacific-United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (MOWCAP UNESCO) to digitize nearly every edition of *Aktuil*. As of August 21, 2021, Museum Musik Indonesia hosts free digital .pdf versions of *Aktuil*, 228 editions (out of 238).

The former general manager of *Aktuil*, Toto Rahardjo, wrote that these digital versions could be “used by anyone but only for educational and documentation purposes” (Museum Musik Indonesia 2020). He touted the project as the most complete digital collection of *Aktuil* “accessible to the public.” He said that he allowed this publicly accessible digitalization project to be undertaken because he felt “the contents of *Aktuil* magazine are inseparable from

documenting of the history of music in Indonesia, which is useful for public knowledge” (2020). Museum Musik Indonesia continues to add other digitized magazines on their website and develop its digital presence on their website and social media with more articles and interviews.

ENCOUNTERING GENRE PUBLICS

Users of Museum Musik Indonesia can feel themselves as part of Indonesian genre publics as they enjoy listening back to and reading along with older music media. Archival users can suddenly discover their histories existing, beyond what Indonesian historian Taufik Abdullah calls New Order “hegemonic knowledge” (1999) by the state in the history area and Dutch historian Gerry van Klinken calls the “orthodox nationalist stream” (2005:237) of Indonesian history. In music studies, hegemonic knowledge of Indonesian music means traditional music as Indonesian music. Museum Musik Indonesia destabilizes this rendering by presenting popular music as not only existing but also having diverse histories. Materials used as evidence by critical archival users complicates hegemonic historical narratives by offering what Van Klinken identifies as “societal or populist historiographies on the national level” (2005:243), published as undergraduate capstone projects (*skripsi*) and master’s theses held in Museum Musik Indonesia’s collection. The capacity for the evidential value of objects of archival value to circulate at and from Museum Musik Indonesia promotes accountability and transparency in the Indonesian public sphere. The “rare collection” (*koleksi langka*) of “fantastic objects” (Adhiyatmaka 2018) promoted on the main wall carries vital political undercurrents with important evidential qualities for those users willing to linger.



Figure 2.3. Main wall at Museum Musik Indonesia

For example (figure 2.3), the album (second from the top-left), “To The So Called ‘The Guilties’” by Koes Bersaudara relates a well-known political story. The group was imprisoned for a short period by Sukarno in 1965 for playing “Beatles-like music,” similar to the sounds of this 1967 album. The first president called their music “Ngak-Ngik-Ngok,” a term he used to consider music too noisy for a respectable Indonesian citizen (see Farram 2007). While the sounds are light and commercial, the evidence of its existence is overtly political.

Looking for Jazz on Both Sides of 1965

The histories of the musicians on Museum Musik Indonesia’s wall (figure 2.3) provide insights into the cultural politics of popular musicians and some jazz musicians during the years surrounding the 1965 mass political violence that targeted leftists. One central example is the song “Gendjer-Gendjer” sung by Bing Slamet on *Mari Bersuka Ria dengan Irama Lenso*

released in 1965 on Irama records.¹¹ The entire album is explicitly political and nationalist. The album was dedicated to Indonesian artists and Irama employees in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference (*Konferensi Asia-Afrika*) in Bandung. The packaging bears Sukarno's signature attesting to this dedication. The first song has lyrics written by Sukarno and arranged by the later-celebrated jazz guitarist and official "lenso-ist" Jack Lesmana. After 1965, the song "Gendjer-Gendjer" was banned for being associated with the leftist LEKRA (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*, the Institute of People's Culture) and the PKI, *Partai Komunis Indonesia*. The entire album was politically sensitive during the New Order due to its association with the Old Order. The album has only begun to resurface and circulate publicly after 1998.¹²

The political nature of the song was reinforced throughout the New Order due to its use in certain gory scenes of Arifin C. Noer's movie *Penumpasan Pengkhianatan G30S PKI* (1984). This film was mandatory annual viewing for students during the New Order and it presented the state rendering of the September 30th Movement (*Gerakan 30 September*, G30S). The film was used as a propaganda vehicle by the New Order government and depicted the events of 1965 as being orchestrated by the PKI. Linguist and cultural scholar Ben Arps writes, "From late 1965 onwards, 'Genjer-Genjer' was ineluctably designated to a category of people for whom, owing to

¹¹ "Gendjer-Gendjer" contains some explicitly political *pantuns*, a Malay poetic meter (dOel 2008). Linguist and cultural scholar Ben Arps (2011) provides a fuller account of "Gendjer-Gendjer" throughout Indonesian history, including another album on Museum Musik Indonesia's wall, released in 1965, *Lilis... ia tetap diatas!!*. Lilis Suryani was not targeted and did not die in the 1965 political violence.

¹² In 2019, the album was a common sight at Indonesian vintage record sellers, who often had stickers of Sukarno and current president Jokowi. They usually had an abundance of copies of this recording, of which there are two main pressings, a red and blue/green version (both IML. 179–180, LPI. 175088). Less common to find was the 2-page printed lyrics that officially accompanied the recording aimed at making singing along easier. Copies of these pages are held by Irama Nusantara and Arsip Jazz Indonesia.

hegemonic powers, there was no longer room in Indonesian society” (2011:2). Even as Arps analyzes the publics of this song as being accused of being “contaminated” by communism (Zurbuchen 2005:14), crucially, none of the musicians who sang or produced the song seem to have been accused of being leftists. Of the main musical contributors to *Mari Bersuka Ria dengan Irama Lenso*, the singers Bing Slamet, Rita Zahara, Titiek Puspa, and Nien Lesmana, as well as bandleader Jack Lesmana, none were accused of being leftists or killed as part of the 1965 political violence. This demonstrates that not all musicians associated with Sukarno were deemed leftists.¹³

To further understand jazz musicians regarding the 1965 political violence, it is important to consider the contexts of jazz performance after the violence. In the 1970s, Jack Lesmana famously began inviting many jazz musicians from various backgrounds to perform regularly at events called *Jazz Saja* (Jazz Only) at Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM) in Central Jakarta. From 1969 to 1979, Lesmana also managed a monthly jazz event on TVRI, the state television station, entitled “*Nada dan Improvisasi*” (Tone and Improvisation) that featured many jazz musicians from established and novice circles (Rolling Stone 2011). Other details of note include the many longstanding connections Irama Records had with TVRI to promote their artists, as well as the shared community knowledge of Lesmana’s home as a common hangout for jazz musicians needing a place to stay in Jakarta, however frivolous the reason.

To contextualize this history, I turn to Southeast Asian Studies scholar David Hill. Hill describes how TIM was established in 1968 by Suharto’s New Order regime to support “anti-

¹³ Muhammad Arief, the composer of “Gendjer-Gendjer,” was arrested and went missing in December 1965. He and Jack Lesmana are from Banyuwangi. Also cf. Ethnomusicologist Andrew Weintraub discusses “The Gembira Choir was not a political organisation, but it only became political through its alignment with Sukarno and LEKRA” (2021b:14). This ensemble performed at events organized by the PKI or LEKRA.

Communist artists, in ascendency after the purge of the left wing in 1965–66” (1993:245). TVRI is a central government-controlled television station. In 1974, TVRI became a part of the Department of Information. Its main charge was to inform the public about government policies. It was an extremely controlled and sanctioned government media. The significance of Jack Lesmana’s long-term programming at TIM and TVRI suggests Lesmana received the clear approbation of the New Order government. Despite this, the individual political positions are less clear and not total for all Indonesian jazz musicians. I suggest the individual political positions might be understood as the political ambivalence of affluence. In the 1960s, consumers of popular musical media, which includes rock ‘n’ roll, but also influences from jazz and more generic evergreen pop, were primarily those who grew up in elite circumstances in large cities of Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, and Surabaya. Guruh Soekarnoputra, the son of Sukarno and a young pop musician at the time, describes the environment as follows:

Pop Music in the past came to our country via “privileged youngsters” whose parents had bought records from outside the country. They played these records at home and their friends heard them. Then they bought “band” instruments and played them at their parties. Eventually the music got on the radio stations run by those youngsters. At that point youngsters outside the [privileged residential districts] of Menteng and Kebayoran heard them. They began to think that this music was cool, and if they were not familiar with that music, they would be considered “country bumpkins.” (Soekarnoputra 1977:48)

From this example, it is clear the musical “ban” on rock ‘n’ roll did not apply to everyone.

Ethnomusicologist Andrew Weintraub notes how privileged family status allowed those musicians political protection from censorship (2021:19). While Soekarnoputra is focusing on rock musicians, his comments clearly apply to the jazz community which also had parents bringing in recordings from abroad and “band” instruments at parties.

One important exception to this summary is Lukman Njoto, commonly referred to as Njoto. Njoto was best known as a senior national leader of the PKI, who was killed following the

1965 events (January 17, 1927–December 13, 1965). Lesser known are Njoto’s interests in the saxophone and popular music.

According to the writers Arif Zulkifli and Bagja Hidayat, Njoto’s father taught him to play the violin, and then later the saxophone (2010:1–10). Njoto went to the *Hollandsch-Inlandsche School* (HIS) in Jember with his younger sister Windarti. According to Windarti, Njoto could play guitar and drums and composed several songs. Njoto was said to have enjoyed classical music and jazz (2010:7–8). During the Japanese occupation, Njoto and Windarti formed a band with three other girls called Suara Putri, which featured four women vocalists and Njoto on guitar. They performed a song called “Wanita Asia” that praised the Japanese for expelling the Dutch. After Independence, the song was banned (8). One of Njoto’s “musical friends” was Jack Lesmana (67).¹⁴ Zulkifli and Hidayat do not qualify Njoto and Jack Lesmana’s relationship. From the limited evidence Zulkifli and Hidayat provide, the relationship seems to have been professional, public, and generally cordial as Lesmana was a constant collaborator for many musicians and musical styles at the time. Lesmana also was a near constant connection to the means of production for recording music in Jakarta during early-1960s.¹⁵

Many of the recordings on Museum Musik Indonesia’s main wall (figure 2.3) relate to the year 1965, an extremely pivotal year of regime change and a mass politicide against communism. These selections on Museum Musik Indonesia’s wall are at minimum evidence of the political activities of Indonesian popular musicians. Importantly, the meanings of rebellion in

¹⁴ “*Teman-teman sehobinya dalam soal musik kala itu*” (Zulkifli and Hidayat 2010:67). Njoto was also “acquainted” with Bing Slamet (Arps 2011:4). Ben Arps does not further qualify the relationship. He also notes that neither Bing Slamet nor Lilis Surjani had explicit LEKRA or communist affiliations (6).

¹⁵ I did not find any further evidence of Njoto’s band in the archives. Several Irama Quartet recordings feature songs with a writing credit to “Njoto,” including “Biola Serindai” (IRS. 27 A) and “Sentanapun” (IRS. 38 B). Another recording is *Sambang Mertua* by Orkes Krontjong Beat Serimpi (SLP-1014) with Njoto and Achmad V as leaders.

American rock ‘n’ roll, and the racial consciousness of American jazz do not easily map onto the Indonesian context. The “privileged youngsters” of Indonesian popular musicians refashioned these styles for their own contexts as they aspired to be modern and cosmopolitan through “cool” globally circulating trends. While this explains the cultural politics of most of these popular musicians, I do not argue this as a universal claim into each musician’s artistry. Simply, the “narrative value” of each album’s archival record requires an exploration of Indonesian political history.

Returning to my ethnographic experiences, my discussions with Herwanto and other members of Museum Musik Indonesia never drifted too far into any specific political agenda. They were always conscious of their role of providing information and evidence that allows Indonesians to learn more about their history. In chapter one, I discussed a jazz exhibition at Museum Musik Dunia as part of the exhibit value of objects of archival value as benefiting “documentation awareness” (Strassler 2010) of little-known histories or materials. Museum Musik Dunia did not offer any study space, while Museum Musik Indonesia encourages critical reading and focused listening with tables set up to examine materials and playback equipment ready for use. After a user visits Museum Musik Indonesia on a tour and becomes aware of certain documents, they can return as another kind of user, sit down at a table (with a cigarette and coffee if needed), and examine objects of archival value.

Exhibits for Tourists, Evidence for Students

I asked Hengki about how the collection was used. He said, in his clear, friendly, and declarative tone, the collections were most often used by *turis* (tourists), for the people who just visited for the day, usually only an hour or so. Anang Maret Tri Basuki finished some unknown tasks and began attending to his duties as a custodian and guide. He sat down next to Hengki, moving some of the ashtrays on the reading table, and joined our conversation. Anang added that there were about ten tourists a day, unless a school group

came in. That day I only saw one: an English man following directions from his phone, who came to check out the collection without much of a plan. While I continued to look through some magazines, Anang and Hengki played the “tourist” some vinyl of the Beatles (an English band!) and a few cassettes of pop and rock from their Malang shelf that I did not recognize. After the “tourist” left about an hour later, Hengki told me that he does not often play a majority of the cassettes and vinyl from the collection. He differentiated the tourists to when *mahasiswa* (college students) came to do their projects. The *mahasiswa*, most commonly Indonesian undergraduates from nearby schools, would read magazines, like I was doing, or use the recordings and documentation labels to get information for their school papers. They would ask Hengki for more stories about the musicians and ask to hear recordings that Museum Musik Indonesia did not often play. (fieldnotes, July 31, 2019)

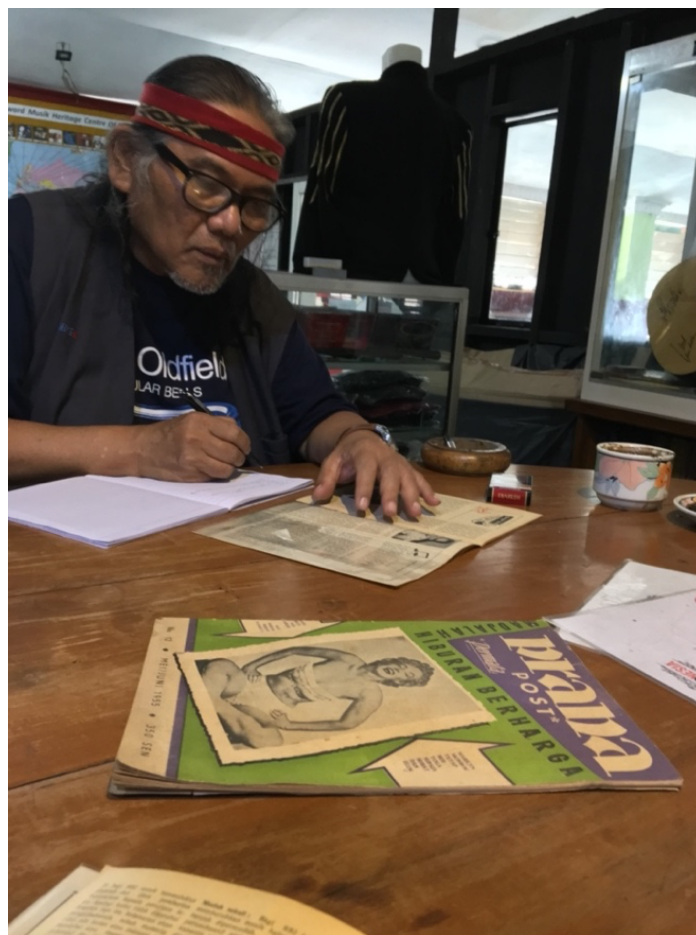


Figure 2.4. Hengki Herwanto taking notes of an edition of *Musika* as I read another edition. He took his notes by hand to later be entered into the online database.

Hengki Herwanto recognizes different qualities of Museum Musik Indonesia for its *turis* users and *mahasiswa* users. These categories do not relate a user’s identity but rather serve as

descriptors to describe how collections are used. Groups of college, high school, and elementary students came through for daily tours using the collections as *turis* users. When I read a review of a visit to Museum Musik Indonesia by my friend Palmer Keen, the DIY-ethnomusicologist known for his traditional recording project Aural Archipelago, I noticed the first sentence marked the length of time for the visit: “Palmer Keen visited MMI last Thursday for about 4 hours” (Museum Musik Indonesia 2021). He was a *turis* user. On my first day, I was given a similarly long tour and met the different contributors. I was a *turis* user. It was not until I returned the second day that I was able to sit down and examine materials for long periods.

Mahasiswa users do not need to be enrolled at a university or be college aged. These users stay with objects at tables surveying them for informational and evidential qualities. The *mahasiswa* research projects manifest in undergraduate thesis, masters’ papers, or journal articles that Museum Musik Indonesia stored among their collections (e.g., Yuliandrika 2020; Khakim and Lukmanul 2019; Crystalline 2017). The quality of a *mahasiswa* user allows for the potential of Indonesian users to access information and evidence from physical primary materials, both obvious and latent. Different from the library reading rooms at most Indonesian higher education institutions, made up primarily of secondary sources, Museum Musik Indonesia allows *mahasiswa* users to witness primary documents that engender new, forgotten, or different histories.

As a *mahasiswa* user, I read all sorts of magazines, theses, and liner notes. I listened back to vinyl, cassette, and CD recordings. Once I started reading on my own, Herwanto would often sit nearby taking handwritten notes from other magazines, jotting down keywords and names categorized by page number to add to the online database (see figure 2.4). Museum Musik Indonesia’s online digitized magazines include these notes through a typed-out DIY-finding aid

at the beginning of each file to facilitate faster review. This process serves as the beginnings of a more comprehensive catalogue of the archive's materials.

My analysis of the two kinds of users builds upon observations by media scholar Ignatius Aditya Adhiyatmaka who argues Museum Musik Indonesia segregates objects and the archive itself from the social and everyday contexts to offer visitors a “wow factor” of “rare items” and “fantastic objects” (2018:68–69). He suggests the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia only use objects of archival value for their exhibition qualities. In conducting my research a few years later, I concur with Adhiyatmaka's analysis for some users, what Herwanto called the *turis* users, but I also noticed the existence of other archival users, the *mahasiswa* users. Adhiyatmaka and I had become *mahasiswa* users. The *mahasiswa* users were allowed to stay with the objects, examine objects without much supervision for their evidential qualities, and use workspaces and tables for extended study. Importantly, Museum Musik Indonesia encourages these *mahasiswa* users to donate copies of their completed research papers for future users to access. This recursive return of analysis is a particular success of the archive in encouraging users to explore archival objects for their evidential qualities.

The Limits of Being a User at Museum Musik Indonesia

Anthropology and technology scholar Bryan Pfaffenberger explains the term “end user,” in information science as referring to the person who “actually uses for decision making or analytical purposes the information that an information retrieval system makes available” (1990:4). While there is much to be said about new forms of “end users” in digital contexts, the end users of Museum Musik Indonesia are the Indonesian public, and secondarily the international public. While Museum Musik Indonesia does not intentionally limit its potential

users, there are limits, structured by “preexisting forms and channels of circulation” (Warner 2002:75).

First is language. Even though Museum Musik Indonesia is open to the national and international public, only a few of their exhibits contain translations of Indonesian into other languages (most often into English). Most of their written descriptions and materials are in Bahasa Indonesia, making a reading Bahasa Indonesia public the majority users at Museum Musik Indonesia. The bottom of their website provides statistical insights into the location of their users. As of August 6, 2021, Museum Musik Indonesia displays the visitors to its website categorized by country: Indonesia 3,678, the United States 520, Japan 55, Ireland 50 and thirty-eight other countries with less than 30 visitors each. I do not understand these statistics as absolute representations, but they do gesture towards a general physical snapshot of online users, with the majority being in Indonesia. From my interviews and ethnographic experiences, the vast majority of in-person users are Indonesian, mostly from nearby schools. While the archivists position Museum Musik Indonesia as an open public, the language and location limits who can easily use the materials.

Second, there are limits to an “open” public without efforts towards equitable inclusion. Anthropologist Jeffery Juris provides an analysis of the politics of “open” publics that lack the formation of “spaces of intentionality” (2013) seeking to address issues of equitability. The entire Indonesian population cannot participate in Museum Musik Indonesia as an open public equally due to issues of availability of time and resources to go to Museum Musik Indonesia. Museum Musik Indonesia’s location in Malang makes their physical holdings difficult to access from someone outside of Java. The limited online holdings (the emphasis of their efforts during the Covid-19 pandemic) makes remote access difficult. Online access in Indonesia is not equal,

and a technological divide for those without internet access remains pervasive in Indonesia (see Lim 2018). Finally, Museum Musik Indonesia maintains of a small access fee, although officially a donation, might deter some users without money to spare away from entering.

In most ways the limitations of Museum Musik Indonesia are not unique and would be similar to any archive without remote access. Museum Musik Indonesia is a grassroots operation with some governmental support, but not nearly enough to begin providing an equitable access program. Even though Museum Musik Indonesia is open to the public, it stratifies the Indonesian public into people with the time and resources to go to the physical space or access online, which I theorize as part of a *gedongan* reading public. Similar to most physical archives, the availability of time and resources for its user public are classed, as well as gendered and influenced by racial and ethnic hierarchies. Despite these drawbacks common to many document-based archives, Museum Musik Indonesia uniquely provides access to physical Indonesian popular music magazines to the Indonesian public that allow for self-study and individual assessment.

I move now to a second section of this chapter. This past section related my ethnographic experiences with the archivists to understand the Museum Musik Indonesian archivists as making public spheres, similar to Strassler's theorization (2020). The second section details a genre public I found maintained as objects of archival value at Museum Musik Indonesian.

AN ARCHIVAL USER LOOKING FOR JAZZ FROM 1945 TO 1967

When I was a *turis* and later a *mahasiswa* user at Museum Musik Indonesia, I affected the archivists through my requests. I was looking for evidence of jazz in Indonesia, particularly after 1945 and before 1967. Herwanto told me that he has never sought out much jazz, although he did know many of the mainstream Indonesian rock, pop, and jazz fusion musicians from the

1970s, like Margie Segers and Candra Darusman. Herwanto only knew of a handful of Indonesian jazz recordings in the collection from 1945 to 1967. Once I began asking about the names of musicians instead of about jazz, we realized the potential abundance in Museum Musik Indonesia's collections. My assumptions as a user framed the kinds of materials I expected to find in collection. My assumptions, based upon my previous archival and fieldwork experiences, informed my goal to locate jazz-related material rather than a definitive canon, repertoire, or the word "jazz." Simply, materials that have contributed to the heritage of jazz in Indonesia. I transition away from Museum Music Indonesia to focus on myself as an archival user, to discuss my interests and biases in exploring the grassroots collection at Museum Music Indonesia.

I delimited my search to materials from 1945 to 1967 for two reasons. First, I could easily describe any jazz-like music after Indonesia's founding in 1945 as Indonesian, instead as part of colonial culture. Such a limit prevents any direct analysis of the cultural transition from colonial modernity to postcolonial manifestations, but such a finding could more easily fit into the hegemonic historiography in Indonesia that interested many of the jazz communities I had been meeting.¹⁶ Second, I had experienced several jazz community members mentioning the album *Djanger Bali*, released in 1967, as one of the first Indonesian jazz recordings. This recording has become relatively well-known due to a 2015 CD reissue by demajors records. *Djanger Bali* was recorded by the Indonesian All Stars, pianist Bubi Chen, drummer Benny Mustapha van Diest, guitarist Jack Lesmana, and bassist Yopie Chen with the Italian American clarinetist Tony Scott. The Indonesian All Stars are the most well-known historical jazz figures in Indonesia and continue to influence contemporary Indonesian jazz musicians. For example, guitarist Jack

¹⁶ Cultural historian Henk Schulte Nordholt asks, "Is There Indonesian History Before 1945?" (2021), to explore why Indonesian historiography usually starts in August 1945 to engage this historiographical debate.

Lesmana had become widely known as the “Locomotive [Driver] of Indonesian Jazz” [*Lokomotif Jazz Indonesia*], in part due to large public concerts he organized in the 1970s and 1980s at Taman Ismail Marzuki in Central Jakarta. I thought a better understanding of jazz before *Djanger Bali* would help contextualize the community that born it.

Indonesian Jazz before *Djanger Bali*

Djanger Bali's liner notes provide tangled insights into the jazz community before 1967. Written by Joachim Berendt in German and translated into English by Peter Kurht, the liner notes provide backgrounds of the musicians who each had prolonged interactions with Western culture and experiences playing jazz in Indonesia before *Djanger Bali*. Berendt writes:

Jack performed frequently at Sukarno's Bandung palace, where the ruler liked to admonish him time and again: “Don't improvise.” (Small footnote to the mentality of a dictator: it was not jazz so much that was bothering him, but any improvisation as such.) But Jack never quit playing jazz. (1967)

Berendt's comment make evident uncertainty lingers over the details and reality of restricting jazz during Sukarno's rule. Berendt's liner notes make clear that even as jazz had political limitations, jazz did exist during the Sukarno era as Lesmana could play jazz in certain ways. Notably, in the same era, Lesmana could not keep his original Dutch sounding last name, Lemmers, and changed it to Lesmana, while participating in these upper political circles. Lesmana continued close connections with the political elite and released recordings throughout the Old and New Order.

In interviews about playing jazz in the 1950s and 1960s, Alfred Ticoalu from *Arsip Jazz Indonesia* mentions how pianist Nick Mamahit described how it was not straightforward to play jazz in that era. Bubi Chen agreed that it was not a straightforward activity and made a comment about being told not to improvise by Sukarno (cited in Hurley 2006:6). In that era, Chen also

recounts how he tuned in to broadcasts containing a proportion of jazz content from “Voice of America” (Berendt 1967:33). Cultural historian Andrew Hurley cites the Bandung-based jazz writer and historian PR Sudiby, who organized jazz concerts, but “had to avoid references to jazz by billing these concerts as ‘parties’ so as to escape unwelcome attention from the authorities” (Sudiby quoted in Hurley 2006:6). Even though there were restrictions it was not impossible to play or listen to jazz in this era.

A twist appears in different interviews by Ticoalu with Jack Lesmana, who neither confirmed nor denied Berendt’s accounts that bolster much of the discursive knowledge of this era (cited in Hurley 2006:6). There are most likely some inaccuracies in Berendt’s account.¹⁷ It is hard to discern the exact exaggerations, what was left out, or which details were exoticized from Lesmana’s polite yet disobliging response. I read Berendt’s narrative prose as often slanted. For example, in *Djanger Bali’s* liner notes, Berendt exoticizes the Indonesia All Stars financier, Suyoso Karsono, as having “remarkably un-Javanese precision” (1967) for his ability to organize the ensemble. Berendt also comments on Chen’s ability to play the Javanese traditional instrument the siter on the Indonesian All Star’s version of “Summertime,” but fails to recognize out how Chen had no prior experience playing sitar or any traditional music before this recording (Ticoalu, personal communication, September 6, 2018).

In my interviews with Om Yong, the longtime radio host for the Bandung radio station MARA and the beginning of this chapter, similar ambivalences appeared around the jazz

¹⁷ Although Scott and Berendt attempted collaboration, their choices exoticized the project. Scott told the Indonesian All Stars: “You are Indonesian . . . and since you have something like pelog, you must use it to improvise.” This command shows little interest in what the All Stars already played on an individual level, instead draws from Scott’s imagination of what Indonesian jazz musicians should play. Berendt writes: “The great old musical culture of Bali and Java, Sunoa’s melodies and Sumatra’s dances, have influenced the music of the Indonesian All Stars. In their performance, a few of the themes are first introduced by the siter.”

community before *Djanger Bali*. He discussed the existence of jazz on the radio in Bandung in the colonial and postcolonial eras radio (personal communication, March 27, 2019). Om Yong's knowledge of jazz and Bandung radio pointed me to the importance of Benny Pablo's postcolonial Lokananta recordings, as an example of a jazz musician who publicly performed during the colonial era and after independence. We never discussed Pablo's career during the Japanese or early Independence era, or why his Lokananta recordings were called *hiburan* and not jazz.

I also interviewed Nazar Noe'man, the owner of Bandung's current major jazz radio station KLCBS. Nazar spoke about the long legacy of jazz on the radio in Bandung. He related this history to the inflows and outflows of engineers and architects since the colonial era to Europe and the United States from Bandung's top university, the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). In the 1960s, his "father [part of the ITB community] often went abroad and would bring back LPs" of classical, pop, and jazz, most often from Japan. He told me how "in the 60s–70s there was no TV, so I often listened to shortwave radio. One of my favorites was the 'Voice of America.'" Nazar accompanied his father to PR Sudibyo's home and some of Sudibyo's events at ITB in the 1960s. He told other stories about how "in the West Hall of ITB, many Indonesian musicians worked with the American, Japanese, Dutch, and German embassies" (personal communication, February 14, 2019).

I bring up these interviews conducted by myself, Berendt, Hurley, and Ticoalu, as part of my assumptions as an archival user of Museum Musik Indonesia.¹⁸ I already knew practices

¹⁸ My understanding of jazz is of course influenced by my background. I was born in Italy and grew up around Chicago where I played in school jazz ensembles, small combos, and experimental and improvisational projects related to jazz with White and African American musicians. I gained a better familiarity with Latin Jazz during my college years at the University of Illinois.

related to jazz existed in Indonesia during the 1950s and early 1960s, although through different categories. The picture remains murky from these myriad accounts. Jazz seems to have happened at “parties” and at top universities. It happened in front of major political figures and never seemed to disappear completely or be explicitly banned.

MAKING A GENRE PUBLIC

I began to look for evidence of jazz in Indonesia through the backgrounds of the Indonesian All Stars and the personnel of *Djanger Bali*. Of particular importance is Suyoso Karsono, who went by the nickname Mas Jos (also spelled Yos), the Indonesian middleman who helped finance the Indonesian All Stars recordings and rehearsals in Indonesia. The Indonesian All Stars used Karsono’s house as a rehearsal and living space in preparing for their 1967 tour.

Born in Bangka Belitung in 1921, Mas Jos was a recording engineer, writer, radio broadcaster, and event organizer known for his idealism in artistic projects over strict commercial attention (Sakrie 2015:22). Mas Jos’s nickname, “The Singing Commodore,” is due to his former career as an Indonesian Air Force officer who loved the pedal steel guitar and singing in Hawaiian bands.¹⁹ He founded Indonesia’s first recording and record manufacturing company, Irama, in 1951, located in the central Menteng region of Jakarta.²⁰ Bubi Chen, Jack Lesmana, and Benny Mustapha all recorded with Irama before 1967.

¹⁹ Karsono sang with The Hawaiian Seniors on two albums, *Mas Jos Presents The Elshinta Hawaiian Seniors* and *The Call Of ‘Old’ Hawaii*, with Hoengeng Imam Santoso, then head of the Indonesian police agency (1968–1971).

²⁰ Denny Sakrie wrote how even though Irama was not financially successful, its network did not necessarily need to be since most involved were already well-off (2015:21–22). When Irama went bankrupt in 1967, Mas Jos founded three new labels in 1968 Elshinta, Jasmine, and J&B to carry on his recording endeavors.



Figure 2.5. Caption: Nien Suprpto [Lesmana]: a songstress famous for her recordings: “Mambo Djenaka,” “Djanganlah Djangan,” accompanied by the Tanpanama Orchestra and others recording with the Sudarnoto Quartet and the Irama Quartet. Musika Issue 3, 1958:13.

Suyoso Karsono involved his sister and singer Nien Suprato in many of Irama’s recordings. Nien later married Jack Lesmana.²¹ Many of Irama’s recordings include Nien Lesmana, usually listed as Nien, and Jack, listed as Jack Lemmers until 1964 when he began to use Lesmana.²² Other frequent collaborators include Bubi Chen, Mus Mualim, Nick Mamahit, and Benny Mustapha. Unfortunately, most of Irama’s 78 rpm disc labels only include the central personnel: singer, arranger, composer, and engineer. The names and instruments of the backing

²¹ Nien and Jack are the parents of Indra Lesmana, a major jazz pianist in Indonesia today. Indra’s daughter Eva Celia is also a major performer in Indonesia’s music industry playing pop, jazz, and R&B.

²² Irama’s SP. 75-disc credits Jack as “Jack (Fender) Lemmers.” On Nien’s 1964 disc, Irama, EP. 076, Side 1: IME. 143, Jack is credited as Lemmers for the composer credit and Lesmana for the arrangement credit.

band are not usually included. A date was also not included on the disc label. Unless provided in the liner notes, the date of recording can usually only be determined to a range.



Figure 2.6. Caption: Guitarist Dick Abel and his friends, including Nick Mamahit (piano), and songstress Ratna at the Merdeka Stage, RRI Jakarta several years ago. Musika Issue 4, 1957:10.

For a music recording company of general popular music, Irama had a significant number of jazz-related recordings. For example, the song “Selamat Berdjoang” on Irama disc IRS. 34 features Nien singing a soulful ballad with call and response saxophone and piano. The instrumentalists are named with guitarist/saxophonist Dick Abel and pianist Nick Mamahit supported by bassist Dick van der Capellen and drummer Max van Dalm. The track on the opposite side, “Kasih,” written by Nien and Abel (see Appendix C for a transcription), featured baritone Sam Saimun crooning in another soulful ballad (one of Om Yong’s favorites) with the same instrumentalists, labeled the “Irama Quartet.” This was some of the jazz before 1967 (and

after 1945). The Irama Quartet had previously been called the “The Progressives” and heard on “Radio Batavia” (Möller 1987:86). Allard Möller does not provide a precise date for the group but mentions other bands surrounding the Progressive as made up of “ex-POWs” (87), locating the group chronologically in the “twilight years of Japanese capitulation and the transfer of sovereignty” (86) or 1945–1949.

Pianist Nick Mamahit, the consistent member from The Progressives and the Irama Quartet, formed a new group call the Irama Special Trio in 1956 with bassist Jim Espehana and drummer Bart Risakotta. The Irama Trio recorded the vinyl LP *Sarinande* on Irama Records. Mas Jos wrote in the liner notes for Mamahit’s 1961 album *Rindu* about Mamahit’s journey with jazz in Indonesia:

Nick Mamahit’s name cannot be separated from the establishment of Irama . . .
[Mamahit] made history with the formation of the Irama Special Trio/Quartet . . . as
pioneers in offering Indonesian songs with a new style . . . using the term “progressive.”

From these materials, the history of Irama Records interrelates with the jazz community in Indonesia. Many jazz musicians from pre-Independent Indonesia continued musical careers after Independence. Remembering Om Yong’s comments, I realize how some in the jazz community viewed Nick Mamahit and Bubi Chen as rivals. In my interviews with the Indonesian All Stars drummer Benny Mustapha van Diest, he portrayed drummer Bart Risakotta, the Irama Special Trio, was one of his early teachers (personal communication, June 9, 2019). Even though the word jazz is used sparingly in much of Irama’s content, jazz is a central style that draws this network together. The jazz musicians who recorded on Irama influenced the musicians who recorded *Djanger Bali*, whose influence is still felt in the contemporary community.

Listening to Jazz, Reading About Jazz

I turn my attention to the often-extensive liner notes from some of Irama recordings released from 1951 to 1964. Printed on the back covers of disc sleeves, the liner notes have both a didactic and advertising tone. The liner notes for Irama's *Bubi Chen and His Fabulous 5* established a form for liner notes used on five other Irama recordings: two LP recordings by Bubi Chen (both 1962), Nick Mamahit's two LP recordings (1956; 1961), and one LP recording by Ivo Nilakreshna with songs cowritten by Jack Lemmers and Nien (before 1964). For these LP liner notes, the organizational convention includes editorials in Indonesian and then translated into English, credited to Wienaktoe (Wien), who wrote extensively for Irama's materials.²³ The only exception is Nick Mamahit's *Rindu* with the Indonesian written by Mas Jos and the English by Judith Waworuntu.

The last section of these liner notes (written in English, Indonesian, or both) includes technical information, such as the names of recording devices, microphones used, microphone placement, and comments like the use of the "RIAA Equalization Curve" to provide guidance for proper playback. Noticeably, the content in the Indonesian and English editorials is similar but not the same. For example, the English editorial of the Ivo Nilakreshna recording mentions how the recording "feels like one of those modern pieces of jazz, a combination of jazz with Latin American rhythm, which is so popular nowadays" while the Indonesian editorial describes the "rhythm of this music contains all-new rhythmic movements, a mixture of South American rhythms and west coast jazz."²⁴ (I interpret this west coast jazz as a metaphor describing

²³ The only information I could find about Wienaktoe's background was that he was an official in the Department of Education, Teaching, and Culture (*Departemen Pendidikan, Pengajaran dan Kebudayaan*) in 1960. He often wrote about musical culture, such as "Musical [Identity] as the Start of the People's Music" (cited in Yuliantri 2012:427).

²⁴ "Tjampuran ritme Amerika selatan dan jazz pantai barat."

American music being a west coast of the world rather than jazz from specifically the American West Coast.) In another example, *Bubi Chen and His Fabulous 5*, Wienaktoe mentions in Indonesian how Chen's "arrangements have succeeded in blending the melodies of the East and West into a whole." In English, Wienaktoe describes how Chen "succeeds in making, 'East' meets 'West' through instrumental light-entertaining harmonics." There is no mention of harmonics in the Indonesian editorial. The change of information extends beyond a difference of language but actual differences in content, making both versions worth reading. The existence of two languages provides evidence that the writers expected multilingual publics to encounter Irama's liner notes. The difference in content for each language suggests the writers imagined those reading publics differently.

Musika Magazine (September 1957–August 1958)

While Herwanto did not have any "jazz" magazines from before 1967, when I started looking for the names related to the Indonesian All Stars, Karsono, Nien, and Irama, he directed me to a monthly popular music magazine, published for only one year, called *Musika*. Upon reading through the ten out of the twelve editions at Museum Musik Indonesia, I realized *Musika* had served as a promotional tool and editorial outlet for members of the Irama network.²⁵ As I began reading through the magazine's editorials, record reviews, gossip columns, and news from Indonesia and abroad.²⁶ The magazine offered the same the idealist qualities Denny Sakrie

²⁵ I have not yet been able to locate the first and second editions.

²⁶ One story in the "*Berita-Berita Musik dari Barat Sampai ke Timur Tentang . . .*" [Music News from West to East About . . .] includes a story about Professor "Mantelhood" [sic] and his goals of studying Javanese gamelan and bringing this information to the world (Issue 6, 1958:13). It quotes Mantle Hood as saying, among several other similar points, "people often say there are not many harmonic elements developed in Javanese music. 'If this is the case, and gamelan music as an ordered and beautiful whole, why is that not harmony?'"

portrayed of Irama and Mas Jos (2015:22). The similar promotional and didactic tone from Irama's liner notes appears in *Musika*. The same authors of Irama's liner notes also worked on *Musika*'s editorial board: Wienaktoe served as the general manager, main writer, and editor; Ch. Hasmanan as another editor; and Soebagio as illustrator. Notably, this magazine was produced before most of the jazz-related albums I discussed above, only Mamahit's *Sarinande* had been recorded and released by 1957–1958. Many of the 78 rpms with limited disc label information had been produced, and *Musika*'s text provides more information about those shellac recordings.

The cover of *Musika* declares itself as the first monthly music magazine in Indonesia (see figure 2.7). The inside cover announced its educational goal as a “good music taste builder.” *Musika* is written in the Indonesian language, with the Republican Spelling System, modern and conventional of 1957. The writers use of some slang and a casual yet educated style with many borrowed terms from English, Dutch, and other European languages, presupposing an educated and cosmopolitan reader, a *gedongan* reading public. *Musika*'s 1950s Indonesian readers are assumed to be interested in self-education about the national and international world of music, have the ability to comprehend multiple languages, and have enough time and money to spend on costly music magazines, recordings, and playback devices. I relate the reading and text of Irama's liner notes and *Musika* through Baulch's genre publics. *Musika*'s authors argue which genres to read and listen to, and which genres are not part of “good music taste.” Notably, the magazine has little positive comments about the new trend of new rock ‘n’ roll.



Figure 2.7. Front and back cover of the 8th edition of *Musika* from April 1958. The cover image is of a teenage (remadja) Lily Sudaro, a singing contestant who reached the semifinals in the IPPI Semarang singing championship. Her article inside the magazine states: “But she didn’t give up. Because she likes to sing. If you want to be a shining star, then continuously and seriously practice” (1958:7). The back cover, identical on every edition, has an Irama recording advertisement that reads “the first in Indonesian songs and, the only one to issue self-printed longplay discs.” (This issue’s back cover was slightly burned by an archival user’s cigarette).

The *Musika* editors wrote record reviews almost exclusively about Irama’s recordings, in part due to the fact that not many other Indonesian record companies existed at that time.²⁷ Irama’s owner, Mas Jos, wrote several editorials about music technology in the magazine. Irama’s recordings, such as Nick Mamahit’s *Sarinande*, are promoted throughout *Musika* via advertisements and extended record reviews. Wienaktoe has a recurring section devoted to guitar lessons that uses Western notation and includes instructions about how to read Western notation.

²⁷ In 1957–58 there were not many other record labels in Indonesia, Lokananta just opened the year before and some reviews appear in the eighth issue mentioning other labels like Nusantara, Crescendo, and Remy.

The guitar lessons also include a request to not infringe on the copyright of the printed lesson (this is just before Indonesia leaves the Berne Convention in 1958 until 1997, see chapter four). The magazine discusses concepts like the modernization of music while advertising new Irama recordings of Balinese traditional music. On the same page, the authors write a practical and historical lesson about how to play guitar as a Spanish-influenced instrument with connections to the Arab community (Issue 3, 1957:17). While this magazine contains many materials, I want to focus on how the magazine addresses the themes of technology, advertisement, copyright, and radio broadcasting. I conclude by noticing how jazz is mentioned throughout *Musika* as a style that helps a reader productively builds one's good music taste.

Musika's articles often offer an education about new technologies related to recordings. In a two-part article called "HI-FI: What's That?" Mas Jos discusses how and why record consumers should understand high fidelity (hi-fi). He uses the word "high fidelity" in English and describes some technical aspects in Indonesian about sound reproduction like the frequency range of microphones and instruments. He uses the Dutch "*technische termen*" and he goes on to joke about how "Hi-Fi can also mean Hi(gh) Fi-(nance)" (Issue 3, 1957:12). His explanation of the English language pun combines written Indonesian, English, and Dutch, and addresses a cosmopolitan reader with some facility in each language. The joke also connotes the assumed high economic standing of the writers and their imagined reading public.

The articles on high fidelity education retain the didactic tone of Irama's official jacket covers that provide patronizing advice on disc handling. The Irama disc jackets suggest to "avoid touching the sound surface of the record"; to "keep this record away from items or places that easily emit dust and anything that contains hot air"; and to "put your recording in this cover

immediately after you finished playing it.”²⁸ This demonstrates a connection between the text materials of Irama’s recordings and the editorials in *Musika* as part of a cohesive genre public.

There are only a few advertisements in *Musika*’s consistently twenty-page publications. The inside of the front cover always features an advertisement listing the latest Irama recordings from the previous month. The back cover always features a general advertisement for Irama Records. Besides the inhouse advertisements for Irama recordings, only a few advertisements began to appear after the sixth issue. When they do, the advertisements are related to other publishing and printing endeavors associated to *Musika* personnel.²⁹ Overall *Musika* primarily relied on subscription fees and Irama Records non-explicit sponsorship for support. In the closing editorial of the magazine, announcing the twelfth and last edition, Wienaktoe notes how the writers and editors are “satisfied with the results achieved,” but must stop due to the “the exorbitant costs” that makes “the low price untenable” (1958:9). The magazine cost 3 rupiah for one issue, 8 rupiah for three months, 15 rupiah for six months, and 28 rupiah for the year. There was no mention of using advertisements to generate revenue.

The articles in *Musika* address many facets of copyright and performance payments. The main theme of the third *Musika* issue discusses the qualities performance payments to musicians in Indonesia. The theme of the eleventh *Musika* issue is copyright (*hak cipta*). A gossip column called “*Dengar Sana Dengar Sini*” (Listen There Listen Here) often included stories of artists negotiating their fees with RRI or the earnings, fair payments, and imbalanced evaluation

²⁸ “*Hindarkanlah muka jang memuat suara dari pada piringan hitam ini dari sensuhan apapun.*” “*Djauhkanlah piringan hitam ini dari barang atau tempur jang mudah mengelurkan debu dan segala sesuatu jang mengandung hawa panas.*” “*Tarohlah segera didalam sampul ini kembai setelah piringan hitam ini selesai diputer.*”

²⁹ The publications *Nasional* and *Olahraga dan Hiburan* were promoted. Another advertisement promoted the print, stamp, and slide making company called Fa Kung. A few mentioned a Western classical music school in Bandung.

practices to the winners of the RRI Radio Star (*Bintang Radio*) contests (Issue 11, 1958:7). These columns discussed the different advantages about being paid a flat fee or by percentage. One column praises Mamahit for choosing the percentage sales for *Sarinande*. This choice made the record's producer (Karsono) happy, who was only obligated to pay Mamahit based upon album sales (Issue 3, 1957:18).

The discussion of performance payments is blunt, such as the story of the singer Rukmini, who found RRI's 60-rupiah honorarium too low and described it as "working without gratitude" (Issue 3, 1957:18). Another article in the same issue explicates how a 2-hour broadcast, with an orchestra of at least 10–12 people, is given a total honorarium of between 200 and 300 rupiah. A soloist was paid between 60–90 rupiah. The author questions if this "base salary" can offer the possibility of a living wage and sustain quality musicians in Indonesia. The article notes how composers are not usually provided an honorarium, but arrangers are provided 250 rupiah for a complete orchestral arrangement (Issue 3, 1957:4). The article goes on to describe how this lack of adequate payment caused some musicians, like Chinese violinist Lim Kek Han, to leave Jakarta for China in the late 1950s to seek more steady musical work (Issue 3, 1957:18).

Another aspect of copyright includes the rights of composers regarding the practice of using of the N.N. (*nomen nescio*) as a composer credit. The use of N.N. is a common practice on recordings when the composer is not known or not listed for some reason. The use of N.N. for a composer credit is usually thought of as the correct credit for the unknown composers of "folk music" but this is not always the case (Issue 11, 1958:3–4). In one article, the writers (who are also the editors) describe instances when a composer claimed to be the N.N. and gained a copyright credit. This was done by providing "simple evidence," of a witness, who was usually

government related, cosigning on behalf of the composer, verifying their witness of that person composing that composition. The newly authenticated composer credit allowed those people to receive payments from institutions like RRI and Irama. The article couches criticism of RRI—for the lack of consistent composer honorariums, while always providing one for arrangers—with the fact that RRI has been the most helpful institution in the lives of Indonesian musicians (3–4). The article ends by suggesting that the situation would be different if there was a special agency protected by law (“*rechtspersoon*” [a Dutch term]) to help with composers’ rights. Ultimately, the articles outline a goal for the Indonesian music industry, to improve and standardize performance royalties to foster living wages for musicians. The authors also seek to “abolish the ‘flat-pay’ system” in favor of prompt royalties to allow the risk to be shared by artists and producers. Wienaktoe argues this would help maintain more “serious artists” (Issue 3, 1957:4).

The discussion of copyright and royalties also relates to broadcast, as the recent mass media of radio continued to be resettled away from colonial control. In the last *Musika* edition, Wienaktoe compares RRI with Air Force Radio, AURI (*Angkatan Udara Republik Indonesia*) (Issue 12, 1958:3–4). He writes about two kinds of radio broadcasts, the “very official” (*resmi sekali*) RRI, and the “more entertaining” (*lebih menghibur*) AURI radio broadcasts. The article admits how RRI has better quality live musicians and live performances on their broadcasts, but the AURI broadcasts spend more time broadcasting music (see figure 2.8). He goes one to describe how AURI broadcasts music most often from LPs borrowed from AURI members or other listeners. This guarantees broadcasts can take place, as he assures the reader that AURI radio is popular among teenagers (*remaja*).³⁰ Wienaktoe notes how AURI’s music is classical,

³⁰ “Piringan hitam pinjaman dari banyak anggota AURI sendiri atau pendengar-pendengar lain menjamin siaran-siaran ini dapat berlangsung, maka radio AURI memang amat disukai oleh kalangan remaja.”

Western entertainment, Indonesian music, and sometimes from very old discs, but he does not specific further. He argues listeners can feel satisfied in AURI broadcasts, so that they do not have to look for overseas transmitters, such as those from “Australia, BBC or USA and Moscow,” to listen to music. He ends by reiterating how AURI radio broadcasts Western amusement music (*musik amusement Barat*).

Finally, a *Musika* article mention how a “a young man” (*pemuda*) whose only passion was rock ‘n’ roll wanted to maintain his “prestige” (*gengsi*), since he lives in a more “well-off” (*mampu*) and educated area” (Issue 9, 1958:8). Wienaktoe goes on to suggest that Irama’s recordings can be the right fit for this imagined youth. The magazine is full of classed musical recommendations such as references to classical composers like Mozart and Haydn and classical musicians like Chinese Indonesian Lim Kek Tjiang and Russian violinist Leonid Kogan. A series of articles written by guest author Dr. Thomas Armstrong focus on the Western classical tradition.³¹ When *Musika* discusses Western popular music figures, the authors favor artists like Benny Goodman, Ella Fitzgerald, Duke Ellington, Bing Crosby, Jelly Roll Morton, Fats Waller, Earl Hines, Art Tatum, Dave Brubeck, W.C. Handy, and The Modern Jazz Quartet. I cannot help but notice the jazz musicians. Instead of following the latest trends in Western rock ‘n’ roll and pop, like Elvis Presley, who is heavily covered in other magazines from the same era such as *Varia*, *Musika* focuses on jazz and classical music from both inside and outside of Indonesia.³²

³¹ Thomas Armstrong (1898–1994) was an English organist, composer, and educationalist. From the 1920s, he was a radio broadcaster for the BBC gave talks as well as played examples.

³² The other magazine I found at Museum Musik Indonesia that features jazz in Indonesia before 1967 was *Varia* (1958–1974). I did not select *Varia* for a close reading due to Museum Musik Indonesia only having a handful of editions. *Varia* maintains some evidence of jazz in Indonesia before 1967, such as a review Mas Jos and his band at a popular Irama festival in an October 1959 edition (13) and a review of the Newport Jazz Festival in the same



Figure 2.8. Singers Bing Slamet and Nina Kirana with Usman (on steel-guitar), Adikarso (drums), Maskan (bass), Setioso and Zainul Bahar (guitar). Taken in the studio of Irama in Jakarta. *Musika* Issue 12, 1958:7.

While there are articles about jazz artists from the international, mostly American, community, such as reviews of Nat King Cole and Sarah Vaughan as well as major events like the Newport Jazz Festival, *Musika* has evidence of jazz in Indonesia. A topmost example is the review for Nick Mamahit's *Sarinande*, advertised somewhere in almost every edition. One review describes how the song arrangements "feel very improvised" with pianist Mamahit "playing with a very free feeling" (Issue 7, 1958:5).³³ Mamahit is described as the soloist in the

edition. I also found a brief article in September 1964 presenting the "the strains of jazz music. What do you think about jazz?" (14). Overall, *Varia* had much less jazz than *Musika* in the editions I could access.

³³ "Dalam sajian-sajiannya ini Mamahit terasa bermain amat bebas, bahkan terasa aransemen-aransemennya itu sangat improvisatoris."

trio that seems “to follow his musical brain in the moment.”³⁴ The review also mentions variations in the drum rhythm from Bart Risakotta, who uses different drumsticks for different songs. Wienaktoe emphasizes the use of *sikat-pemukul*, and often interchanges with the English term “drum brushes.” *Sarinande* is promoted as a Hi-Fi recording, allowing for the different drumsticks to be clearly heard. The record review concludes how in the hands of Mamahit the “modern Indonesian songs” (*lagu-lagu Indonesia modern*) feel modern and are never boring. The review lists each song but does not analyze the recording track-by-track. When I listen back to the recording, such as the first track “Ajo Mama,” the drums have a swinging feel and walking bass with Mamahit’s piano dancing around melodies with increasingly flourishes as the short, one minute fifty-two second piece proceeds. The drum feel and the walking bass is not common in other types of Indonesian popular music or in other kinds of Indonesian traditional music, directly relating this recording to the sounds of jazz. The second track, “Memotong Padi,” is a clear head arrangement with Mamahit gracefully playing a 16-bar melody before beginning the same melody with more embellishments until, many chromatic runs and blues-informed polymodal phrases later, his melodic flourishes move beyond the original melody. He returns to an embellished theme after a few passes through the 16-bar structure of this two minute and thirty second track. The rest of the fourteen tracks feature similar jazz-related musical techniques one might expect from the house-pianist of a grand hotel. This kind of job became one of Mamahit’s later engagements such as at the Jakarta Mandarin Hotel (Ticoalu 2015b).

Another example of jazz in Indonesia includes comments by Wienaktoe about how Japanese jazz musicians have moved beyond imitation and as some have won some praise from American jazz masters. Wienaktoe comments on Elvis Presley’s influence as shocking the young

³⁴ “*Seakan-akan menurut pemikiran otak musikalnyan dalam saat-saat itu juga.*”

people (*kaum muda*) away from jazz in America and other parts of the world, such as in Tokyo. But he sees some Japanese jazz musicians keeping away from the influence (Issue 11, 1958:8). Wienaktoe obliquely wonders if this cautionary tale can keep Indonesian musicians from straying away from jazz to other popular musics.

From these materials, I understand *Musika* as interrelated with the jazz community in Indonesia. I have already mentioned how Nick Mamahit is part of Indonesia's jazz heritage. This magazine demonstrates how his musical techniques were already considered related to jazz, with head arrangements and an improvisational style that includes chromatic embellishments of the melody, moving away from the main melody, and the use of the blues scale.

When the *Musika* authors use the word "jazz," they are usually referring to Western musicians, but many reviews of Indonesian artists use "jazz" or "jazz artists" as a contributor, influence, or as a comparison to explain the innovations by Indonesian musicians. Jazz is not the dominate style in *Musika*, or on Irama Records, but it is a familiar popular music in Indonesia. It is a style to read along with if one wants to build one's musical taste.

***Musika* as a Genre Public**

I understand *Musika* as part of a genre public as it addresses a critical reading *gedongan* audience with consumer agency interrelated with recorded media related to Indonesia's jazz heritage. I also find this audience related to the *Aktuil* genre public, suggesting the existence of a longer, related, popular music heritage in Indonesia. Baulch understands the *Aktuil* addressees as a rocker, critical, and male citizens similar to *Musika*'s addressees as critical consumers and reading male citizens. The addressees of *Musika* are at least middle class (even though the writers and producers are upper class), below the national political elites, but above the majority

of Indonesians. They are cosmopolitan readers who want to educate themselves about the national and international world of music, have the ability to comprehend multiple languages, and have enough time and money to spend on magazines, recordings, and playback devices.

In thinking about *Musika*, one of the critiques of this early genre public has been its expense. Most Indonesians in the 1950s and early 1960s could clearly not afford the magazine subscription (causing the magazine to fail after one year due to lack of sales), vinyl, playback equipment, and leisure time to participate. The *Musika* community was not producing materials for the general Indonesian public, as it discussed a lifestyle of required reading and listening to develop good taste. But at the same time, the writers are not speaking to a nationalist ideal, nor trying to give voice to the people, rather *Musika* was an opinionated guide on how to build one's musical taste, through a patronizing upper-class tone with high cultural capital seeking to express it. These kinds of addressees were a much smaller group in the 1950s and early 1960s, before Suharto's open markets allowed the Indonesian popular music business to experience unprecedented growth, expand the lifestyle of what global studies scholar Sony Karsono calls the flâneur in New Order Jakarta in the early 1970s (2020). I understand *Musika* as part of the heritage of this Jakarta flâneur lifestyle.

While Karsono and Baulch appropriately focus on the 1970s expansion of a larger middle class, I notice how precursors at *Musika* and Irama Records cultivated many of teenage years of the successful 1970s artists. For example, the Beatles-rockers Koes Bersaudara as quintessential members and contributors to the New Order Jakarta flâneur, first recorded on Irama (the recording engineer is not listed), before 1965. While access to disc recordings in the 1950s was much less than in the 1970s for the majority of Indonesians, the level of notoriety of Koes Bersaudara while on Irama was high enough to be banned and jailed by Sukarno in 1965. The

uneven politics of Indonesian Guided Democracy, such as the traumatic jailing of Koes Bersaudara, stunted the flow of mass media in Indonesia, and possibly cut off the desire to sustain the same connections from that period. But this does not mean that 1970s popular culture blossomed from nowhere. Karsono describes how:

Already between the late 1950s and the early 1960s, well-to-do male teenagers in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta and Medan had been practising ‘flânerie on wheels’ as a core element of the Indonesian version of the rock-and-roll lifestyle. (2020:4)

By “flânerie on wheels” he means the ability to freely drive around for fun with cars and motorbikes. Karsono describes Teguh Esha, a well-known Jakarta-based pop culture writer and artist, as participating in the early 1960s in an “aural flânerie, tuning in to the Air Force Radio and the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia” (2020:5), also described, years earlier, in the pages of *Musika*. I argue other parts of practicing this flâneur lifestyle were buying and listening to popular music recordings produced by Irama Records and reading lifestyle magazines like *Musika*. This lifestyle continues in new forms today, but the genre public of *Musika* (and Irama) figures into the history of Indonesian youth culture.

CONCLUSION

The access to multiple genre publics from Indonesian history allows contemporary Indonesians to have a better grasp on their own archival record and choose how they would like to proceed. These materials in public grassroots archives like Museum Musik Indonesia offer musical media to the Indonesian public at a much lower cost. The contemporary Indonesian public can participate, although not entirely equitably, in multiple genre publics with lessened classed limitations. The accessible genre publics at Museum Musik Indonesia are expressions of Indonesian culture that are no longer just a part of the elite but also one that many middle-class

Indonesians can afford. The texts of the genre publics become part of user's cultural capital as part of fields of cultural production that reproduce a *gedongan* reading and listening sensibility.

In discussing *Musika* and Irama's recordings as a genre public, this discourse is accessible most readily today through Museum Musik Indonesia's preexisting forms and channels of circulation structured by the archivists. These preexisting channels allow the genre public to come to the attention of Museum Musik Indonesia users, drawing on the archivists' historical and mediated connections to the Indonesian music industry. The momentary or accidental encounter with a genre public is important to how users at Museum Musik Indonesia encounter overlooked publics from Indonesia's past.

The jazz heritage in Indonesia is part of the change in classed access to musical media. Since the early 2000s, jazz has become a more common middle-class activity, through festivals and new regional communities, I describe as the Indonesian jazz public. Can *Musika* and Irama factor into the cultural heritage of this Indonesian jazz public, as they read, listen to, and write about jazz in Indonesia? The contemporary classed and gendered *gedongan* community, *mahasiswa* users, read through many popular music magazines and listen to recordings from Indonesia's history and feel their assembly together as a public. But will Indonesian readers bring this evidence of their musical past into the contemporary Indonesian public sphere?

The creation of historically conscious agents remains paramount at Museum Musik Indonesia. It offers critical *mahasiswa* users the opportunity to witness primary historical documents. This process lies at the heart of the archive's ability to directly engage with its user public and promote historical consciousness. The capacity for the evidential qualities from objects of archival value to circulate at the archive promotes accountability and transparency in the Indonesian public sphere. Primary materials present information that can serve as evidence

and circulate as an authorizing and monitoring mechanism. These evidentiary qualities can be used to justify beliefs and clarify the coherence of holding certain attitudes, as Indonesia combats the global trends of misinformation, fake news, paid protestors, antivaxxers, and other misinformation ills. The archivists need to reckon with Strassler's critiques as they use audio and print media as a material witness (2005), as historical proof that could preempt future attempts to distort or erase parts of Indonesia's popular music heritage, as part of Indonesia's diverse history.

From my experiences at Museum Musik Indonesia, as a user and as an ethnographer, I notice how evidential qualities can cause objects of archival value to circulate. I would circulate (digital copies of) objects of archival value for Indonesian jazz community members. *Mahasiswa* users would write capstone papers and sometimes continue their efforts into the popular press. While objects of archival value must in some sense must stay at archives, these evidential qualities beckon people to circulate the materials to feel themselves as part of history. When feeling themselves as part of the longer histories and circulating evidence, archival users contribute to accountability, awareness, and transparency in the Indonesian public sphere.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LOKANANTA PROJECT AND THE ARCHIVAL VALUE OF BUBI CHEN

In this chapter, I trace the cultural biography (Kopytoff 1986) of a particular recording made by Chinese Indonesian jazz pianist Bubi Chen in the early 1960s for the Indonesian governmental recording and manufacturing company, Lokananta, as it circulates through various “regimes of value” (Appadurai 1986). I am particularly interested in the qualities of archival value ascribed to the recording by the grassroots archivist at the short-lived Lokananta Project (2014–2018), along with other regimes such as gift, commodity, and those defined by ethnic and national identity (Myers 2001:31). Tracing the cultural biography of a recorded musical performance frames it within the social groups that use it, ascribe it culturally specific meanings, and classify and reclassify it into culturally constituted categories.

In tracing the cultural biography of Bubi Chen’s recording, I include Sherry B. Ortner’s practice theory updates to the culture concept to better focus on the role of power in a cultural biography. She defines culture as “(politically inflected) schemas through which people see and act upon the world and the (politically inflected) subjectivities through which people feel – emotionally, viscerally, sometimes violently – about themselves and the world” (2006:18). By incorporating this rendering of the culture concept, a cultural biography involves the deep schemas that Kopytoff and Appadurai largely focus on, but also the social connections of politically inflected subjectivities that add another dimension through which things become meaningful for human agents. This expands upon arguments by ethnomusicologist Timothy D. Taylor who writes that things “circulate because they have value for people . . . And where there is circulation and value, there is exchange, not just of money but of time, work, action”

(2020:255). A cultural biography of a thing therefore traces how it was useful among many representations, interpretations, and affective resonances by different social groups.

For my case study, a new period began in the cultural biography of Chen's recording when it became useful for its archival value. I define archival value as flowing from an archivist's appraisal leading to the allocation of time, materials, and labor resources for protection, preservation, and structured use.¹ Before this period, recordings sitting in Lokananta's offices were thought of as unsold merchandise with no copies specifically kept for archival purposes (Susilo 1989:359). The lack of archival holdings at Lokananta follows wider trends in the Indonesian music community that has gone without a strong tradition of preservation of popular music in institutional archives.

Archival value in Indonesia grapples with a national history of institutional archiving as part of colonial policies. For example, the National Archive of Indonesia contains the collections of and is still sited at the first Dutch East Indies Archive (*Landsarchief*), established in 1892.² The *Landarchief* collections were focused on economic, agriculture, and political developments that interested the Dutch colonial administration. Discourses not classified in this way, such as evidence of the everyday, minority practices, and popular music, were generally left out as ephemera. The National Archive of Indonesia continues similarly segregating appraisal practices that favor economic, agriculture, and political history. Over the past decade, Indonesian grassroots archivists particularly focused on popular music have emerged "reckoning" (Winegar 2006) with the archive beyond its (European) universal standard, within the "genealogies of the

¹ In defining archival value, I look to ethnomusicologist Eric Schmidt who writes, "objects are valuable insofar as they serve as mediums that store value" (2018:10). Schmidt draws insights from Marx (1978) and many others (Graeber 2005:450; Lambek 2013; Taylor 2017) about value being defined by the importance of actions, not objects.

² See Jeurgens 2013 for a detailed history of archivists in Java, all of whom were Dutch until the 20th century.

modern” (3) of their postcolonial positionality. These grassroots archivists figure themselves as producers of contexts to imagine archiving as a source of “redemptive value” (Myers 2001), as they archive records of Indonesia’s vibrant popular music communities.

The practice of grassroots archiving in Indonesia, since the fall of Suharto in 1998, is part of a more widespread calling to remember history through “documentation awareness” in the arts and through a “culture of documentation” described by anthropologist Karen Strassler (2010). Ethnomusicologist Andrew Weintraub notices strategies of historically minded musical projects during the post-1998 Reformation era that seek to “return [songs] to writing,” “straighten out history” by “resisting forgetting,” and transform “sites of memory” into “acts of remembering” for cultural reconciliation (2019). The Lokananta Project relates to these strategies by focusing on the breadth of Lokananta’s history and emphasizing the company’s plentiful popular music and jazz recordings that contribute to Indonesia’s cultural heritage. Adding to these strategies is archiving documentation (*mengarsipkan dokumentasi*), where the inscription of archival value for musical materials heralds a momentous shift in the awareness and access for the Indonesian public. *Mengarsipkan dokumentasi* includes within it some of these other strategies, but an important difference is the focus on sharing with the “public” (chapters one and two), which signals a significant change in the methods of bringing histories and memories into the democratic and liberal Indonesian public sphere.

Archival processes create another regime of value for objects to circulate in. Archives, conventionally thought of for their capacity for storage and preservation, can become recentered as nodes in circulation through actions that make archival holdings more accessible (often through digitization projects). These processes can generate greater awareness and attention to archival holdings and can be used as a theoretical tool to decolonize the Archive. By thinking of

archival value as another regime of value, it can more easily be related to other forms of exchange. The various manifestations of archival value should be understood as culturally specific.

In the case of Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording, I suggest that a paradox emerged through the process of archiving whereby Lokananta's popular music recordings, first valued as unpopular and hence unsold commodities, were inscribed by the grassroots Lokananta Project as having "priceless historical value," "extraordinary value," and as being "assets of the nation" (Zakaria et al. 2016:67). This exalted Chen's recording as something worthy of time, materials, and labor resources for protection and preservation, actions not afforded to unsold commodities. As part of the actions of protecting the assets of the nation, the grassroots archivists completed an ongoing digitization project of Lokananta's recordings to safeguard against data loss due to aging and damaged media. The Lokananta Project transformed these digital holdings into an open access digital library directed towards the Indonesian public. The actions of the Lokananta Project meant to circulate and socialize these recordings also attracted increased political control and surveillance that delimited circulation.

After recognizing the archival value of their recordings, Lokananta employees and outside consultants propagated a notion that the extraordinary value of the Lokananta's recordings could be "translated," using Anna Tsing's term, from a noncapitalist mode of production into capitalist inventory (2015:64). The recordings moved from being understood as unsold commodities, into objects of archival value, and then again potentially translated into capitalist inventory. But the new processes of commodification undertaken by Lokananta employees either failed or were purposely kept extremely minimal, such as limited-run CD releases only sold physically at Lokananta and Lokananta related limited-time popup shops. My

ethnographic research points to actions resisting circulation through capitalist modes and keeping the recordings immobile as objects of archival value.

The Lokananta Project's inscription of extraordinary value to Lokananta's recordings generated a new awareness of their archival value. In archive studies, archival value also includes the subclassifications of "long-term value," "exhibit value," "research value," "evidential value," "informational value," "enduring value," "academic value," "narrative value," and "community value" (Brown 1991; Gilliland 2011; Gilliland 2014; Gilliland 2017b:688–714). This power of appraisal, usually regulated to formal institutions and governmental bodies, has been complimented by the influential inscriptions of archival value from community and grassroots archivists. Increasingly, these grassroots inscriptions have been taken up by formal institutions and governmental bodies, demonstrating that the archival value inscribed by non-state institutions can be related to the archival value of state institutions.

Alongside the significance of archival value, I want to relate archival value beyond preservation into the issues of access that relate to circulation and exchange. Archival value, at minimum, directs things towards archives, for the further actions of protection, preservation, and structured use. Structured use includes initiatives such as digitization projects that aim to make archival holdings accessible and circulate more widely. The maintenance, protection, and preservation of archival objects involves the actions of keeping and new forms of constraint in respect to structured use. What is held back has a profound influence over how things circulate and are exchanged. One only has to think of the aging gold bars of Fort Knox to know the importance of how things are kept help fashion the social relations of circulation and exchange. The later movement away from the gold standard shows that the understanding of the role of keeping on circulation and exchange remains fundamentally social.

In his well-known analysis of the art auction, Jean Baudrillard remarks on the importance of the museum playing the “role of banks in the political economy of paintings” (1981:122). The storage of paintings in the museum, or more probable the museum archive as most museums do not exhibit the majority of their paintings, removes the paintings from the “private parallel market” to return “them to a sort of collective ownership and so to their ‘authentic’ aesthetic function” (121). Both the object and its aesthetic qualities are stored in reserve to act “as a *guarantee* for the aristocratic exchange” (121, italics in original) that underpins Baudrillard’s main analytical focus on the sign value of paintings.

The storage process along with an archivist’s appraisal is constitutive of archival value, in which archival objects can circulate in restricted systems regulated by sanctified processes such as museum exhibitions or official research applications. This process exposes how archival holdings called art or historical objects are incommensurate to the world of commerce making it difficult to simply sell a Rembrandt or an heirloom, what anthropologist Igor Kopytoff describes as converting downward (1986:82). These conversion biographies are part of the circulation systems Kopytoff observed amongst West African Tiv communities who consider it satisfying and morally appropriate to convert upward, from subsistence to prestige items and from prestige items to rights-in-people, whereas converting downward was shameful and done only under extreme duress (71).³ I notice similar conversions in the cultural biography of Bubi Chen’s

³ Conversion in Kopytoff’s sense relates to Anna Tsing’s translation (2015) through the specific instances of friction. Kopytoff’s biographies are somewhat linear, as he follows a specific thing through its many uses in a particular “bounded” society, but the cultures that use things are much more fluid than the “Tiv” seems to suggest. Appadurai (in his editor role) offers a similar critique of Kopytoff’s classifications and looks towards parsing out differences between intracultural and intercultural conversions that can be “slow or fast, reversible or terminal, normative or deviant” (1986:13–14). For me, Kopytoff’s conversion relates the frictive particulars of any possible exchange, especially the feeling of obduration for converting things with the patina of time downward.

Lokananta recording whereby the awareness of its priceless historical value led to upward conversion as an object of archival value that also produced actions that kept it averse to downward conversion.

The veneration of Lokananta's popular music recordings as assets of the nation frames them as kinds of heirlooms or as what Annette Weiner has described as "inalienable possessions" (1992). Inalienable possessions are "kept by their owners from one generation to the next within the closed context of family, descent group, or dynasty. The loss of such an inalienable possession diminishes the self and by extension, the group to which the person belongs" (6). The circulation of inalienable possessions reside in a paradox Weiner explains as "how to keep-while-giving" (5). An inalienable possession must circulate publicly to some extent, as these objects must be known to maintain the power they hold. However, they must not actually be given away, for then their owners lose the authority gained by their possession.

Inalienable possessions can be understood as the actions of keeping or unequal giving in order to maintain, protect, and preserve. These actions of keeping are also part of the production of "friction" (Tsing 2005) that can slow or stand against "translation" between regimes (Chakrabarty 2009 [2000]). Anna Tsing demonstrates how this friction can be generative of capitalist gaps and patches (2005:4), but objects kept as inalienable possessions tout an immovability and longevity that make them less likely to be converted for subsistence reasons.

The grassroots archivists of the Lokananta Project inscribed archival value to Bubi Chen's recording, a value not yet acknowledged for the recording as something worthy of being remembered, identified, preserved, and accessed. Once Chen's recording garnered archival value at Lokananta, it could be held up as part of Indonesia's national cultural heritage, as well as part of the cultural heritage of Chinese Indonesians and the cultural heritage of Indonesia's popular

music and jazz communities. When Bubi Chen's recording became produced as an object of archival value, it became a worthy target of state "capture" (Scott 1999), to then be used for the benefit of the state.⁴ In this case, the state record company employees thought commodifying the object of archival value as the most logical choice at the time. But these other non-national cultural heritages are not often celebrated or commemorated in this way. For example, the cultural heritage of Chinese Indonesian identities and popular cosmopolitan culture have often been the antithesis of Indonesian nation building narratives. Chinese Indonesians have dealt with discomfort in claiming their Indonesian national identity, due to ongoing anti-Chinese movements from the colonial era through the present (Coppel 1994 [1983]:112–123; Strassler 2010; 2020). Likewise, the uncertain position of cosmopolitanism during the extremely nationalist and anti-imperialist post-independence era of the 1950s and 1960s limits the role of Indonesian popular music and jazz in nationalist historiography (Nordholt, Purwanto, and Saptari 2008:8–11). The archival value of Bubi Chen's recording draws attention to the contributions of minority cultural heritages in Indonesia while also bringing to light how these contributions been forgotten, scapegoated, restricted, rejected, and held back.

In this chapter, I describe three encounters with Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording from my ethnographic research among Indonesia's jazz community and grassroots archivists. I draw out how archival value directed the recording to be kept and restricted its circulation within sanctified processes. The first encounter happens at a Lokananta pop-up stall in Yogyakarta where I came across an original vinyl pressing of the recording. The second encounter occurs at the Lokananta studio in Surakarta, Central Java where I interviewed Lokananta employees and

⁴ James C. Scott's scholarship deals with ideas of "capture," "standardization," and "taxation" by the state in *Seeing Like a State* (1999) and "escape," "illegibility," and the intentional maintenance of geographical "friction" by subjects opposing state control in *The Art of Not Being Governed* (2009).

contributors to the grassroots archive, the Lokananta Project. Finally, I describe my third encounter at demajors records, which had reissued Bubi Chen's Lokananta vinyl on CD and struggled with a concept I term "how-to-keep-while-selling." Each encounter provides new insights into the recording's cultural biography and how it has circulated through various regimes of value. Despite the limitations of archival value, the archival value of Bubi Chen's recording fostered new forms of awareness that recognized Lokananta's popular music and Chinese Indonesians as contributing to Indonesia's national cultural heritage.

Bubi Chen at Lokananta

Lokananta is located in Surakarta, Central Java and began in the mid-1950s as a governmental manufacturing and transcription service of phonograph recordings for broadcast on Radio Republik Indonesia. After its peak of producing and distributing cassettes during the 1970s–1980s, Lokananta went bankrupt in 2001. In the mid-2000s, some of its office space was rented as an indoor soccer complex. In 2012, a student-led awareness campaign called the Friends of Lokananta (#SahabatLokananta) garnered renewed attention for Lokananta's collection through social media. This led to digitization initiatives, live performances in Lokananta's studio, and a short-lived archival project called the Lokananta Project. During my in-person fieldwork from 2016 to 2020, the studio at Lokananta was available for rent with inhouse arrangement and mastering options, Lokananta's printing and record pressing division provided duplication services for cassettes and CDs, and the Lokananta Project had been discontinued and their website had been taken down. Spaces that had served as part of the archival process were beginning to be reorganized as a museum.⁵

⁵ The Lokananta space opened as a museum in 2021. I have not yet been able to visit due to the pandemic.

According to the Lokananta datasets and workbooks I could access, the precise date of Bubi Chen’s recording session is unknown. In comparing it with other known dates, the session took place during the late 1950s or early 1960s at the Radio Republik Indonesia Surabaya, East Java. Surabaya, Indonesia’s second largest city, has a long history as a cosmopolitan center as well as a national symbol of the independence movement. The recording, *Bubi Chen & Kwartet, Instrumentalia* (Bubi Chen and Quartet, Instrumental), is Chen’s only recording at Lokananta. The student archivists at the Lokananta Project cite Chen, who died in 2012, as saying “my recording is Lokananta’s first jazz recording” (Zakaria and Purwoaji 2012).



Figure 3.1. Online advertisement from Lokananta’s official Instagram account. Screen capture. September 28, 2020.

The recording was sent to the Lokananta studio and manufacturers in Surakarta who made around 350 vinyl copies. Due to lack of sales of the original pressing, a second vinyl

pressing was not made (Sakrie 2009). A cassette version, the physical format most accessible to the most Indonesians, did not exist until 2014, limiting the circulation of Chen's recording among Indonesians. For comparison, many other recordings were rereleased on cassette in the 1970s. The recording was not well-known or commercially successful. This background prompted my bewilderment when I saw Bubi Chen's name in the official promotion of "legendary" (*Legenda*) figures at Lokananta (see figure 3.1).

These new official t-shirt designs sold at Lokananta's store, outreach booths, and online platforms promoted the "nostalgia" of Lokananta as well as a shortlist of other well-known "legendary" musicians. Few, if any, other Chinese Indonesian musicians have been framed as "legendary." After noticing the unexpected promotion of Chen's recording, I began seeking out Lokananta's events and shops to observe how and if Chen's recordings circulate.

In September 2019, I presented at a conference for the Southeast Asian Music Exchange at the Yogyakarta National Museum about Indonesia's budding audiovisual archives and their historical connections to Indonesia's jazz community. At the Exchange, Lokananta exhibited a pop-up booth displaying mostly CDs, some cassettes, and a number of vinyl (see figure 3.2). Taken aback, I found the Bubi Chen vinyl there; in good condition but with no price listed. I assumed its expense due to the highly visible and official context. I flipped through the sales rack and one of the men operating the booth, Dimas, offered me the prices for each disc.⁶ The other vinyl cost about 100,000–300,000 rupiah (\$7–\$21). I inquired about Chen's recording. Dimas looked, seemed to consider me, and said in Indonesian, "Oh yeah that one. It's very expensive." I divulged to him that the cover looked authentic, and the quality appeared good. In any

⁶ Dimas is a pseudonym.

marketplace negotiation the buyer bargaining for the best deal shouldn't admit good quality, but I felt genuinely astonished. I babbled on about my interest in preserving these kinds of #gilavinyl.

After more talking and a coffee break, I felt eager for the price. When I asked again, he said he guessed around one million rupiah (about \$75), but he needed to ask his boss. After messaging his boss, the price went up to about \$100. I smiled again and remarked on its good quality and original cover. I had already compared the price with the international online record collecting and appraisal service Discogs.com, which cited \$120 for good condition copy without the cover. My offer at Lokananta's booth was a deal. I agreed and left to present my paper. I promised to return afterwards with the money. We exchanged phone numbers and social media accounts.



Figure 3.2. Shopping at the Southeast Asian Music Exchange. Photos by Raffaele Stuparitz. September 15, 2019.

During that short period, he texted me and apologized that unfortunately the price had changed, now \$150. This quote better matched the price listed online. I assumed that someone had checked these online sources and adjusted the price. I agreed, but again he needed to check with his boss. During that consultation, I purchased other cassettes, CDs, and stickers from the booth without incident. But the pricing decision delayed into my dinner appointment. I promised to return the next (and final) day of the Exchange. Later that night I received a new price of \$225. I replied that the price had risen too high. I sought to bargain back down to \$150, thinking that the negotiation would finally begin. But to my surprise the negotiation went nowhere! I offered \$175 and then \$200. The price went up to \$250! This negotiation had gone on for over a day, and the Lokananta employees closed up shop and left town without selling it to me.

This failed negotiation led me wonder why the recording would be displayed if they did not want to sell it. In most marketplace negotiations, if the buyer agrees to the seller's price, then the transaction ends. Why did the price change after I agreed to it? Why was the first price offered low? Vinyl in Indonesia has become very fashionable and more expensive over the past decade. As a company selling vinyl in this hot national market, Lokananta would certainly keep track of prices from internet appraisal services.

I began to think of the negotiation as a tactic. The Chen recording wasn't meant to be sold. It was meant to be displayed. Shown. Surveilled. The display proves the ownership of a rare recording in good condition but keeps it within Lokananta's possession, held back in a form of keeping-while-selling. Buyers would be aware of the company's holdings, but the physical recording (and as I later learned, audio content as well) would not circulate. If this reproduceable commercial commodity was never sold at these pop-up stalls, then what was its value?

Part of answer is that Lokananta could use Bubi Chen's image as a brand, while withholding and muting other aspects of Chen's identity. Using archival terms, Lokananta only wanted to use Chen's recording for its "exhibit value," while a more scrutinizing use of the recording for its "evidential value," uncovered earlier in part by the Lokananta Project, would show how Lokananta had not treated Chen as a "legendary" figure until now. Chen's status as in any way equal to Lokananta's interest in the other legendary figures, as their advertisements and merchandise project, is recent.

THE LOKANANTA PROJECT

Indonesia's political reformations after 1998 left Lokananta in crisis. Lokananta had administratively belonged within the Ministry of Information that dissolved in 1998. Without secure government support, Lokananta continued to sell merchandise but declared bankruptcy in 2001. In 2004, Lokananta joined Indonesia's State Printing Institution and returned to its activities as a printing and manufacturing factory but recording activities did not resume. Lokananta leased some of their facilities, most notably part of the recording building was converted into a futsal court (indoor soccer). During this period the youth of Surakarta came to know Lokananta as a sports venue without knowing much about its musical history.

Lokananta's musical history garnered renewed attention in 2012 through a social media awareness campaign called the Friends of Lokananta (*#SahabatLokananta*, *#saveLokananta*). A group of students produced and circulated online videos focused on the musical histories of Lokananta aimed to encourage a renewed awareness of the recording studio. These videos described the dire circumstance of the studio and promoted the popular musicians who have

recorded at Lokananta, like Waldjinhah (*kroncong*) and Sam Saimun (pop and jazz).⁷ At this point, Bubi Chen was not included. These videos brought a new awareness of Lokananta's contribution to Indonesia's popular music heritage with less emphasis on gamelan and traditional musics, how Lokananta is more often remembered by Indonesians and non-Indonesians.



Figure 3.3. An alley between Lokananta's front offices and main studio. November 21, 2018.

One of the founders of #SahabatLokananta, Intan Anggita Pratiwie, narrated these early videos using the Indonesian language with some Javanese words, demonstrating the regionality of the target audience. In subsequent years the campaign videos began to include English subtitles, connoting a larger scope for the movement. Pratiwie describes “Lokananta as a

⁷ Om Yong discusses Sam Saimun in chapter two.

valuable asset for the nation, because it contains the nation's musical identity" (Pratiwie 2012). She explains how about 30% of the collection is damaged, how some of the collections had been sold to collectors for operational costs, and that the air conditioner could not be turned on continuously for 24 hours due to limited operational funds.

These videos relate to observations by Indonesian scholar cultural activist Nuraini Juliastuti who describes broad changes in the focus of alternative media production by Indonesian youth between the pre- to post-1998 periods (2006). Corresponding to the activities of the Friends of Lokananta awareness campaign, Juliastuti remarks on a dramatic shift from "big" political issues such as democratic reform to celebrating diverse co-existing communities. The Friends of Lokananta expected their viewing public would become self-conscious of their roles as historical agents to save Lokananta, as part of the "culture of documentation" movement (Strassler 2010) to resist forgetting parts of Indonesia's diverse histories.

Inspired by the Friends of Lokananta campaign, the idea for an archive at Lokananta began in late 2012 from Chrisyaura Qotrunadha, a photography student at the Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta (ISI Jogja, Institute of the Arts Yogyakarta). After seeing some educational television broadcasts, she later learned were part of the Friends of Lokananta campaign, Qotrunadha began to research about Lokananta while working as an intern at *Rolling Stone Indonesia* in Jakarta (Zakaria et al. 2016:10–13). She visited Lokananta and describes feeling "called" to make something there, a transformative reaction to document awareness relating to Derrida's archival drives (1996) and Doreen Lee's *pemuda* fever (2016).⁸ Qotrunadha (24) invited Ayos Purwoaji (32), Fakhri Zakaria (31), Dzulfikri Putra Malawi (32), Jericho Naektua (25), and Bayu Pratama (24) to help her on what became the Lokananta Project.

⁸ I further theorize the relationship of *pemuda* and the calling to archive as archival *pemuda* in chapter four.

Qotrunadha secured a memorandum of understanding with Lokananta by framing herself and her colleagues as part of the community of Indonesian popular music performers, designers, and media producers concerned with documenting the history of Lokananta. She presented learning about Lokananta's popular music heritage as part of her own heritage (Adhiyatmaka 2018:156–161). Qotrunadha's appeal to the company focused on renewing Lokananta's duty, as a state-owned company that serves the public, to provide communities access to their own heritage. The memorandum of understanding allowed the Lokananta Project members access to the places where Lokananta stored its unsold merchandise.

As the Lokananta Project began, they learned how to improve upon some of the more rudimentary preservation techniques going on at Lokananta, such as using coffee grounds and camphor to get rid of mold, insects, and musty smells. They would write and post reviews of Lokananta's reemerging records on blogs and social media platforms to re-socialize the recordings. These unexperienced archivists came together through to their shared activism, what media scholars Jez Collins and Oliver Carter call "activist archivists" (2015:126), to work with Lokananta employees to clean, preserve, and recirculate recordings, especially focused on the less digitally accessible formats like vinyl. Cassettes were of lesser interest to Lokananta Project members as the cassettes had been more widely circulated among Indonesians. Unlike many of the vinyl, the Indonesian public generally knows the cassettes exist. Many Lokananta Project members remained fixated on their #gilavinyl encounters.

One of the main employee collaborators with the Lokananta Project was the studio engineer Bemby Ananto, who became charged with liaising the digitization process between the administration and the student activist archivists. Formally a mechanic, Bemby began working at Lokananta in 2007 and had no training in digitization, information science, or in the preservation

of older formats (personal communication, November 18, 2018). He taught himself through internet tutorials to become the main engineer in charge of Lokananta's digitization practices and workstation (see figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4. Ananto's workstation at Lokananta (left). Master tape recordings in the digitization room closet (right). November 22, 2018.

The Lokananta Project also involved fundraising concerts and community building events. The collectors at Galeri Malang Bernyanyi (who reestablished themselves as Museum Musik Indonesia, chapter two) donated jacket sleeves for all the recordings (see figure 3.5). The other grassroots archives like Irama Nusantara and Arsip Jazz Indonesia provided remote guidance and inspiration through social media on digitization techniques, copyright issues, cataloguing systems, and preservation methods.



Figure 3.5. Vinyl in the process of sorting and cleaning. Photo by Dede Kolletiv April 19, 2016.

The original Lokananta Project members soon invited more students, collectors, artists, and musicians to join. They organized large group cleaning sessions and remote work such as metadata organization. Many students lived in different cities and could only participate in person for short periods. Funding was limited and volunteers used their own money for lodging and travel. Every member required another source of income, making the Lokananta Project increasingly difficult to organize and sustain. For this reason, the internet platforms, as cost saving measure, became a central focus of the project.

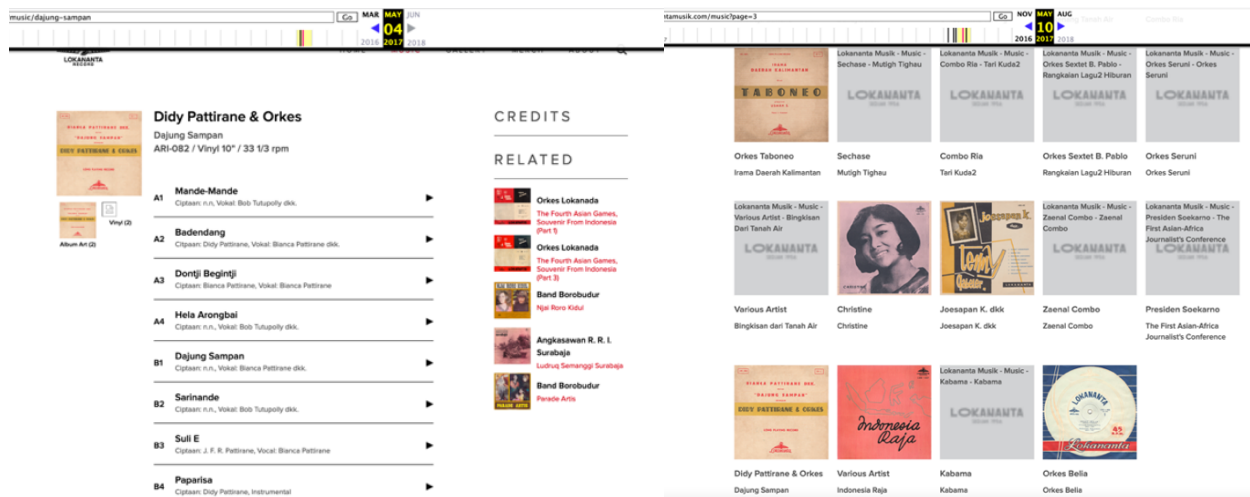


Figure 3.6. Screen captures of the Lokananta Project website via the Wayback Machine from May 4 and 10, 2017. The audio can no longer be accessed.

The Lokananta Project website launched in 2016 as the company’s main website at www.lokanantamusik.com. It streamed audio and purposely limited playback to only the first half of each song. The website hosted biographical content for the individual recordings and musicians. Importantly, the website made many recordings accessible for the first time, particularly those that have remained outside of general circulation due to their expense and scarcity. Through the memorandum of understanding with Lokananta, the website was the first legal source of streamable audio of Lokananta’s recordings as well as the first accessible online public catalog of Lokananta. Commercial popular music vinyl recordings produced before 1972 began resurfacing, such as a recording by jazz guitarist Didy Pattirane and writings about Bubi Chen (although Chen’s audio continued to be held back at his point). This brought a renewed awareness to the extent of Lokananta’s popular music collections that have largely been absent

from public knowledge.⁹ In 2018, the Lokananta Project website was taken down (see figure 3.6) and soon after the grassroots archivists ceased new archival endeavors.

During its existence, the Lokananta Project sought to document the history of the Lokananta as it related to Indonesia's popular music. First, they needed to make this heritage accessible to themselves due to Lokananta's lack of formal preservation, requiring extensive organizing and cleaning, and a legal memorandum of understanding. Once the materials were accessible for the Lokananta Project members, they sought to make it accessible for the Indonesian public. The Lokananta Project used their memorandum of understanding as a legal mechanism to establish an open access online digital music library as a website. They also published physical books explaining the history and development of Lokananta in terms of music, art, and as a manufacturing facility. They made music playlists featured on blogs and social media. These initiatives unfortunately remained partial with many materials ultimately held back from these more accessible platforms.

The archivist's plans with the Lokananta Project encountered snowballing complications with Lokananta's administration, as the government employees gained a better understanding of the popular music recordings they held. The ideas about the potential economic gain from streaming audio drew new forms of control just as the recordings were becoming more accessible. The ideals of open access online streaming for public benefit and education became problematic as it did not generate revenue. The opaqueness of long-term copyright ownership and digital streaming rights from original older flat fee contracts caused the administration to only allow a few recordings to be streamed on the website (Mala and Jumino 2017:306). Further, members of the Lokananta Project remarked that many original recording contracts had been

⁹ Didy is also often spelled Didi.

eaten by termites (Nugraha 2016). Copyright claims, after the death of older musicians, lie within complex family networks where multiple parties often claim controlling stakes. When the Lokananta Project stopped, Lokananta's over five thousand recordings had been digitized but were only available to the public at Lokananta physically, through the digitization workspace and gift shop computer.

These administrative issues caused the Lokananta Project to narrow its focus from its website and streaming platforms to a book, published in 2016, with hopes that after all the recordings were digitized, further negotiations could make them accessible online. Through Lokananta's cooperation with the Lokananta Project's activist archivists, room temperatures and humidity levels became more consistent, recordings became organized in more suitable preservation containers, and recordings and album covers were digitized for longer term preservation. The Lokananta Project established a new awareness for Lokananta employees and the Indonesian music and arts community to the extent of Lokananta's popular music catalog. The awareness of objects of archival value makes them potential targets of state capture and capitalist translation.

THE AWARENESS OF ARCHIVAL VALUE

Through the narrative of the Lokananta Project I notice how awareness campaigns also engender backlash in their aims to bring attention to an unfamiliar problem. Bureaucratic inefficiencies and entrenched social hierarchies ultimately rejected, purposefully delayed, or left pending without a planned resolution the sustainability of the new archival approaches of the Lokananta Project. Similar issues have been addressed by Huib Schippers and Catherine Grant (2016) in calls for "musical sustainability," in Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Andrew

Weintraub's discussion of "sustainable audible futures" (2012), and by Aaron Fox's analysis of the "archive of the archive" (2017). The process of making objects of archival value, also subjects them to a new series of parameters structuring their use. The awareness of objects not only offers the chance for an archivist to appraise them for potential consignment, but also allows for multiple parties to be aware of the decisions about how the objects are used.

I argue the limitations to the goals of the grassroots archivists are brought about by the process of archiving and the inscription of archival value. The conversion of objects into the prestige level of archival value, regulates it beyond everyday circulation and directs it towards an archive. The removal from the private market into a stored reserve facilitates preservation and increased control. Benedict Anderson noticed similar dynamics in Indonesia's museums, drawing upon Bentham's panopticon as well as the colonial imaginings of the "Glass House" (*Rumah Kaca*) from Pramoedya Ananta Toer's novels. For Anderson, Indonesian museums bare marked continuities with colonial predecessors through what he calls "political museumizing" (1991:183–5). The production of archival value made objects visible for everyone but also made them more easily to surveil and keep within hegemonic narratives. These hegemonic narratives as a part of political museumizing follow the political intentions of the Indonesian state in the official renderings of history official, or what Indonesian historian Taufik Abdullah calls New Order "hegemonic knowledge" (1999). While grassroots archives aim to circulate unfamiliar histories, hegemonic knowledge has not disappeared and remains deeply rooted.

These actions of display and increased control correspond to Miftah Zubir's comments, the head of Lokananta since 2015, that "people have to first be *aware* that Lokananta is still around. When they know Lokananta's potential, the conversation is good and can be *straight to business*" (italicized words originally in English, *Kumparan News* 2017 cited in Zakaria et al.

2016:40–41). As a minimal awareness was gained of objects of archival value, actions immediately began to curtail, contain, and keep materials within Lokananta’s guardianship. During the same interview, Zubir announced Lokananta would begin streaming on commercial platforms like Spotify, Deezer, and Apple Music. As of the end of 2020, only forty-seven recordings (single tracks, not full albums) are available for streaming on Spotify.¹⁰ The digitally streaming recordings consist of Lokananta’s most profitable and well-known cassette recordings. Notably the Bubi Chen recording is not among them.

During the Lokananta Project, an employee cited a 2009 update to Indonesian copyright law that declares archives created from the activities of state institutions are state-owned (Zakaria et al. 2016:76). This unfamiliar detail transformed the Lokananta Project’s collaboration with Lokananta into a legal mechanism for Lokananta to co-opt the digitized recordings and thereby guarantee Lokananta’s capture and control. Ignatius Aditya Adhiyatmaka, one of the few Indonesian scholars focused on these grassroots audiovisual archives, comments that the Lokananta Project could not maintain its emergent values when cooperating with Lokananta. He traces how the Lokananta administration continued to apply styles of control reminiscent of pre-1998 politics throughout the collaboration with the Lokananta Project (2018:48–50). This legal co-option created a larger role for Lokananta’s administration in configuring the Lokananta Project’s website and editorial authority over its publications.

One of the Lokananta Project’s lasting contributions to Indonesia’s Reformasi-era culture of documentation was the transformation of document awareness of Lokananta’s popular music collection through careful enumeration of what Lokananta does and does not have. Awareness both helps and hinders the circulation of media. Archiving both protects and restricts. While

¹⁰ As of April 3, 2022, these numbers have not seemed to have changed at all.

many scholars tend to emphasize an optimism with the increasing ubiquity, flexibility, and availability of music, these flows are also volatile and prone to various types of technological failures such as those described by anthropologist Brian Larkin (2008). Ethnomusicologist Gavin Steingo (2015; 2016) has highlighted some technological reasons why the circulation of media is slowed or obdurate, as well as bringing into focus the limits of the built infrastructure and theft. Similarly, ethnomusicologist Benjamin Tausig (2019) discusses immobility of musical circulations in Thailand through forms of political constraint. I want to further examine social factors that limit circulation of media, but instead of technological breakdown or political insecurity, in my case study the actions that resist the circulation media is due to the archival process itself.

CIRCULATION AND ARCHIVAL VALUE

The archival process creates another regime of value for objects to circulate in, that of archival value. Archival value bestows time, materials, and labor for protection and preservation that restricts circulation to systems regulated by sanctified processes. Objects of archival value are limited within a closed context of an archive's responsibility and stewardship. The veneration of Lokananta's popular music recordings as "assets of the nation" of "extraordinary value" through the process of archiving can be described as a new awareness for them as "heirlooms" or as what Annette Weiner has described as "inalienable possessions." Preserving inalienable possessions is an achievement, and their value is measured in the fear of loss (1992:12). Understanding the recordings as inalienable possessions expresses Lokananta employee's anxieties over their roles as stewards of Indonesia's cultural heritage, contextualizing a fear of loss of authority through the misuse of its recordings.

Focusing on music and inalienable possessions, ethnomusicologist Anna Morcom posits what is “given” or “received” through musical performance is intangible and highly subjective, making it particularly unpredictable in its value (2020:2). What Bubi Chen “gave” the government recording company through his recorded musical performance, or what Lokananta understood it “received” remains intangible and highly subjective, conceding an ambiguous mutual arrangement of debt. While money changed hands in small quantities and sellable objects were made, its cultural biography extends beyond its short life as an unambiguous commodity.

The recordings given to Lokananta could be understood within the realm of gift exchange, as a patriotic, respectable gift to one’s country, to be used for the benefit of the country in any way the state enterprise saw fit. From this perspective, Chen’s recording is part of Lokananta’s charge, “to encourage, establish, and disseminate national arts” (Yampolsky 1987:2). The storage of Chen’s patriotic recorded musical gift obliges future reciprocity by Lokananta through the recognition of his loyalty and musical contribution to the national project. This recognition of his loyalty and contribution did eventually happen but was deferred until the 2000s, coinciding with the ascription of archival value by the Lokananta Project. Lokananta, inspired by the work of the Lokananta Project, only later recognized Chen as one of Indonesia’s “legendary musicians” (Zakaria and Purwoaji 2012). This recognition was much delayed compared with his “legendary” contemporaries.

Chen was paid a flat fee, what Yampolsky calls “honor” fees (1987:26), for giving Lokananta his recorded musical performance without a clear plan for royalty payments. Lokananta’s recordings would be broadcast on Radio Republik Indonesia and sold as vinyl to generate income for Lokananta with any remaining copies understood as unsold merchandise. Lokananta was not established as a capitalist enterprise, rather it was founded during a short-

lived para-socialist, anti-imperialist period of Indonesian politics that emphasized nationalism, religion, and communism. In a 1961 policy, Lokananta was mandated to “produce income for the state” (Yampolsky 1987:2), but not necessarily to produce surplus value.

Even though Chen gave the recording as gift to the Indonesian nation and notions of the Indonesian public, the printed copies were made for abstract conceptions of groups of people, a quality of a Marxian commodity. Timothy D. Taylor, drawing on Anna Tsing, argues that performed music is translated into inventory in the form of recordings and can become part of capitalist supply chains (2020:263). Understanding the storage of Chen’s recording as unsold merchandise locates it as part of pericapitalist processes that at any time could be translated from a noncapitalist mode of production into capitalist inventory (Tsing 2015:64). But most undertakings by Lokananta in these translation processes either failed or were deliberately kept extremely minimal as part of practices I call keeping-while-selling. The Lokananta Project introduced a new understanding of these recordings and their storage as related to archival value.

Following anthropologist Nancy Munn (1986), Morcom posits value as created through actions rather than inherent in things with the focus on the actions of protection, preservation, and endowment for “inalienable value” (2020:5). She relates this to David Graeber’s explication of the “transcendent value” in Weiner’s theory as “an effect of all the efforts people have made to maintain, protect, and preserve” inalienable possessions (2001:45). For Chen’s recording these actions came late, but not so late that the recording escaped preservation. This delay in the actions of protection, preservation, and endowment as part of the archival record is also of interest in terms of its “long-term value” and “evidential value” (Gilliland 2017). While the actions of preservation draw attention to the contributions of minority cultural heritages of

Chinese Indonesians and jazz musicians in Indonesia it also provides evidence how these contributions have been forgotten, restricted, rejected, and held back.

Media scholar Elizabeth Coleman writes about inalienable possessions in museum and archival contexts. She suggests these contexts both uncover and obscure the political dimensions of inalienable possessions. These contexts risk freezing relationships and group identities in ways that legitimizes the embedded power relations to those that were held in the past (2010:83). In this case study, Lokananta's archival holdings to serve to render Abdullah's hegemonic knowledge, where Chinese Indonesians were regarded as outsiders during the New Order.

Bubi Chen's inclusion as a legendary musician, without explanation, masks the political conditions of his recordings. Chen's recording at Lokananta was in the late 1950s or early 1960s, while Western popular musics were beginning to be banned by Sukarno's non-alignment politics ("Ngak-Ngik-Ngok") and Chinese Indonesians held a precarious, yet potentially powerful position in the nation. Viewed from New Order Hegemonic knowledge, a Chinese Indonesian jazz pianist from this era is not well poised to be an Indonesian national hero. This is why his inclusion at Lokananta is flat, without hinting at the politics of preservation. In its present-day actions, Lokananta evokes a truncated nostalgia, acknowledging that Chen patriotically contributed to Indonesia, but fails to discuss the deferral of his celebration. This follows Fredric Jameson's characterization of nostalgia as a depersonalized "return of the repressed" of an earlier era "without affect" (1997:9). This nostalgia is then used to brand Lokananta. The affective weight of an earnest cultural reconciliation through Chen's Lokananta recording would be too much to bear in an Instagram post or by wearing a t-shirt. Chen's inclusion during the Lokananta Project period was undertaken by middle-class youth of artists and activists interested in the vinyl craze, who were also interested in digging deeper in Indonesia's popular music heritage.

After the Lokananta Project, Bubi Chen has become part of Lokananta's branding processes, where Chen's name and image is used to impart some amount of affect in terms of class or prestige, while muting other aspects of the identity of a legendary Indonesian jazz figure.

The ascription of archival value of Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording, as part of the Lokananta Project makes it an object of exchange to be circulated and listened to in the Indonesian democratic public sphere. Once circulating in this public sphere, Chen's Lokananta recording can be used as sonic and visual evidence to support or counter hegemonic claims of history. In particular, a jazz album by a Chinese Indonesian recorded for the national recording company complicates notions of national music as only drawing on traditional influences as well as the role of Chinese Indonesians as loyal citizen contributors to the nation. As Lokananta has been understood as a producer and promoter of national culture (Yampolsky 1987), Chen's jazz album should then be interpreted as similarly contributing to national betterment.

Chen's career overlaps with ongoing anti-Chinese violence in Indonesia during the twentieth century, and the anti-communist and anti-leftist mass killings of 1965 that continued through public policies and secret violence throughout the New Order (Robinson 2019). Lingering questions remain concerning Chen's inclusion at a national institution just as anti-Chinese rhetoric on the national stage began to wane in the early 2000s. Although seeming to wane, these racially intolerant logics continue to hold resonance through examples such as the absurd blasphemy trial against the Chinese Indonesian mayoral incumbent Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) during the 2017 Jakarta election that led to his short-term imprisonment as well as anti-Chinese rhetoric by 2019 presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto.

The archival value of Lokananta's collection obscures their political dimensions and reframes them as a sort of collective ownership, against privatization, that prevents further

research and analysis of the embedded power relations that were held in the past. These recordings conceived of as heirlooms for the nation, as both physical media and intellectual property, cannot easily become the private property of the artists, archivists, or even Lokananta as a company. Rather they must remain public, within the stewardship of Lokananta that can only possess and maintain the recordings, seeking to prevent mass mediated exploitation and exploration.



Figure 3.7. Bubi Chen performing at the 2005 Bali Jazz Festival. Photo by Kushindarto/ WartaJazz.com.

ACCOUNTS OF BUBI CHEN FROM THE INDONESIAN JAZZ COMMUNITY

In response to Lokananta's historical flattening, it is necessary to discuss Bubi Chen's many accomplishments in- and outside of Lokananta. Chen is one of the most well-regarded

figures from the Indonesian jazz community of all time. I am arguing in this chapter how the resurfacing of Bubi Chen's recording at Lokananta was only briefly concerned with Chen's historical legacy. Chen's importance to music making in Indonesia is more widely known in the oral tellings and documentation practices by those in the Indonesian jazz community.

The following profile of Bubi Chen reiterates and develops accounts I heard during my fieldwork. It builds upon the article "Bubi Chen, Art Tatum from Asia" (2004, updated 2022), co-written by Roullandi N. Siregar of Arsip Jazz Indonesia and Agus Setiawan Basuni of Warta Jazz and on the Arsip Jazz Indonesia advisory board. The authors draw upon materials collected from interviews with Chen, other members of the Indonesian jazz community, and archival materials held at Arsip Jazz Indonesia. In this telling, Chen's class position is immediately apparent as well as his performance and teaching as generative of a new generation of Indonesian jazz musicians. The story goes like this:

Bubi Chen (1938–2012) was born in Surabaya and lived until age 74. When he was 5 years old, his father Tan Khing Hoo sent Bubi to study piano with Di Lucia, an Italian pianist in Surabaya, with whom he learned to read Western musical notation.¹¹ Bubi's interest in jazz was influenced by his witnessing of frequent rehearsals and performances by his older brothers Jopie (bass) and Teddy (piano), who played in groups in Surabaya. Bubi later studied classical piano in Surabaya with Josef Bodmer, a Swiss piano teacher, and focused on the music of Mozart, Beethoven, and Chopin.¹² In an oft-told tale, Bodmer caught Bubi playing a jazz arrangement when he was supposed to be focusing on classical pieces. Instead of a reprimand, Bodmer is

¹¹ For more information about Chen's father Tan Khing Hoo, who could play the violin, trumpet, and yangqin, see Ticoalu n.d. The Chen family name is an Indonesianized version of the Hokkien Tan family name.

¹² In following these timelines, Chen likely studied with Di Lucia from 1943–1945, and with Bodmer from 1946–1954.

remembered as saying, “I know jazz is your real world. Therefore, deepen that music” (Siregar and Basuni 2022). By the time Bubi was a teenager, Indonesia had gained its independence.

Even though he was influenced by his brothers, Bubi is remembered as being self-taught. He was said to have begun studying jazz alone and to have learned much through recordings. When Bubi was 17, he took a written course at the Wesco School of Music in New York from 1955 to 1957. One of his teachers was African American pianist Teddy Wilson, who had played with notable jazz musicians, such as Billie Holiday and Benny Goodman.¹³ Bubi then returned to Surabaya and formed a group called The Circle (using the English word) with Maryono on saxophone, F.X. Boy on bongos, Zainal on bass, Tri Wijayanto on guitar, and Koes Syamsudin on drums.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Bubi formed the Chen Trio with his brothers Jopie and Teddy. He also joined the “Jack Lesmana Quartet,” which later became a quintet. In this era, Chen made a recording with pianist Nick Mamahit, produced by Suyoso Karsono. In 1959, he recorded with Jack Lesmana at Lokananta (Siregar and Basuni 2022). Another of Chen’s recordings in this era on Irama Records, “*Bila ‘Ku Ingat’*” (When I Remember), subtitled “Bubi Chen with Strings,” was broadcast by Voice of America and covered by Willis Conover, a renowned jazz critic from the United States.¹⁴

Towards the middle and late 1960s, Bubi Chen became a member of the Indonesian All Stars (many of whom had mixed Chinese, European, and Indonesian heritage) with Jack

¹³ According to critic Scott Yanow (n.d.), Wilson was “the definitive swing pianist,” with a sophisticated and elegant style. He worked with the biggest names in jazz, including Ella Fitzgerald, Louis Armstrong, Lena Horne, Benny Goodman, and Billie Holiday. Importantly with Goodman, Wilson was one of the first black musicians to appear prominently with white musicians. In addition to his extensive work as a sideman, Wilson also led his own groups and recording sessions from the late 1920s to the 1980s.

¹⁴ These details are all from Siregar and Basuni (2022). I do not know the original sources for all this information.

Lesmana (guitar), Maryono (saxophone), Kiboud Maulana (guitar), Benny Mustapha van Diest (drums) and his older brother Jopie Chen (bass). The Indonesian All Stars were brought together by Suyoso Karsono and performed at the Berlin Jazz Festival in 1967.¹⁵ The group is remembered as the first Indonesian jazz group to play outside of Indonesia, as Indonesians. Sometimes the Indonesian All Stars are described as the first jazz group in Indonesia, or first “real jazz” group, but clearly these musicians built upon the earlier jazz community of the Dutch East Indies as it became Indonesia (see chapter two).

The Indonesian All Stars recorded and released the album *Djanger Bali* in 1967 with new-age Italian American clarinetist Tony Scott.¹⁶ The album is recognized as the first bebop album by Indonesian musicians. *Djanger Bali* was released by the German company SABA in 1967 and reissued by German label MPS as part of their “Jazz Meets the World” series in 1971.¹⁷

Upon returning to Indonesia after the Indonesian All Stars European tour, Bubi Chen lived in Surabaya and frequently travelled to other cities like Jakarta and Bandung. Bubi Chen taught many students in the Surabaya community, including pianists Abadi Soesman, Hendra Wijaya, Vera Soeng, and Widya Christanti, many of whom are Chinese Indonesian. Over time,

¹⁵ The history of this group is documented in Hurley (2006; 2009), McGraw (2012), and Priyambodo (2015).

¹⁶ I have not given Tony Scott much space in this dissertation, but he has his own important contribution to global jazz. Scott (Americanized from Sciacca) embraced early on the rhythmic angularities and harmonic innovations of bebop when other clarinetists would not, adapting to the new 1940s jazz style after taking part in Harlem jam sessions. He took up the clarinet at age 12 and learned to love jazz from Duke Ellington recordings (with whom Scott worked in 1953) and Count Basie. Two years later he formed his first quartet, the Hometown Band, with pianist Bobby Tucker, later Billie Holiday’s accompanist. Scott enrolled at the Juilliard School of Music in New York, where he studied clarinet, piano, and orchestra composition. He went on to play with Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk, Dizzy Gillespie, and many other from the Swing Era onwards. He toured the world playing jazz in Japan, India, and with the King of Thailand (see Vacher 2007).

¹⁷ The recording had been extremely rare in Indonesia until a 2015 when the Jakarta-based label demajors, with great difficulty getting copyright permission from the German rights holders, reissued a digital CD version.

many Indonesian pianists have taken lessons with Bubi Chen, including Indra Lesmana, Sri Hanuraga, and David Manuhutu. Bubi Chen continued to release many albums, some with unknown official release dates, including: *Bubi Chen and His Fabulous 5*; *Mengapa Kau Menagis* [*Why Are You Crying*]; *Mr. Jazz*; *Pop Jazz*; *Bubi Chen Plays Soft and Easy*; *Kedamaian* [*Peaceful*] (1989); *Bubby Chen and His Friends* (1990); *Bubi Chen – Virtuoso* (1995); *Jazz The Two Of Us* (1996); and *All I Am* (1997).¹⁸

Bubi Chen's recordings have been reviewed by many members of the Indonesian jazz community. Responding to the album *Kedamaian* [*Peaceful*] (1989), Harry Roesli (1951–2004), a Bandung-based avant-garde musician and social activist, wrote:

Imagine, an aesthetic autonomy of the *kecapi-suling* beautifully infiltrated by Bubi Chen with improvisation and jazz substitutions. Imagine a sacred and almost minimalist harmony, shaded by the jazz idioms of Bubi Chen's playing in the widest possible harmony, even with a modern super-impression technique. Technically, it's already interesting. But this is more than that, Bubi Chen is total, flexible, "married" with the grips of the *kecapi-suling*, without losing his strong character, as well as the thick touch and taste of a Bubi Chen. Hence, it can be called "Great." (September 4, 1989, quoted in Siregar and Basuni 2022)

Sudibyo P.R., a professor of architecture at ITB, jazz critic, and history aficionado wrote:

Bubi Chen is a pianist whose whole soul is devoted to his music. Whatever comes out of his hands on the piano, always reflects his musicality which is rooted in jazz. When high caliber drummer Benny Mustafa and bassist Perry Pattiselano gave Bubi a collection of beautiful and sexy Indonesian songs, of course we will ask, what will happen? Without much analysis when playing his cassette, you will hear interpretations of Indonesian songs in lyrical and refreshing tones and improvisations. Sometimes gentle, sometimes full of lively vitality, but always full of musicality. The piano and bass duet of "Api Asmara" is one of the "performances" [English] that you've definitely never heard yet and can only be presented by pianist Bubi. All of this will be vital to you in this in the album "*Selembut Kain Sutera* [*As Soft as Silk Fabric*]." (quoted in Siregar and Basuni 2022)

¹⁸ As labeled and dated by Siregar and Basuni (2022).

Bubi Chen was a frequent live performer at major festivals throughout urban Java, including the Smooth Jazz Festival at Universitas Gadjah Mada, Jazz Goes to Campus at the University of Indonesia, Bali International Jazz Rendezvous (2004), Bali Jazz Festival (2005), Java Jazz Festival, Jak Jazz, Jazz Traffic Surabaya, and many others. He performed outside of Indonesia at festivals like the North Sea Festival in the Netherlands. His work has also been heard on radio stations in Indonesia and abroad, such as KFAI 90.3 FM radio in Minneapolis.

In 2004, Bubi Chen received the *Satyalancana Karya Satya* for artistic service by then-president Megawati. The *Satyalancana Karya Satya*, established in 1959, is an award given by the National Government of Indonesia to civil servants who have carried out their duties by showing loyalty, dedication, skill, honesty, and discipline (PPRI Nomor 31, 1959). At the first Java Jazz Festival in 2005, Peter F. Gontha gave Bubi an award as a “Jazz Living Legend” [in English]. Bubi Chen received a Lifetime Achievement Award for Bubi’s work introducing Surabaya to the international community through jazz from the governor of East Java in 2010 at the event *Wismilak The Legend of Jazz*.

Chen had an influence on many musicians in Indonesia and in the Netherlands. Richard Pattiselanno, a jazz musician living in the Netherlands with Indonesian roots, remembered Bubi Chen as “the king of piano players in Asia” (Kompas 2012).¹⁹ Richard Pattiselanno’s brother Ronny played in band with Bubi when they were teenagers in Surabaya and their cousins, Oele (guitar), Jacky (drums), and Perry (bass), were also frequent collaborators with Bubi. Bubi died in 2012 and was buried in his hometown of Surabaya (Siregar and Basuni 2022).

¹⁹ The Pattiselanno family is another large group of jazz musicians, with members living in Eastern Indonesia, Java, and the Netherlands.

In this profile, many stories remain fixtures in the oral remembering of Bubi Chen. By making Chen's Lokananta recording an object of archival value circulating in the democratic public sphere, it might destabilize or support parts of these oral narratives. At the same time, these stories, integral to the discourse of the Indonesian jazz community, might become elevated and accessible to the Indonesian public as attendant to an object of archival value.

I return attention to Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording as an example of archiving as a process and performance. In the profile just presented, there was only a short mention of the Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording. Siregar and Basuni wrote that Bubi made record at Lokananta in 1959 (2022). The details remain unclear, Siregar and Basuni's claim can be interpreted as if Chen recorded at the Lokananta studio or recorded elsewhere and the vinyl was simply printed by Lokananta.²⁰ I turn now to detail a project by indie label demajors, who struggled in working with Lokananta in releasing the audio of this recordings to the Indonesian public through a CD reissue. The cultural biography did not end when Lokananta disbanded their memorandum of understanding with the Lokananta Project.

KEEPING-WHILE-SELLING BUBI CHEN

After finding the original vinyl pressing of Chen's recording at the Lokananta pop-up booth and tracing it through the Lokananta Project, I learned the Jakarta-based indie label demajors had reissued and remastered the recording on CD, years earlier in 2007. In a project led by one of its co-founders David Karto, demajors had renamed the reissue *Buaian Asmara* (Cradle of Love), the title of the first track, instead of using Lokananta's more generic title *Bubi Chen & Kwartet, Instrumentalia* (Bubi Chen and Quartet, Instrumental) (see figure 3.8) This

²⁰ "Tahun 1959, bersama Jack Lesmana, ia membuat rekaman di Lokananta."

name change caused me to not immediately realize it was the same album. Demajors' release serves as the first authorized digitization of Chen's recording as well as the first to identify the recording as jazz rather than Lokananta's more generic label of *hiburan* (entertainment). Demajor's liner notes (there are no liner notes for the Lokananta release) newly credit the arranger of each composition and identify the recording as a "collector's item that is worth to keep [sic]." The Lokananta's liner notes describe Chen as an important Indonesian jazz legend with dexterity akin to Art Tatum, reflecting some of the jazz community's understandings. The liner notes also mention Chen's major live performances and festival appearances, as well as important releases such as *Djanger Bali* (1967) and *Bubi Chen in America* (1984) with Albert "Tootie" Heath and John Heard.

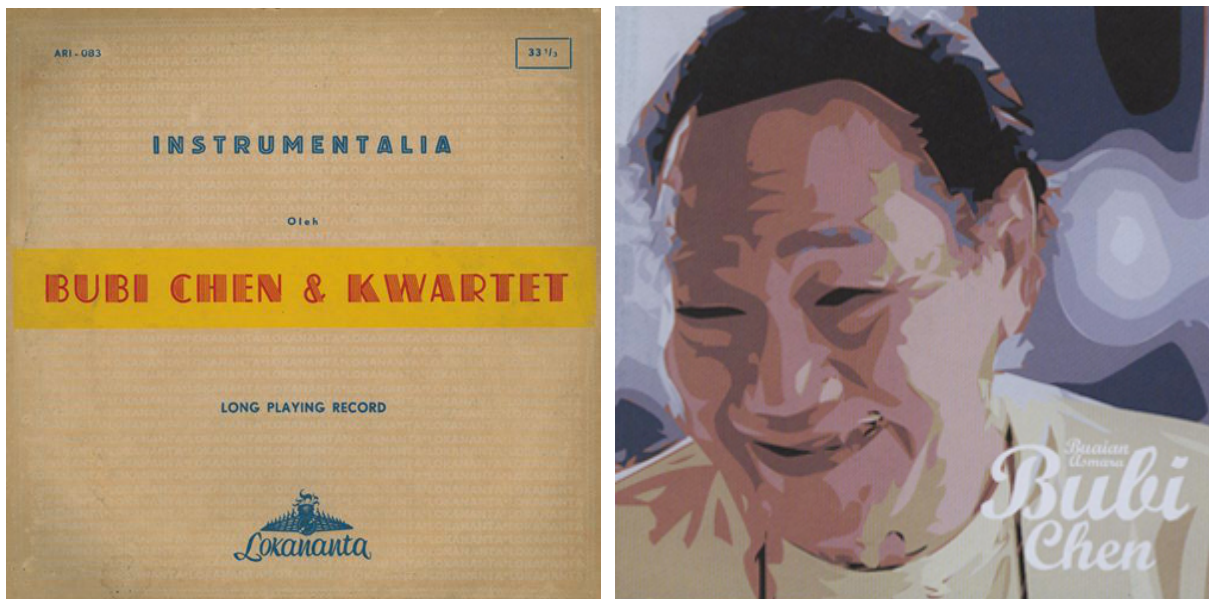


Figure 3.8. The Lokananta album cover (left) and the demajors album cover (right).

Although the demajors reissue has not sold very well, it achieved David Karto's goal of making the recording "accessible and heard again by the Indonesian people" (Karto 2020).

Karto's long-term interest in record collecting and Indonesian popular music attracted him to Lokananta's recordings of Bubi Chen, Bing Slamet, and Waldjinh (also known as Lokananta's "legendary" figures). Karto recognized the limited access to the majority of Indonesians of these older vinyl by well-known musicians, due to the expense of the format and the rarity of the recordings. He thought demajors could collaborate with Lokananta to recirculate the recordings by offering to digitize and release more accessible CD versions. *Buaian Asmara* became the first and last collaboration between Lokananta and demajors.

Karto discussed with me the many setbacks of getting access to Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording. To start, he had to outline demajors' potential working relationship with Lokananta when he met with Ngarso Dalem (Hamengkubuwono X) the Sultan and governor of Yogyakarta, to formally authorize the collaboration and make a memorandum of understanding. Karto described how demajors would "participate without any agenda," as demajors did not want to own the recordings and did not want to be a primary distributor for all of Lokananta's recordings (Karto 2020). Demajors would reproduce Chen's recording, distribute it through their record stores, and divide the profits equitably among Lokananta, demajors, and the recording artists.

Karto met with Bubi Chen in 2006 for his blessing and to find out any additional details about the recording. One of the novel contract terms Karto negotiated for the reissue distributed royalties to every musician on the recording as a kind of moral right, even though the original contract did not designate compositional or mechanical copyrights to the musicians (interview, August 8, 2019). Lokananta could only corroborate the pianist, Bubi Chen, and the guitarist, Jack Lemmers (Lesmana) but the quartet's drummer or bassist remained unknown. Karto hoped Chen could supply the missing information. They met at the Java Jazz Festival in Jakarta, at the Hilton Hotel but Chen could not immediately recall many specifics about the recording:

After two hours, Om Bubi said, “I remember now, David. Maryono, a drummer, a bassist, and Jack Lesmana.” Yes, that’s right. It is true. He remembered. I wanted to release this album again and I think Bubi has no power over that album anymore because of Lokananta. I just asked his permission, because this is Om’s work, even though the master belongs to Lokananta. I respect it. He was welcoming and pleased. (interview, August 8, 2019)

Maryono’s inclusion comes as a surprise. Maryono, a well-known saxophone and flute player on Chen’s later recordings, is unlisted on Lokananta’s documentation along with no audible trace of a wind instrument on the recording. Some of the confusion arises from Lokananta’s title, obfuscating whether the recording had four or five musicians. Was Chen included in the quartet? If there were five, why are there only four instruments—bass, drums, guitar, and piano—on each track? No one else could verify or deny Maryono’s role, even after Karto went to visit Jack Lesmana’s son and respected jazz pianist Indra Lesmana, for more details. Indra confirmed that his father, who died in 1988, most likely overdubbed the guitar or bass track, making him the recording’s bassist and guitarist, while the drummer remains unknown. The demajors royalty breakdown for recording had five parties: Lokananta, demajors, Bubi Chen, Jack Lesmana, and Maryono, with Maryono’s royalties to be held by Lokananta. Despite the due diligence, even for the musicians and their estates, the details remain obscured.²¹

As per the memorandum of understanding between demajors and Lokananta, demajors would not own the recording or have any stake in Lokananta itself. Karto described his approach to the relationship as, “I don’t want to treat Lokananta as a business, for me it’s a library” (interview, August 8, 2019). The goal for demajors focused on the recirculation of what the Lokananta administration understood as unsold merchandise. While for Karto:

²¹ This release led to some erroneous data circulating online on influential discography websites like Discogs about the date of the original pressing of the *Buaian Asmara* recording, usually cited as 1967. Of course, there was no original record entitled *Buaian Asmara*. The more careful *Warta Jazz* made the connection about the album name change and cites 1963 as the original pressing of the Lokananta recording (Sakrie 2009).

We were thinking of it as demajors going into archiving, like making a library again. Irama Nusantara is doing it for the past, us for the present and future. We don't think about the sales. One thousand or two thousand is enough, we just walk together with the artists. We spot groups, we archive the album, and support the project.

Karto's understanding inscribed the recordings to be part of one of Kopytoff's upward regimes, as part of a library, as part of an archival catalog. Even though demajors usually acts as a commercial record label, Karto reframes its action for this project as bestowing time, materials, and labor for the preservation and structured use of this recording over its use as a commodity. This also facilitated new forms of control. The library from which demajors borrowed, required its recordings to be returned and ultimately kept within Lokananta's care.

Despite the efforts of demajors for a clear memorandum of understanding, Lokananta never gave demajors access to Bubi Chen's master tape. Rather, demajors was forced to use next best thing, a good quality vinyl pressing as original source material, digitized and remastered by Danny Ardiono at Inline Studio in South Jakarta. Demajors still had permission to release the reissue, but the master recording was kept back. They never had access to the magnetic reel recording. The demajors release features some small but noticeable and distinctive vinyl skips, impossible to delete entirely from the best pressing they could find. The demajors' mastered sound is also flattened and compressed compared to the more vibrant Lokananta vinyl. This is due to demajors' inaccessibility to the master reel, forcing demajors to master the audio from an already mastered version, which significantly reduces the flexibility of aesthetics for the demajors' engineer (Danny Ardiono).

The issue of access to the master tape became apparent to Karto as demajors began to publicize the collaboration to the public. Lokananta's administration worried that the reissue would become too popular and might lead to other groups asking Lokananta for a cut of their profits. This anxiety regrettably led to the termination of future digitization projects with

demajors and the dismissal of several internal Lokananta teams involved in these kinds of outreach projects. Display, surveillance, and control. In 2007, Lokananta had only recently regained government support and many in the administration felt these outside economic projects would disrupt their rehabilitated governmental backing as they deliberated how to keep-while-selling.

Without mentioning demajors' reissue, Lokananta released its own CD edition, *Edisi Khusus* (Special Edition) of the Bubi Chen recording in 2014 for Record Store Day.²² This digitized edition audibly differs from the demajors version due to the warmer, thicker, and more textured quality. It contains no additional liner notes, but rather a simple and economic looking photocopy of the original vinyl front and back cover, resized for the CD case. On the CD, printed to look like a vinyl, the name "Bubi Chen" is written in pencil where the matrix stamp is normally located. Writing on a CD is highly unusual and might have something to do with the pencil marking's placement under the image "stop *pembajakan*" (stop piracy), which might help identify official CD copies. Lokananta released another cassette version of Chen's records, for the 2018 Record Store Day, reformatting the original vinyl art for cassette. The audio of the CD and cassette seem to be remastered from the same source with a meaningfully different audio quality from the demajors reissue. The Lokananta reissues can only be bought at Lokananta's onsite shop or at their record store pop-ups. While this recording is available in multiple formats, there are clear limits to its circulation.

²² Record Store Day started in the United States in 2007 as a day of events to celebrate the record store's place in its community. Soon labels began releasing limited edition recordings at well-known independent record that quickly became collector's items. The first instance in Indonesia was in 2012.

BUBI CHEN IN A GLASS HOUSE

I return to think through the role of Bubi Chen's recording throughout Lokananta's history. Tracing its cultural biography as a patriotic gift circulated through various regimes of value, as a commodity, as cultural heritage, and archival value, reveals how it was culturally redefined and put to use by people at various times and places. Multiple processes increased the awareness of this recording while Lokananta has reconfirmed its intellectual and physical ownership by limiting circulation and structuring how Lokananta recordings are used.

While a cultural biography might imply a certain linearity, the regimes of value co-exist. Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording was produced and reproduced in different ways as it made sense for the specific users. This provides a strong example of how archival value is part of more generalized circulation and exchange. Archives, conventionally thought of for their capacity for storage and preservation, can become recentered as nodes in circulation. The inscription of archival value to Lokananta's popular music collection created the paradox of inalienable possessions described as "how to keep-while-giving" (Weiner 1992:5). While actions resisted circulation and kept recordings immobile, recordings were still officially for sale although difficult to purchase, in a slightly different notion of how to keep-while-selling.

I detailed the Lokananta Project through which students, employees, and musicians gained a greater awareness of Lokananta's popular music recordings. The inscription of archival value heralded a momentous shift in the awareness of Lokananta's holdings by the Indonesian public. Indonesian popular musicians could begin to cite some of Lokananta's recordings like Bubi Chen as part of their cultural heritage. Despite Chen's "legendary" status, his Chinese Indonesian identity has been not brought up or examined in this context. His inclusion as part of Lokananta's branding and nostalgic longings is flat, without hinting at the politics of

preservation. Yet, Chinese Indonesians can now claim a musical contribution to an official institution of national culture and jazz can be claimed as contributing to Indonesia's cultural heritage.

Awareness does not automatically lead to accessibility and re-socialization. Archives can be a glass house of political museumizing. Audible objects in a glass house renders recordings visible as well as creates new systems of surveillance keeping the objects, and the meanings they carry, immobile and mute. This is the process of state "capture" and "standardization" (Scott 1999). As the Lokananta Project became a glass house, it advantaged entrenched value systems and hegemonic structures in the struggle to straighten out the history of Lokananta. In the process of resisting illegibility, the Lokananta Project became standardized and capturable.

The Lokananta Project's inscription of the archival value of Bubi Chen's recording begins to resist forgetting how Lokananta's popular music recordings contribute to Indonesia's cultural heritage. The practice of grassroots archiving in Indonesia continues as part of a more widespread calling to remember history through documentation awareness and through the emergent culture of documentation. Even though document awareness helped bring about improved maintenance, preservation, and circulation, sustainable strategies of document archiving have not yet manifest at Lokananta.

CHAPTER FOUR

POSTCUSTODIAL PROCESSES AT IRAMA NUSANTARA

This chapter details my ethnographic experiences with members of Irama Nusantara, a grassroots audiovisual popular music archive located in South Jakarta. Officially established in 2011, these collectors-cum-archivists have been digitizing vinyl and using online shared music file drives since 1998. They began broadcasting their collections via internet radio since 2009 that helped them learn about the technological and legal scaffolding for future archival activities. I conducted in-person ethnographic research with Irama Nusantara members during several trips from 2016 to 2019 in Jakarta and Bandung. Through the pandemic, I continued online research via podcasts, promotional videos, and historical biographies of popular music heroes (*pahlawan*) produced by Irama Nusantara; I joined in dialogic interviews of archive members led by Indonesian popular music journalists; and conducted my own Zoom-based interviews and social media interactions via WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram.

The founding archivists of Irama Nusantara grew up participating in the indie, punk, rock, and hardcore communities of West Java and Jakarta as musicians, label owners, fans, and radio programmers in the 1990s and early 2000s. Most of these collectors-cum-archivists are also collectors-cum-DJs, who use their personal collections to spin vinyl for events, sometimes with the idea of socializing rare recordings for educational purposes, but more often for fun and to realize personal aesthetics. The group's archival focus has been on the collection, preservation, and recirculation of any kind of Indonesian popular music, positioning them as well-known public authorities on various popular styles beyond their communities and aesthetic tastes including dangdut and jazz.

For this chapter, I include extended ethnographic vignettes due to Irama Nusantara's broad influence on the Indonesian music industry, Indonesian copyright law, indie music, pop music, art music, experimental contemporary music, collecting and digging culture, DJ culture, and many other topics. I include many untranslated footnotes, in the hope others interested in these topics might read some sections differently. I focus on Irama Nusantara's contributions to Indonesia's jazz community, even though the archivists do not consider themselves jazz musicians or particularly ardent jazz advocates or fans. Irama Nusantara's archival process has helped Indonesian jazz musicians access their cultural heritage. For example, Irama Nusantara was paramount in providing access to digitized recordings for the transcribers of the *Anthologi Musik Indonesia Jazz dan Populer* (chapter six).

I describe Irama Nusantara's archival process as "postcustodial," whereby Irama Nusantara acts as the manager of digitized collections rather than the owner of physical and digital materials that stay within archival custody and responsibility. While the Irama Nusantara archivists do not have formal experience in archival theory or methods, their archival process fits within a postcustodial paradigm. Archival scholar Gerald Ham, who coined "post-custodial," uses the term to describe how "archivists would not be merely keepers of records, but managers of records within the context of a technological society" (1981:88). Postcustodial is used by archival scholars Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario Ramirez to describe the not-for-profit organization South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA) as:

run entirely on a postcustodial model so that, rather than accept physical custody of records, SAADA borrows records from individuals, families, organizations, and academic and government repositories; digitizes them; describes them in a culturally appropriate manner; links them to related materials in the archives; and makes them freely accessible online to anyone in the world with an Internet connection. (2016:58)

Archival scholar Jeannette Bastian defines postcustodial, drawing on Ham, as describing situations where records creators continue to maintain archival records with archivists providing management oversight even as they may also hold custody of other records (2002). The Head of Sound and Vision at the British Library, Janet Topp Fargion presents a lengthier genealogy of postcustodial methods for audiovisual archives and concludes by noting how the postcustodial model “challenges the very definition of the archival imperative to preserve, for knowledge is arguably best preserved through being kept alive and relevant ‘in and across spacetime’” (2019). I use the term to respond mostly to the process of electronic record preservation where the original records can be retained by their creators with archivists acting as the managers who circulate digital versions or copies with the aims of spreading knowledge.¹

The members of the archive describe their process as *koleksi dan digitasi* (collection and digitalization). This process entails finding and then borrowing materials; preparing and cleaning; digitizing the audio and scanning the physical media and album art; documenting the metadata such as liner notes and disc numbers; returning the physical materials to their owners,

¹ A postcustodial model brings new questions about the role and meanings of digital archiving, digital curation, digital libraries, and other overlapping responsibilities relevant to participants in different contexts. Archival scholars Karl Blumenthal, Peggy Griesinger, Julia Kim, Shira Peltzman, and Vicky Steeves use the term “digital stewardship” (2020). Digital stewardship focuses attention on the management of digital archival resources to facilitate long-term preservation. Archival scholars Brain Lavoie and Lorcan Dempsey suggest digital preservation has less concerns as a technical issue, but rather is about how preserving digital materials fits into the broader theme of digital stewardship as part of broader interconnected services and stakeholders in the digital environment (2004). Archival scholars Jeannette Bastian, Michele Cloonan, and Ross Harvey interpret digital stewardship as encompassing “the creation, maintenance, preservation, dissemination, and exhibition of trusted bodies of digital information for current and future use” (2011:607), focusing on the creation of durable digital objects and their maintenance over time. Instead of being the custodians of objects of archival value, archivists become their managers, ideally ethical managers. Archival scholar Andreas Pantazatos writes how this negotiation of ethical caretaking by the archival stewards is not simply about awareness of multiple “beneficiaries and stakeholders,” but also involves thinking about how these parties are involved in the entire life cycle of an object (2016:187).

including with it a digitized copy; and uploading the materials to Irama Nusantara's free and publicly listenable website. Physical recordings are usually brought into Irama Nusantara's office for digitization, but the archivists also bring digitalization equipment to the collections.

Important out-of-office excursions have been to the RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia) collections in Jakarta, Bandung, and Yogyakarta; the pre-1945 popular music collections of ITB (Institut Teknologi Bandung) Professor Haryadi Suadi in Bandung; and the Blok M record sellers' market in South Jakarta. The Irama Nusantara archivists do not claim any rights over the intellectual property and do not claim ownership or long-term responsibility to the physical materials after the recordings are returned.

Implicit in *koleksi dan digitasi* is the sharing of materials via non-commercial platforms. As David Tarigan, one of the initiators of Irama Nusantara, explained: "It is important [for the archive] to increase awareness for the public to know about modern Indonesian music as part of their national identity" (personal communication, February 17, 2019). At the same time, Irama Nusantara is well aware of the different copyright issues and regulations regarding distributing recordings in Indonesia and through global music supply chains. Consequently, they upload lower quality streaming files with an educational, non-commercial license with an easy take-down request to reduce piracy and profiteering.²

Many of the material lenders to the archive are members of Irama Nusantara or within their direct network of record collectors, sellers, DJs, music industry professionals, and arts educators. By not preserving physical materials long-term in a large-scale facility, Irama

² The recordings are also played in shuffle, non-album sequence. Despite these efforts, it is common to find YouTube versions of Irama Nusantara's recently posted materials without copyright to the appropriate parties. Beyond individual take down requests, this has been an unfavorable aftereffect of Irama Nusantara's archival process, and a general ethical and legal issue of the postcustodial methodology (see Blumenthal et al. 2020).

Nusantara keeps their costs low and prevents direct, straightforward, and well-oiled appropriation by the state or commercial entities. Irama Nusantara merely acts as the manager of digitized collections. Nothing can be taken because the archive does not “own” any of the materials under its management, consequently forcing the state or commercial entities interested in using materials to negotiate directly with rights holders. This is a strategy of illegibility. The history of intellectual copyright for musical recordings in Indonesia has been anything but clear; older recordings often have multiple competing commercial and familial claims that have prevented straightforward industry reissues or licensing deals. I argue that by leaving the copyright status of the archive’s digitized collection illegible, this postcustodial methodology serves as a practical approach to recirculate recordings to the Indonesian public and contains within it a “weapon of the weak,” to borrow James C. Scott’s term (2008 [1985]), as a method of discouragement against appropriation by the state or the capitalist music industry.³

The postcustodial methodology elides the expectations of copyright regimes on the local, national, and international scales, as Irama Nusantara does not claim to have rights over recordings as intellectual property. This allows the archive to circulate popular music heritage to targeted end users, the Indonesian public. James C. Scott’s later scholarship provides useful frames in understanding Irama Nusantara’s politics, as he deals with ideas of “capture,” “standardization,” and “taxation” by the state in *Seeing Like a State* (1999) and “escape,” “illegibility,” and the intentional maintenance of geographical “friction” by subjects opposing state control in *The Art of Not Being Governed* (2009). The intellectual property rights over the recordings are kept illegible and unstandardized, whereby the permission to use the recordings

³ Scott’s weapons of the weak, focusing on the rural class conflict of a Malaysian village, include sabotage, foot-dragging, evasion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, and slander.

remains unanswered due to a myriad of right holders. This illegibility and lack of countability in Irama Nusantara's process is a strategy to maintain opposition against state capture and against the transformation of the grassroots archivists as unequivocal state-serving subjects.

Instead, Irama Nusantara members fashion themselves as part of legacy of the Indonesian *pemuda* (nationalist and revolutionary youth), who must boldly preserve Indonesia's popular music heritage as part of national identity. While *pemuda* denotes youth at the forefront of social change, anthropologist Karen Strassler (2010) criticizes the mediatization of the anti-Suharto *pemuda* movement of 1998, *Generasi 98*, the Reformasi Generation, as ultimately contained within state narratives, co-opted into a state sponsored mythic history of "youth struggle" (281).⁴ The category of the *pemuda* has a messy status in 2021, particularly in relation to the state. Irama Nusantara members seek to reform the ideal of the *pemuda* in the now ageing Reformasi; they do this by focusing on the betterment of the Indonesian public over state interests or capital gain. Irama Nusantara members present their project as breaking the connection between national youth struggle as unconsciously supporting state struggle that had tangled *pemuda* movements since *Angkatan* (Generation) '66. Because previous *pemuda* and grassroots political movements had been "domesticated" by state discourse (Lee 2016:5), I see Irama Nusantara's commitment to the Indonesian public as an attempt to repoliticize the Third-World-anti-imperialist ethos of Sukarno's politics during the early Independence period. It is not so much that Irama Nusantara

⁴ *Pemuda* movements are the 1928 generation of highly educated nationalist youth and the 1945 generation of revolutionary youth against the Dutch. Other *pemuda* movements of Generation 66, allied with the military to overthrow the Old Order. During the New Order, the mass student protests of Generations 74 and 78 related to the *pemuda* (Lee 2016:7).

is anti-state or anti-business, but the archivists do not want to be smooth, uncritical cogs in national or commercial machinery.⁵

Another related way to theorize Irama Nusantara's process is through Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing's idea of *Friction* (2005). For Tsing: "Cultures are continually co-produced in the interaction I call 'friction': the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference" (4). Friction clashes with the lie that global power operates in a clean and disciplined manner. Similar to Scott's analysis of the *longue durée* in mainland Southeast Asia where the state and capital are never total, Tsing notices frictions in the "the specter of neoliberal conquest," whereby the "attention to the frictions of contingent articulation can help us describe the effectiveness, and the fragility, of emergent capitalist – and globalist – forms" (77). While the state and capitalism might suppose themselves inevitable, ongoing counterexamples continue to exist. I am amenable to Tsing's interpretation that these "encounters across difference should inform our models of cultural production" (3) that "can lead to new arrangements of culture and power" (5). Within new arrangements of cultural production there is hope of change, as well as the chance for far-reaching devastation.

Tsing's Indonesian case study frames the state as a specter of the Suharto regime, even after his deposition. The state is interested in capture, in business as a "predator" (2005:ix) still reeling as military-dominated enterprise with notorious corruption and cronyism. In my research over a decade later not much has changed, the politics of the post-Suharto Reformasi era were meant to shed light on and ultimately resolve some of the ills of the controlling and capturing business of the Suharto-state, but it has at best absolved them. The hopes of resolving these

⁵ Irama Nusantara cannot be anti-capitalist in their methods as it might evoke backlash to specter of anti-communist sympathies that continue to linger since 1965.

issues through state reforms have dampened into the political disillusionment of the late and aging Reformasi. Grassroots projects find it necessary (and difficult) to decouple their feelings for national struggle from a state discourse bent towards inclusion, pluralism, and tolerance in the shadow of a state backed by corrupt military-dominated enterprises.⁶

In the particular moment of her research, Tsing notices “a contradiction between capital and governance. Governance requires rationalization, clarity, and order. Capital, in contrast, thrives where opportunities are just emerging” (2005:44). Irama Nusantara is one of these opportunities just emerging, a frictive opportunity at the center of the state with the state-controlled record collections at national radio stations. Instead of a contradiction between capital and governance, I understand neoliberal capitalist logics as governmental during the period of my research. The state can, or at least it aspires to, capture messy things, and thrive where opportunities are just emerging.

For my focus on musical culture, the Indonesian government’s interest in the concept of the cultural industries that tie the logics of (neoliberal) capitalism with cultural production had grown dominate since the mid-2000s, theoretically drawing on the creative/cultural industries models of Landry (2000), Florida (2002), and Howkins (2002). These practices were applied unevenly through many often-short-lived creative economy initiatives like the Creative Cities Program (see Kim 2017) and the Creative Kampung Program (see Rahmany and Djajadiningrat 2014). In my case study, Irama Nusantara formally collaborated with BEKRAF (*Badan Ekonomi*

⁶ For example, during the 2019 election, the internet access to Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram was disabled to help quell protests, displaying how authoritarianism was still operational. A pro-Jokowi friend wrote how she was conflicted of her administration doing restrictive authoritarian things, while shutting down the internet does seem to have worked in calming the protests. She said, “At least we know how easy it is to take away our rights (to Instagram), when it’s convenient” (fieldnotes, May 25, 2019).

Kreatif [the Creative Economy Agency]), a non-ministerial agency setup in 2015 by President Joko Widodo's administration. BEKRAF was mandated to develop and coordinate policies to harness the "untapped potential" of Indonesia's "cultural diversity" (*Ekonomi Kreatif* 2014). Irama Nusantara collaborated with BEKRAF from 2016 to 2019 to access funding opportunities and state-owned recordings, particularly those at the RRI stations. BEKRAF did not own or have access to those recordings but could write letters of support on behalf of Irama Nusantara to other state institutions. This formal governmental support was paramount in Irama Nusantara's ability to access some state-owned collections. Although Irama Nusantara collaborated with the state, it was not captured, which I argue is due to their postcustodial methodology. Even though capital and the state seek to capture and scale messy things, when actively preserving things as illegible and uncountable to those modes, people can succeed in keeping things.

Part of the reason for Irama Nusantara's effective challenge has been that the Indonesian recording industry have been known for its avoidance of copyright (especially for recordings from before the 1990s). The Indonesian music industry is known for being plagued with mass unauthorized duplication and a dearth of contractual royalty clauses. Instead of framing this copyright illegibility as a pessimistic quality, a view from the powerful, I rather notice, as Sukarno did, how international copyright regimes have seldom been on the side of the Indonesian people. In the realm of music, copyright has made recordings more expensive, inaccessible, and unreasonable for Indonesian lower- and middle-rung budgets; being able to buy a legitimate, copyrighted recording is still an upper-class affirming activity (Wallach 2008). This informs Irama Nusantara's understanding of Indonesian copyright regulations and somewhat

ambivalence to solutions that do not benefit the Indonesian public.⁷ Making Indonesian recordings copyright friendly might help Indonesian record companies, the state, the international music industry, and maybe some Indonesian musicians, but how does copyright increase awareness or accessibility for the Indonesian public? How will the Indonesian public be able to know about popular music as part of their national identity?

This chapter consists of three main sections. The first discusses the background of Irama Nusantara, focusing on a member who joined the project after its initial conception, program manager Gerry Apriryan. The section continues by discussing how Irama Nusantara understands Indonesian copyright and streams commercial materials through a non-commercial educational license. Second, I describe important out-of-office visits by Irama Nusantara, including foundational visits to Indonesia's national radio stations, the collections of Professor Haryadi Suadi, and the Blok M record sellers' market. Lastly, I focus on a discussion forum at the 2019 Jazz Buzz Festival where David Tarigan discussed parts of the recorded history of jazz in Indonesia with well-known jazz pianist Sri Hanuraga.

BACKGROUND OF IRAMA NUSANTARA

Officially formed in 2011, Irama Nusantara aims to preserve and recirculate Indonesian popular music from the colonial era to the present. The archive's founders, David Tarigan (currently 43), Toma Avianda (40), and Blas Christophorus (43), made a website called *Indonesia Jumawa* in 1998 to upload and share their born-digital and digitized popular music

⁷ Notably, Irama Nusantara as an institution did not take a strong stance concerning the August 2018 "Draft Bill on Music" (*RUU Permusikan*) introduced by the Indonesian House of Representatives designed to control the creation, production, distribution, and consumption of music in Indonesia. For some of the implications of this eventually failed bill, see Weintraub 2021.

collections. *Indonesia Jumawa* was one of many projects from a larger student group studying fine arts, graphic arts, design, and printmaking at ITB. *Indonesia Jumawa* lasted about two years before other endeavors took precedent like Tarigan's Aksara record label and editorship at *Ripple* magazine. Tarigan returned to the website when looking for sources when starting a new online radio station called *Kentang Radio* (2009–2012).⁸ *Kentang Radio* had a popular chat room feature for local, national, and international users to share their experiences, knowledge, stories, and critiques about the broadcasts. Once Tarigan moved back to South Jakarta, where he grew up, he expanded the project to include new participants and collectors like Alvin Yunata (43), Mayumi Haryoto (41), and Dian Onno (41) to officially form Irama Nusantara in 2011 (see Adhiyatmaka 2018:86–89 for a more detailed early history).

Similar to its *Indonesia Jumawa* forebearer, Irama Nusantara uploads digitized materials to an online site. Instead of remaining in the private world of collectors, the site is meant to make materials as accessible as possible to the public. According to a May 2020 report, Irama Nusantara streams just under 3000 full albums from the 1920s–1990s. The majority of their over 4000 digitized albums, about 40,000 tracks, are from the 1950s–1980s (see figure 3.9).⁹ Initially, Irama Nusantara focused on digitizing vinyl and shellac produced in the 1950s–1970s due to the absence of these discs from general circulation, mostly due to the expense, rarity, and lack of long-term preservation of popular music in Indonesian governmental or corporate institutions. Irama Nusantara archivists have recently begun digitizing more cassettes from the 1970s–1990s,

⁸ *Jumawa* and *Kentang* are both part of the polysemous slang of urban West Java (Bahasa Gaul). *Jumawa* has been applied so many ways, many almost find the word meaningless (Arti Kata Jumawa Adalah 2020). *Indonesia Jumawa* implies some sort of arrogance of Indonesia or meddling in Indonesian affairs. *Kentang Radio* means potato radio, relating to the idea of “potato-head” or a dumb person. *Kentang* is also slang for “kena tanggung” referring to anything that is less than optimal, such as a non-smart cell phone (Pertwi 2020).

⁹ All figures for this chapter can be found in Appendix A.

a format that suffers in the tropical climate outside of optimal preservation settings. Pre-1950s recordings are extremely limited and mostly in shellac format.

When it began, Irama Nusantara relied on personal funds from its initiators and donations from its supportive network of collectors and music industry colleagues. For example, Irama Nusantara shared a space to save on rent with independent record label demajors in 2017 in the Cilandak Baret district of South Jakarta. After it became a foundation (*yayasan*) in 2011, Irama Nusantara collaborated with the international cooperation organization Hivos for four years from 2012 to 2016. Hivos, an abbreviation of *Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking* (Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation), is based in the Hauge and provides support to a broad swath of civil society organizations. For Irama Nusantara, it provided financial assistance to purchase better computers and digitization equipment.

After the partnership with Hivos ran its course, in June 2016, Irama Nusantara started a collaboration with the BEKRAF. BEKRAF provided continued operational funding and provided a new way to access the archives of several RRI stations. This collaboration continued until BEKRAF folded in 2019 and was split between the *Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* (Ministry of Education and Culture) and the *Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif* (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy). Irama Nusantara still collaborates with both of these ministries but does not continue a formal partnership at the moment of this writing. During the pandemic, irama Nusantara successfully crowdsourced funding via their social media and kitabisa.com (Antara 2020). Their ongoing funding remains precarious.

While Irama Nusantara members are consummate collaborators, they are careful to keep their expressed objectives in focus as self-identified pemuda. The archivists recounted to me exhilarating stories of their earlier collecting days in late 1990s and early 2000s, as they began to

interact with collectors from across the globe. The “digging” experiences of Irama Nusantara members with Japanese collectors provides a foundational narrative of how Irama Nusantara continues to frame its collaborations with international and national institutions.¹⁰ The archivists were particularly excited by a group of Japanese collectors looking to visit Jakarta for some vinyl digging. The members wanted to make a good impression and took the Japanese collectors to nice vinyl digging spots for Indonesian popular music recordings like Jalan Surabaya in Menteng, Central Jakarta, such as shops like those owned by Lian Nasution.¹¹ Ultimately, these Japanese collectors offered more money than Indonesian collectors expected to pay at the time, outbidding the Indonesian collectors in some auctions. This experience coincided with the “vinyl boom” in Indonesia, occurring around 2010 that caused the whole Indonesian vinyl market to surge in price (Acum 2017). This account is an early example of the Irama Nusantara members participating in supply chains as “translators” (Tsing 2015; Tsing, Mathews, and Bubandt 2019), but the repercussions of higher prices and Indonesian recordings leaving Indonesia caused the

¹⁰ As collectors they are “crate diggers,” who commit time, money, and energy to collecting older media that often offer forgotten or alternative histories. Some scholars explore these sorts of communities through “media archology” which seeks to relate older (dead) media with newer media that is understood as recovering and reusing similar logics and techniques (Huhtamo and Parikka 2011; Novak n.d.). If my locus of analysis on the Irama Nusantara community were only as collectors, this lens would suffice, but the group has gone past ownership and custody of older media. They have entered a postcustodial model where they became the managers of media rather than owners. While these crate diggers help build collections of rare and forgotten records with narratives beyond hegemonic history, exposing their hauntology (Derrida 1994), a nostalgia for abandoned potentials, through the performance of archival materials in DJ sets, Irama Nusantara is the manager, not the custodians, of the social lives of these recordings.

¹⁰ They do participate in making musical commodities and exist in an in-between, pericapitalist zone. While Irama Nusantara has helped some connect various parties for reissues like Jakarta-based La Munai Records reissue of recordings *The Gang of Harry Roesli* and the *Lagu Baru Dari Masa Lalu Vol 1*.

¹¹ Unfortunately, Lian died in 2021. Many people in the record collecting community both in Indonesia and abroad posted via Instagram about their found memoirs of Lian and his shop.

group to reconsider their actions. Their feelings as self-identified pemuda made them protective of Indonesia's resources. They saw the need for the long-term preservation of popular music recordings to ensure Indonesians would have access to their own popular music heritage.

While Tsing sees Indonesian local ecologies, cultures, and customs treated as a resource, "ready to be dismembered and packaged for export" (2005:29), I understand Irama Nusantara as challenging, but not stopping, this outward flow. The archivists recognize the possibility of extraction of Indonesian popular music resources and act to keep this heritage accessible for the Indonesian public. The "modern Indonesian music" in Irama Nusantara's archives is meant to stay in Indonesia and a lot of effort and funding is put into keeping these materials. A key quality of the archivists is that they are not simply serving the role of "the translator, the diplomat, the power-crazed magician" (Tsing 2005:52) to produce commodities. But they do make commodities, in an in-between pericapitalist zone, like with the Jakarta-based La Munai Records reissue of *The Gang of Harry Roesli*, in the interest of making the recording more accessible to Indonesians (just like demajors and Bubi Chen, chapter three). They are not uncritically doing salvage work in pericapitalist edges in the shadows of capitalism but acting as intrepid pemuda working in the interests of the Indonesian nation and public.

A way to understand this is through anthropologist William Mazzarella's description of a "hinge" position: elite cultural producers born of media globalization, tasked with preparing global media texts for consumption by local audiences, who "move fluently between the local and the global" (2003:18).¹² In this sense, Irama Nusantara are critical "translators" (Tsing 2015) that open space for new interpreters of the local, as "expert consultants vis-à-vis foreign

¹² I found this term used in this way by Emma Baulch in her discussion of "golden ears" (*si telinga emas*) in the Indonesian popular music industry (2020:80–81).

corporations” (Mazzarella 2003:19). They prepare local media texts for consumption by local, national, and global audiences. The postcustodial methodology allows for this curated distribution, but they are strategically silent on what they want to keep for themselves. Instead of always being fluid, well-oiled translators, Irama Nusantara members as hinge occupants can also purposely impose a bit more friction on certain materials by limiting, keeping, preserving, and protecting what is shared as well as making other materials easier to access and simpler to use for governmental and commercial institutions.¹³ This is not to say the strategy is absolutely effective but notices the frictive elements employed by expert translators. Some materials are easier to let go of, while others are purposefully hidden, not shown, or distracted from.

Background of an End User: Gerry Apriryan

Irama Nusantara’s establishment narrative is well-documented across many popular media websites and news sources (e.g., Jenie 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Anindita 2016; Pangerang 2017; Wahono 2019; Wira 2020; Antara 2020; Setianingsih 2020; Salsabila 2021). My interviews with David Tarigan and Alvin Yunata proved to recapitulate this information. Rather than reprint what can be found via popular press articles and in the dissertation of Adhiyatmaka (2018:86–89), I focus on a member who joined after the archive’s founding and through a different mode. Gerry Apriryan discovered Irama Nusantara through social media, attracted by

¹³ In chapter five, I discuss the “hinge” position in a different way with the early example of the hinge individual Chinese Javanese jazz journalist and consummate cosmopolitan Harry Lim (also Chinese Indonesian pianist Bubi Chen). Hinge individuals often maintained an upper-class status that intersected with other qualities like Chinese ethnicity and a Christian religion, but this intersection is not causal as there are many non-Christian Chinese Indonesians as well as many lower-class Chinese Indonesians, in fact the majority of Chinese Indonesians are non-elite small traders and shop owners (Purdey 2006). One of the goals of my research is to break down these intersectional qualities from any essential notions and expose them as harmful stereotypes.

their likeminded interests, and contacted them via Facebook. He joined in 2015 as the program manager. In one of our interviews, he explained his background and journey to join the archive:¹⁴

Apriryana:

I didn't really like music when I was little until around junior high school. I found my father's cassette collection, music like classic rock, Deep Purple, Queen. *I got hooked on Queen and the Beatles, from there my musical knowledge expanded [. . .]* When I was in high school, I studied in Bandung and lived in a *kosan* [boarding house] where there was unlimited internet. In 2007, living there, I knew about the music scene in Bandung, with David [Tarigan] and Aksara [Tarigan's record label]. *I played drums in high school band. I'm not really good. I mostly played rock covers songs. I always read the information about artists. . . .* I didn't really know David, but I knew Alvin [Yunata] because he was a guitarist. I saw him play in his band as a fan. One of the reasons I wanted to go to college was that I liked music and information about artists I found on the internet and on Wikipedia. I thought it was related to music and visual culture. I chose fine arts, the same as David, I entered in 2010.

I only listened to Western songs at that time. For Indonesian songs, I listened to new songs. My father would tell stories about old Indonesian music and the concerts he saw in the 70s like the Gang of Harry Roesli and Koes Plus. He saw them in Bandung and Garut. He always recounted their cool rock. *I think from 2007 to 2010, when I'm in high school, I never found any of my father's statements to be true, because when I searched in Google or YouTube there was no band information or lists of hit songs. I didn't believe my dad's statements. [. . .]*

I started to collect the records in 2011, after the boom in 2010, I started by collecting cassettes. There weren't many CDs like now. Back then, I went to the distros because my high school was opposite UNKL. A lot of the releases there were from Aksara. I didn't buy them. I just remembered the name. I went back to my *kosan* to download it from the internet. Sometimes I would buy them too. Around 2010, Record Store Day appeared. *It's hype in Indonesia.* Indonesian records began to be sought after. I finally believed my father. [. . .]

I collected mixed Indonesian genres. I liked the surprise of things when collecting Indonesian records. I bought cheap ones for 30,000 rupiah. I would find cool records *with no covers*. I would be so with it. I liked that time. I was really surprised that I got something at Jalan Surabaya. One was Delly Rollies "Licik." When I told David about the record, he didn't really know about it either. *That's really like wow!!* There is something like this! Another was Arie Koesmiran "Langit Ketujuh." *It's like a cover from Deep Purple. I really like it because the lyrics talk about marijuana when she was a kid.* And the music is very trippy. [. . .]

¹⁴ Gerry's interviews throughout this chapter used a mix of Indonesian (with heavy Jakarta slang) and English.

Italicized phrases were originally spoken in English.

In 2013, *Irama Nusantara* launched their website. Before it launched, they posted an introduction video on YouTube, *I felt like eureka!! Cool!!* I immediately sent a direct message to their Facebook page. I was interested in becoming a volunteer right then and there. In the video, they said they were open to volunteers. . . . One of the founders [Christophorus] responded. He was going to be in Bandung. I met him and we chatted a lot. He said, “you are still in college” and that I should wait until after graduating. . . . He said I could go to Jakarta to their office at ITC Fatmawati. . . . Over 2013, I got to know them. I also knew, I knew a lot to share about Indonesian music. I kept collecting and graduated in 2015.

Otto: Were you working while studying?

Apriryan:

I wasn't working yet. I was still studying in Bandung. It was hard for me to help them. After I graduated, *I wasn't working in Bandung. Two weeks after graduation* David called me finally. He *offered me to work here*. I would *take a general affairs role*. *At that time, there were only co-founders, and David was the only active one. There were two other people who only digitized and scanned the covers. David needed another person who can manage the programs, so he picked me*. We were not sponsored by BEKRAF yet, but I got paid a fee. Nothing big but enough. I am happy and passionate. I finally moved here *4 years ago*.

Otto: Did you have much *experience* in archiving and digitization?

Apriryan:

Yes, but not much. *For my final assignment at school, I choose a topic about music archiving. . . . I used Irama Nusantara as an example*. I wrote about *creating public tools to help the digitizing process. . . . One of the main difficulties was finding source records. But there were a lot of records in Indonesia, but people did not want to share. I wanted to create public tools that you can help them share. Before collectors loved to share their collections, but then they didn't want to give. I changed the spirit to share through DJ[ing]. We can record the audio and then it's saved to a server like open data*.
(May 2, 2019)

Apriryan's background helped answer some of the technical difficulties of digital and online archiving. His interest in popular music, record collecting, and search for more complete biographical data made him a match for the archive's objectives. This example demonstrates how the early use of postcustodial methods by Irama Nusantara circulated materials to the Indonesian public effectively and helped attract new users like Apriryan. The sharing of content to the Indonesian public is a major success of the Irama Nusantara postcustodial process, but

there are serious legal challenges to streaming commercial content for free. The next section gives a sense of the negotiation of national copyright laws by Irama Nusantara.

UNDERSTANDING COPYRIGHT WITH IRAMA NUSANTARA

All information posted online by Irama Nusantara is “published in good faith and for general information purposes only” (Irama Nusantara 2021) using a non-commercial educational streaming license. While this authorization appears official, it is an untested model in Indonesia. David Tarigan explains: “We are aware of the copyright issue, and we had discussions with people who understand copyright in Indonesia, as long as it is for educational purposes and not commercial, we believe it is okay” (personal communication, February 17, 2019). Irama Nusantara’s official and licit collaborations with the Ministry of Education and Culture (Wira 2020) and BEKRAF (Adhiyatmaka 2018:88–89) lends tacit and ongoing public governmental support for their license and postcustodial circulation. When I asked Apriryana (now Irama Nusantara’s program manager) about the educational license he said:

It is for the propose of education. Until now there has never been a complaint. I know David [Tarigan] met with Candra Darusman. [Darusman] works for a foundation from the PBB [*Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa*, the Indonesian name for the United Nations], but for intellectual property. Because he works there, David asked if he thinks it’s alright to make Irama Nusantara as an archive. He thought it was cool and he supports us. (May 2, 2019)

Candra Darusman is a senior Indonesian musician who played piano and sang in two prominent jazz groups, Chaseiro and Karimata, throughout the 1970s and 1980s. He is a founder of the first major jazz festival in Indonesia, Jazz Goes to Campus, held at the University of Indonesia since 1976. He continues to perform his pop-inflect jazz, such as at the 2019 Jazz Gunung Festival discussed in chapter two. I draw on Darusman’s explanation of copyright in Indonesia, less so for its official legal standing, but rather due to his status as a representative for

the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). During my research, I encountered many members of the Indonesian music industry who referenced Darusman's efforts as official policy. While many of the understandings discussed below have not yet become law, Darusman's public comments and publications (Darusman 2016; 2017; 2018; Widiyanto 2018; Zakaria 2017) illustrate governmental interests and working definitions used in the Indonesian music industry.

Darusman is a graduate from the Faculty of Economics at the University of Indonesia, where he served as a researcher, lecturer, and as an assistant professor of macroeconomics and microeconomics from 1982 to 1985. From 1985 to 1986 he worked as a banker at Citibank. He has been on the forefront of Indonesian copyright initiatives since the 1990s, such as his work as the general manager of *Karya Cipta Indonesia* (Indonesian Copyrighted Works), a group tasked with calculating live performance royalties and as the secretary general of *Yayasan Anugerah Musik Indonesia* (YAMI, the Indonesian Musicians Foundation). In the early 2000s, he lived in Geneva, Switzerland while working at WIPO as a representative for Indonesia. He went on to serve as a deputy director of WIPO based in Singapore until 2019. Darusman contributes to most major Indonesian organizations related to music, economics, and intellectual property.¹⁵

Relating Darusman's work to the Indonesian grassroots archives, he recurrently counseled the Lokananta Project, Museum Musik Indonesia, and Irama Nusantara, referenced in all their foundation stories. At the 2018 "International Copyright and Related Rights Treaties" conference, Darusman described how these grassroots archives might be called an "authorized entity" for the select distribution of copyrighted works (Darusman 2018:21). The term

¹⁵ He has served as the director of the Indonesian Guild of Composers (1986–1991); member of the Indonesian National Copyright Council appointed by Suharto's decree (1994–1996); director of the Indonesian Musicians Cooperative (KOSMINDO), a medium-sized enterprise that seeks venture capital for artists as entrepreneurs; member of the Anti-Piracy Coalition of Indonesia; and chairman of the Indonesian Musicians Union Federation.

“encompasses many non-profit and government entities, whether they are specifically authorized by the government or ‘recognized’ by the government (including through receiving funds) as entities that may provide many functions, but notably education and information providers.” An “authorized entity” must maintain an “absence of commercial availability” (25).¹⁶ The term “authorized entity” demonstrates some of the parameters Darusman draws upon when providing counsel to how Indonesian grassroots archivists might distribute materials, many of which are copyrighted works. In this scheme, Irama Nusantara would be a “recognized” by the government as an authorized entity, since it has received funds through BEKRAF, allowing for authorized distribution of materials as an “education” provider. By calling its license “educational” and “non-commercial,” Irama Nusantara’s postcustodial distribution fits in with the flat, glossy sheen of a well-oiled authorized entity backed by WIPO’s understanding of copyright.

A History of Copyright in Indonesia

In the book made by members of the Lokananta Project (see chapter three), Darusman provides a history of copyright in Indonesia and how that history informs the grassroots archiving projects. A decisive moment in Indonesia’s copyright history is when Sukarno guided Indonesia out of the Berne Convention in 1958, described by Darusman as a “time bomb when piracy in the recording industry went crazy” (cited in Zakaria et al. 2016:52–53). The Dutch East

¹⁶ An authorized entity must include the duties of “verify conditions for being a beneficiary”; “limit distribution to [beneficiaries]”; “discourage unauthorized uses”; and “maintain due care and keep records” when “distributing accessible formats directly to beneficiary persons” (Darusman 2018:22–26). Examples of “recognized or authorized” entities are libraries, disability associations, and educational institutions (24).

Indies had been a member of the Berne Convention since 1914.¹⁷ Darusman explains how: “The decision to leave the Berne Convention means that foreign works are not protected in Indonesia. Not only music but books and others that are listed in the copyright protected work category” (52). Leaving the Berne Convention follows in the nationalist logics of isolationist martial law (1957–1959) of Sukarno’s Old Order government. This became the scaffolding for Sukarno’s anti-imperial, anti-colonial Guided Democracy (1959–1967).¹⁸ Darusman opines that “the goal was clear so that the Indonesian people could take advantage of foreign works” (63). In another publication, *Pop Hari Ini* (Pop Today), Darusman notes how opening the access to various literatures and recordings “advantaged the [Indonesian] music industry . . . however it was unethical. What is clear is that there are unpaid royalties” (Zakaria 2017). Back in the Lokananta Project text, Darusman adds: “These funds must be recognized to be reinvested to produce more local artists” (63), but “regardless of ethics or not, Indonesia benefitted” (64).

Darusman champions the “extraordinary archival centers” but understands copyright as one of the “development gaps” of Indonesian music (Zakaria et al. 2016:61). He argues that the decision to leave the Berne Convention allowed the Indonesian music industry to be “built on violations of copyright infringement” (61). This policy has had long-term effects on the country’s music industry such as “a lack of appreciation and knowledge of copyright and the lack of a clear royalty distribution process and institutions” (61). This was the cost of having the

¹⁷ The Berne Convention, adopted in 1886, deals with the protection of works and the rights of their authors. It was the first to establish recognition of copyrights among sovereign nations. It provides creators such as authors, musicians, poets, and painters with the means to control how their works are used, by whom, and on what terms.

¹⁸ Indonesia fully withdrew from the UN in 1965. Suharto rejoined after the coup in 1967.

“freedom to duplicate foreign works in Indonesia” (63).¹⁹ The “freedom” being the ability for Indonesian musicians to more easily reference and learn from foreign recordings and books (64).

Copyright infringement in Indonesia reached another critical point in 1985 when musician and event organizer Bob Geldof criticized the Indonesian government for allowing the circulation of pirated tapes of the Live Aid concert, meant to benefit Ethiopian famine victims.²⁰ Although not technically illegal, since Indonesia was not a member of any international copyright convention, the incident embarrassed Indonesian officials. The government responded by amending *Undang-Undang Nomor* (Law Number) 6 of 1982 with the UU No. 7 of 1987. The 1982 law had revoked the still standing (!) Dutch Copyright Act. The 1982 law was amended to explicitly cover the copyright of sound recordings (Uphoff 1990:27–32). Indonesia reentered the Berne Convention in 1997 as part of a more general reentry into the WTO throughout the 1990s, including agreeing to the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). In 2002, a major copyright law update, UU No. 19 of 2002, brought Indonesian law closer to Berne and WIPO standards, replaced again with UU No. 28 of 2014. Even though regulations have been updated many times, weak enforcement has allowed piracy to continue (Zakaria 2017; Uphoff 1990:30–33). Darusman comments on the latest law, UU No. 28 of 2014:

I think the new law is an improvement. Many new things are included such as a longer protection period; the provisions for a more professional collective management agency to regulate collection agencies for royalties; provisions for blocking illegal websites even though it involves cooperation with the Ministry of Communication and Information; as well as the return of copyright status to the songwriter. It is indeed an improvement.

¹⁹ For example, a May 2010 edition of *Rolling Stone Indonesia* notes how there were no definite calculation of royalties for thirteen discs and fourteen cassette albums by kroncong legend Waldjinah (Zakaria et al. 2016:61).

²⁰ In 1985, an estimated 1–2 million pirated Western tapes were being produced monthly for the domestic market and another 1 million exported to the Middle East and Italy (*Tempo* December 21, 1985), which was technically legal.

If we compare this to the 70s period, there was a Presidential Decree Team 34, led by the late Moerdiono who had enough authority to move things that could increase copyright enforcement.²¹ At present the government's attention is divided on infrastructure, drug eradication, food security, a lot. If we pay attention, we must understand the government's limitations. At the moment what is important is cooperation. . . . Leadership is needed here. This is what is needed now. A leader who can unite and drive a forum for copyright advocates. . . . Technology is not only a problem in the Indonesian recording industry, but also globally. We know that there is a digital revolution. (cited in Zakaria et al. 2016:65–66)

Darusman might be this potential copyright leader. He has the experience and vision to change aspects of Indonesian copyright law. Even though he is mostly in favor of a top-down approach, he also knows music communities and grassroots institutions have a role to play.

Darusman discusses the role of archives as part of these laws:

I am reminded of the role of the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia and wonder whether [the grassroots archives] also perform the same function. It doesn't matter if it's the same. If they can work together and complement each other so that it can support copyright enforcement in terms of songwriter data. Indonesian music has invaluable historical value which can be an inspiration to see the extraordinary Ismail Marzuki, Mochtar Embut, and W.R. Supratman. (cited in Zakaria et al. 2016:67)

In the Lokananta Project text, David Tarigan is put into dialogue with Darusman about the practical problems facing music archiving in Indonesia. Tarigan says:

Before the emergence of cassettes in the '70s, you could say there was no music industry in Indonesia. This was due to the limited availability of releases with the phonograph record. It was seen as luxury item limiting the sale and circulation of vinyl albums, which made a small number available now, limiting how many can be saved, and in worse condition. (cited in Zakaria et al. 2016:83)

Regarding working with BEKRAF in 2016, Tarigan said, "It's one of our dreams [to work with the government] because it should be the government's job to archive like the United States has

²¹ Presidential Decree 34 refers to UU No.34 of 1986, forming the *Tim Keppres* 34. The group was meant to draft laws and socialize copyright systems into government agencies, law enforcement, and the community. At that time, Suharto's government was bending to pressure by the UNITED STATES using its trade preferences power General Systems of Preferences. Uphoff concludes that "protection of foreign works has been by all accounts swift and thorough; in contrast, Indonesian artists and producers have not been nearly as effectively protected" (1990:35).

the Library of Congress” (85). He went on about visiting Lokananta, “I think Lokananta wants to be used commercially but there is no way to do it now” (88). Tarigan found the reality of Lokananta’s status as a state institution, specifically authorized by the government, made the situation too difficult to realize his ideas. “We made Irama Nusantara instead of waiting” (88).

Irama Nusanatara and Indonesian Copyright

Gerry Apriryman tells a similar narrative of understanding the history of copyright in Indonesia:

There is major homework for the Indonesian music industry. Since I worked at Irama Nusantara, I worked on older things and realized the fundamental phenomena that shaped the industry today. I gradually learned that there were mistakes made by the government that impact the industry today. The most fundamental was when Sukarno, in 1958, withdrew from the Berne Convention, an agreement to intellectual property rights issues throughout the world. The aim was to facilitate the people of Indonesia as a new country at the time.

It was not a matter of purchasing power. Sukarno was very literate with culture because he was a “background” architect. He certainly understood aesthetics. He also realized that culture could be a political tool. He said Indonesian culture had to be formed first because the country was still new. That’s why artists needed to be more flexible, and not bound by international regulations. Artists could cheat off each other. You want to compose a foreign song? Change the lyrics into Indonesian. Maybe that was acceptable at that time. It might be an easy approach for Indonesian artists at that time to do translation. The point is that Sukarno did not allow arbitrary copycats but wanted to remain flexible in shaping national culture.

Because Sukarno fell in 1967 and then Suharto rose. Suharto might not understand the problem. There was a gap when Suharto allowed all information to come from the West whereas Sukarno had previously refused because he was anti-imperialist. . . . Production of cassettes is cheaper so the industry in the late 1960s–2000s began to grow. Because the poison has not been taken care, the industry is so arbitrary. If there was a management contract with artists, the contracts are superficial.²²

Only in the 1980s was there one concert, Live Aid, which was in the *Bohemian Rhapsody* film, showing Queen’s comeback. The concert was actually a charity concert for

²² “Karena racunnya belum diurusin, industrinya jadi semena-mena. (Kalau) mengurus kontrak dengan artis, kontraknya asal-asalan.”

Africans. In Indonesia, the concerts are put on TV, then recorded by small shady labels, and bootlegs were sold. Bob Geldof, who made Live Aid, sued the Indonesian government at that time. “This can’t be like this. We don’t make this for profit at all, but you’re profitable.” The recording of the Live Aid concert may not have yet been released internationally, but in Indonesia it had already come out. Since then, the Indonesian government began to manage copyright, but it was too late, because the problem had started from the 1950s. Already rooted in the industry. The industry already had a kingdom. There is a Glodok kingdom that must be compensated for.²³

Affairs of the contract are also not right. Maybe now it’s better but the past hasn’t been resolved yet. It’s pretty good for the old labels that still exist, like Musica. You can check it on Spotify. They have a pretty complete catalog. You could say it’s complete, but no. It is what exists. That’s just how it is. It’s good for foreign countries, to get songs from the 1950s or other years. If there is a demand, there is a digital remaster. It used to be a popular to transfer from cassette to cassette. Then from CD to CD. Meanwhile for us, we get things on vinyl, with no additional releases. (Mahardicha 2020)

Apriryana remains pensive on what Irama Nusantara’s actions mean for those outside of the country, for business, and for the government. When Irama Nusantara works with the government or the music industry, how does it help the Indonesian public? Is Irama Nusantara another phase in the long line of Indonesian audio pirates? Are pemuda pirates? Irama Nusantara members are historically conscious agential pemuda, understanding their archiving as critically negotiating friction. As such, they realize how eliding copyright has a historical precedent, particularly in the name of the betterment of the nation.

Thinking back on some of the decisive moments in Indonesian copyright law, the moment of Sukarno left the Berne Convention might be understood as a “weapon of the weak” against international copyright regimes as a tool of the powerful. This encouraged intellectual copyright in Indonesia to become illegible, and resistant to capture. The anti-Western and anti-imperial stance also benefited from the friction of geography—the UNITED STATES attempted

²³ Glodok is a district in West Jakarta where bootleg materials are sold. It was historically a Chinese district during the colonial era. There is a consensus that Indonesian cassette pirates are majority Chinese or ethnic Chinese. Elisabeth Uphoff (1990:35) makes this observation in her work. I have never seen any explicit evidence of this.

to impose Generalized System of Preferences treaties against Indonesia, but Indonesia maintained enough oil reserves and internal economy to unsharpen such blatant measures. Similarly, foreign national governments, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom, sought to impose restrictions or standards on Indonesia's copyright regime. But the Live Aid concert debacle and a botched F.B.I. anti-pirating sting operation in 1985 failed to convince the Indonesian government to immediately enforce international copyright policies (Uphoff 1990:28–29). Indonesia did change its official policies in 1987, but these incidents importantly delivered lessons in not getting caught and how Indonesian could continue laughing at leviathan. Even though laws changed, these incidents also display the limited abilities of international enforcement without national cooperation.²⁴

When Indonesia re-entered the Berne Convention in 1997, its past illegible history of copyright had not yet been resolved. Even though people like Candra Darusman worked to smooth out Indonesian copyright and promote WIPO norms, when groups like Irama Nusantara tried to work with older recordings, friction remains. The enduring friction of Indonesian musical copyright contains the resistance models of Sukarno's anti-imperial politics. This moves against the desires of people like Darusman to make rights legible for the increased profitability of the national and international music industry. "That's just how it is."

Irama Nusantara is not trying to resolve these issues in favor of the government or in favor of capital. They go a third way, through a logic of "education," for the betterment of the Indonesian public. There is no precedent for this kind of non-commercial educational license for

²⁴ Uphoff has a different interpretation where Indonesia got in line for Western copyrighted media, but not in support of Indonesian local artists (1990:34–35). In 2021, I experienced Indonesian's buying copyrighted materials mostly as a class-affirming activity. YouTube (usually unofficial videos) and less often Spotify were used for playback.

music circulation in Indonesia.²⁵ This non-commercial educational license and take-down procedure signals Irama Nusantara is willing to cooperate with the government, business, and anyone (e.g., musicians and family members of) who might feel slighted by the situation. Irama Nusantara members know Indonesian copyright claims in general, especially for older recordings, are loose at best. “The industry is so arbitrary.”

In practice, Irama Nusantara archivists ascribe a moral right to living musicians, by always contacting living musicians for their blessings for reissues or putting recordings online, even though it is not written into law. When looking for older rights bearers, Irama Nusantara archivists look to the recording companies and the surviving musicians. But most companies no longer exist or have been sold several times, and the full list of musicians from the 1970s and earlier are not always listed on disc labels or album covers. It is rare but not impossible, such as Apriryan’s example of Musica, to find a recording where the company and all the musicians can be contacted. When contact is possible, copyright can be sorted out under the most recent 2014 regulations. Musicians and companies can collect royalties from digital streaming services or other points of sale. More often for older recordings, musicians have passed away, and their rights are handed to their families, usually without a clear owner or figurehead that often results in paralyzing disputes. Without a clear way to sort out copyright, a non-commercial educational license is very useful method to get music accessible and circulating again.

A non-commercial educational license becomes licit and de facto legal through the collaboration with government and business. The government interest in such a collaboration

²⁵ Thirty years ago, no such license would be needed. The pirating industry was unlicensed, as long as a little tax money is going to the government, often 15 cents a tape in the 1980s (Uphoff 1990:30). The difference now is that those pirating industries were not “recognized entities,” where the government took action to support those initiatives, rather they took a fee to not look too deeply into the issue.

allows for a new public service without having to put up much initial capital. Further, it requires no changes in the government's archival practices. The record companies benefit from the conditions under which older, resurfaced Indonesian music might potentially become profitable, more legible, and closer to exploitable copyright regimes in the digital realm.

While this collaboration, like most collaborations, entails differing interests and expectations, its happening benefits Irama Nusantara. They receive the blessing of the government and music industry for their unprecedented license, serving as a model for the future sharing of public goods. In this way, I understand the group as heroic, for establishing a project from a shaky legal framework and putting in the effort to legitimize their long-term preservation project by seeing through a collaboration with diverse stakeholders.

Out-of-Office Excursions

Otto: Has the digitation process at Irama Nusantara changed over time?

Apriryan:

First, we borrowed from our collector friends, traders too. In 2016, we entered RRI, *they didn't know our reputation. After we worked for BEKRAF, they opened to us. We could make our workshops in Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Jakarta. We're not going to RRI anymore. They're not too interested in it. They are not open to helping find out what other stations have large collections. They are likely all closed. They closed. They want to keep.* So, we only went to three. We traveled around Java at that time. The next one we wanted to go to was Surabaya. But they closed themselves off. They have autonomous regulations. *They don't want to share. So, Bandung, first.* We also asked for the help from the Central RRI to find information from all over Indonesia, the availability of collections, *but they don't share the data.* I'm sure there are many outside Java, but they are difficult. *Too much for us to go there. Survey. See the collections. When we saw the collections, it's very few and little. It's not worth it.* No catalog. We asked them in the Center, but they didn't have any pity. It is very uncomfortable to work with them.

Otto: So, the information from RRI . . . Can it be opened and released to the public or not?

Apriryan:

Yeah, of course. We did a conference after the project in 2017. We made a press

conference and had a discussion to search for the next project. At that time, the chief programmer [at RRI] wanted to make a radio program to play the music we digitized. After that there is too much intervention and regulation from them. (interview, May 2, 2019)

Apriryan sketches some of the successes and tribulations of Irama Nusantara working with RRI and BEKRAF. He describes how the archivists digitized recordings at the radio stations in Bandung, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta in 2016 and 2017, but were kept out of other stations. By working with BEKRAF, RRI opened to Irama Nusantara, allowing them to come into RRI offices to digitize materials but also to learn about how the long-term preservation at the radio stations is *very few and little*, marked by an absence of a culture of documentation. Irama Nusantara members hoped RRI would have older vinyl recordings in good condition, since the air-conditioned offices have had better maintenance than basement traders, but when they saw the collections, it was much less than expected. RRI had not kept many of the vinyl, selling-off or throwing out materials over time, making Irama Nusantara's encounter much more modest than the carefully maintained mountain of crown jewels they dreamed of.

I heard a similar story when researching at the KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) in Leiden. Henk Schulte Nordholt, the KITLV director at the time, told me that the main source of recordings for the KITLV's Southeast Asian Pop Music online streaming collection, "a [global] jukebox filled with Indonesian pop music," had been from RRI Jakarta (personal communication, September 19, 2018). The vinyl recordings had been discarded as ephemera in the late 1990s, as the station pursued new CD and all-digital formats. The KITLV Jakarta office purchased the to-be-discarded ephemeral recordings in bulk, with many of the album covers missing, quality unassured, and no catalog or other identifying information.

From these stories, it is clear that RRI does not maintain its recordings in a formal long-term archive. Rather its collections are similar to the working collections of a business, in the practice of destroying the oldest documents to make space for new arrivals. Even though I am highlighting RRI's unanticipated absence of an archival culture, Irama Nusantara did find many rare recordings at the stations. The archivists wanted to continue to other RRI in Java and beyond, but found the combination of difficulty of access, travel, and dearth of documentation made such drawn out undertakings "not worth it."²⁶

Apriryman remembers a 2017 press conference in Bandung (Irama Nusantara 2016) celebrating Irama Nusantara's work with and at RRI through the BEKRAF collaboration. During the same period, the archivists drew on their own network, most importantly the collection of Haryadi Suadi, an Art and Design professor at ITB.²⁷ Apriryman describes how they digitized "the 78s in Bandung" from "the legendary print making artist" (personal communication, May 2, 2019). Tarigan found about Suadi's collection of pre-Independence popular culture materials while studying with him. When discussing Irama Nusantara's collection of 78 rpm shellac discs. Tarigan said:

They're all hard to come by. Most of them are private. What we have is mostly from Haryadi Suadi's collection. When he was still alive, I asked permission. He said yes. Then he died. We then contacted his family. They allowed it. (Cited in Wahono 2019)

About Suadi's 78s, Gerry Apriryman said:

He collects gramophone records and old magazines. We wanted to digitize the collection. From the 1920s and 30s. I forgot the name of the magazine. He has room with the wall covered with books and magazines. His son is studying fine arts too. My senior and David's junior. Radi . . . You can see his collection. I haven't seen all of the collection. I

²⁶ To my knowledge, Irama Nusantara members carried out surveys at RRI Surabaya and RRI Semarang but were not able to digitize any recordings at either location.

²⁷ Other major contributors to Irama Nusantara's materials come from the Laidback Blues record store, District Wax record store, and the family holdings of the Remaco Record.

think [Haryadi] is really into popular culture music in Indonesia, pre-Independence. He researched radio at that time too. He was into popular culture, or maybe art, because he is an artist. (interview, May 2, 2019)

I had learned this story repeatedly, being told by David, Gerry, and Alvin in our conversations and interviews and documented in the Irama Nusantara 2016 BEKRAF report. The archivists all recommended I get in contact with Suadi's son, Radi Arwinda. Repeatedly they would give me his contact information and even digitally introduced us. But Arwinda never set a meeting time and kept obfuscating conversations about me visiting.²⁸ Eventually, I began to hear how Suadi had requested to keep his collection for Indonesians.

Otto: Yes, I've messaged [Radi] on WhatsApp and Facebook a number of times. I've tried to talk to him this whole time. It's just never really worked out.

Tarigan:

Oh, really? Yeah. Because you're American. It just never quite happens like his father. They always say that. "I don't want to." Because it's supposed to be us. (personal communication, October 29, 2019)

Suadi's collection was made by an Indonesian for Indonesians, an ethos continued in Irama Nusantara. Even without formal contracts, Irama Nusantara members make sure things are kept

²⁸ I was particularly interested as one of Suadi's books had recently been released, *Djiwa Manis Indoeng Disajang: Djilid 1* (Indonesian Sweet Souls on Display: Volume 1). Suadi was writing a book series from his documentation to describe the development of entertainment music in Indonesia from the late 19th century to independence. The first volume details kroncong from Suadi's extensive collection. It features extended biographies of singers, musicians, and songwriters from largely unknown magazines and popular media. I heard volume 2 would focus on jazz and popular song. The Bandung bookstore, Kineruku, described: "Volume 2 contains discussions of other types of entertainment songs, such as *stambul*, Malay rhythm, *gambus*, *gambang keromong*, children's songs, spiritual songs (*lagu rohani*), hymns, and anthems." Suadi's sees Western influences as having an important role in "determining the course of our musical development." Volume 2 would discuss "modern-style Indonesian music" such as *langgam modern*, jazz, and Hawaiian rhythms. Volume 3 would discuss the presence of foreign musical arts (Dutch, British, and American) in Indonesia. For me, this implies that the music in Volume 2, the "modern-styles of Indonesian music" are less foreign and have been domesticated in that helped establish contemporary Indonesian musical styles and were meaningfully localized. I never saw Volume 2 or 3, only the promotion at Kineruku.

in Indonesia and focus on Indonesians as the primary end users of their collections. When I discussed the idea of maintaining some recordings abroad or collaborating with American or European institutions, the Irama Nusantara archivists always reiterated their mission of increasing public awareness of Indonesian popular music heritage as part of national identity.

This political position can be understood in the archive's name. The name Irama Nusantara implies an Indonesian preference, of a project for Indonesians by Indonesians. Irama Nusantara translates to something like "the rhythm of the archipelago." But *irama* is not just an analog for rhythm (that would be *ritme*), rather *irama* also includes temporal density, temporal flow, and gets at ideas of musical feeling often related to gamelan and other traditional musical practices in Indonesia. *Irama* is a very emic way to discuss the timed patterning of musical sound. Similarly, *Nusantara* implies an archipelago, but more specifically, the *nusa* (islands) *antara* (between), the ocean that make up what is now known as the Indonesian archipelago. *Nusantara* does not apply to other archipelagos. The correct word for that would be *kepulauan*. The word *Nusantara* is taken from an oath in 1336 by Gajah Mada, a powerful military leader and prime minister of the Majapahit empire. The writer and politician Setiabudi (Ernest Douwes Dekker) (and possibly earlier by Raden Mas Suwardi Suryaningrat) repurposed the term in the 1920s as the potential name for the nascent country, as a way of not using the colonial baggage of the mislabeled "Indies" (Evers 2016:4–6). Development scholar Hans-Dieter Evers traces how the meaning of *Nusantara* has expanded into something more like the "greater Indonesia" region. Like *irama*, *Nusantara* describes a geographical region through an emic discourse. By naming their project Irama Nusantara, the mission of an archive for Indonesians by Indonesians is clear.

Coming to Collectors at Blok M

Apriryan:

We spend a lot of time finding sources of recordings and releases. It's getting harder. Because at first, we used our private collection. Then we borrowed from our collector friends. The names in those collections are definitely cool. Cool collections. What is considered not cool by collectors is not stored. So, we have to go back to a bigger source, namely traders. Traders don't see what's cool or anything. [For them] what's cool gets more expensive. So, what's not cool we borrow. Sometimes we buy too. Then we return [the recordings] after about one week.

In the last two years, we opened a kiosk at Blok M Square. We borrow from the kiosks, and we digitize. After we had access from the government to go to RRI, it's difficult to continue to collect. The more we collect, the less common it is. The operational work is also quite long. The first way is to replay, record, and output to the software. We need real time, about 10–15 albums a day. We also do audio restoration and visuals as well. (Mahardicha 2020)

I had been told these kinds of projects were going on, but I have never experienced one of them firsthand. After several trips to Irama Nusantara's offices, I made a plan to meet Alvin and David for final interviews, as my fieldwork period was ending. Tarigan was returning from Japan, where he had been participating in a new BEKRAF-led initiative called "Hello Dangdut."

"Hello Dangdut" was a 2018 governmental campaign aiming to promote "dangdut as a key element of Indonesian music identity in the eyes of the international community" (hellodangdut.id 2018). They installed small dangdut clubs at largescale events like South by Southwest, to embody the dangdut listening culture for the international market (see Appendix A, figures 4.6–7).²⁹ Similar to Irama Nusantara's contribution to the jazz community (the focus of the next section), their participation in "Hello Dangdut" rested on their ability to contribute

²⁹ I attended a few DJ sessions by Tarigan where he brought in vinyl of dangdut, and older popular styles thematically connected by the fact that each selection referenced (or stole) a Beatles riff or key melodic motive. I suggest that the interest in his sets lied more in highlighting this Indonesian blurredness towards international copyright norms rather than any major commitment to dangdut as a musical form and cultural sensibility.

information rather than any exaggerated interest in dangdut. “Hello Dangdut” helped pay the archive’s bills.

After my arrival at the South Jakarta Cipete Raya MRT (Mass Rapid Transit) train station, David messaged that a series of typhoons delayed his departure. I messaged Alvin Yunata.³⁰ Alvin could not come to office due to his sick daughter. I messaged Alvin some of my prepared questions. I asked: “How much are you digitalizing weekly at the office?” To which he replied: “Oh, we’re not doing that here now. Reno and Dresthi are at the stall at Blok M. They are only there a few more weeks and then they will be back” (fieldnotes, October 6, 2019).³¹ Without someone to meet, I rode the MRT back to Blok M, only three stops away.

Typically, when Irama Nusantara borrows a recording, it stays in their possession for one to three months. For the traders at Blok M, this is too long. They sell physical things and need their materials handy in order to sell them. Blok M is a well-known shopping district for electronics and old musical media, particularly cassettes and vinyl in the basement *Pasar Musik* (Music Market). Some call these traders the “Blok M mafia,” due to the group’s practice of getting first dibs on resurfaced rare recordings. The “mafia” often buys every copy of rare recordings, allowing the group to maintain a monopoly and set the price.

By lending recordings to Irama Nusantara, Blok M traders hope to increase the awareness of specific recordings to music collectors. The market of buyers might expand, and with more buyers competing, the price of the physical copies sold by Blok M traders might be driven-up

³⁰ Alvin Yunata played guitar in the Bandung indie punk band Teenage Death Star before teaming up with Tarigan in 2011 on Irama Nusantara.

³¹ “Berapa vinyl yg didigitasi lo per minggu?” “Oh, kami tidak digitasi di sini skrng. Reno dan Dresthi ada di stall di Blok M. Mereka hanya ada beberapa minggu lagi dan kembali.” “Sip! Saya akan pasti mengunjungi ke sana waktu saya ada minggu depan!”

(Tarigan, personal communication, May 2, 2019). When digitizing recordings from the Blok M “mafia,” the archivists could waste days running back and forth in the hot Jakarta traffic, before the trainline existed. Instead of a constant back and forth, Irama Nusantara thought to rent a stall to house their digitization hardware in Blok M for three months in 2019. Traders would never have to part with a recording for long, and if they needed it back, it was just a few steps away. This process also allowed Irama Nusantara to avoid pay high lending fees to borrow recordings (a fee that would be returned once recordings were given/sold back).

I went to Blok M Square, into the basement, passing the automatic sewing machines, where Gojek motorbike drivers were having their logos reprinted to fit the brand’s update (see figure 4.5). Gojek, the newest and extremely useful online application for the private transportation of motorbikes, cars, and food delivery, seems to require their drivers update their own logos. The *Pasar Musik* is only a small section of the seven story Blok M Plaza, the main building of the Blok M Square shopping district. *Pasar Musik* is located in the hot, dusty, crowded windowless middle of the Plaza’s basement.

This DIY digitization station included two vinyl players with dedicated power supplies and preamps, connected via an analog-to-digital converter into a laptop. The laptop had painter’s tape next to the touchpad with analog routing numbers written in marker for shorthand in this three-month temporary office (see Appendix A, figures 4.1–4). Behind the vinyl players were clothes and squirt bottles with soapy liquid for quick dust and grime removal before digitizing discs. Another desk bore a high-quality scanner, connected to a stickerless desktop computer, with multiple connected external hard drives, and a power voltage regulator allowing Blok M’s unstable electricity to be used without fear of overloading devices. Similar power voltage regulators are used in Irama Nusantara’s main office. Elsewhere in the stall are stickers related to

the interest and endeavors of Irama Nusantara members, including an *Aktuil* magazine sticker on the vinyl player (the same one I had seen months before at their office) and stickers of the Hello Dangdut campaign, the band The Upstairs, La Munai record label, and a sticker for the jazz trio LLW (Indra Lesmana, Barry Likumahuwa, and Sandy Winarta) (see figure 4.3). Inside the stall, a drying rack held recordings in the digitization que. Other discs rested neatly nearby, stacked on the floor inside their covers with extra protective plastic coverings.

I introduced myself to Reno and Dresthi. My introductory messages blocked due to the limited subterranean cellphone service. I asked about their experiences digitizing materials. Was it easy to borrow records (from the “mafia”)? How was the quality? Any surprises? They answered as they rushed about completing multiple processes. “It’s a lot of work.” “Yes and no.” “Good, of course.” “Not so much.” Dresthi finished scanning an *Aktuil* magazine. Reno cleaned a disc and let it dry. He turned back to the real-time digitalization, ensuring the disc remained level for the best possible quality. Reno slipped on his headphones to check the playback. Dresthi paced up and down the stalls talking to traders, looking for more materials to digitize (see figures 4.3–4). He chatted with a cigarette in his mouth and offered food he bought from the nearby *gorengan* [fried food] stall. Reno wore a cloth surgical mask most of the time we spoke. He seemed happy to talk because “it’s lonely doing this all day” (fieldnotes, October 14, 2019). He slipped back on his headphones to check each track on the laptop’s free Audacity digital audio workstation (see figure 4.1). “It’s nasty down here. I’m glad we get to go in a few weeks. It’s already been a long time.”

ARCHIVAL PEMUDA

Even as Reno and Dresthi remained pleasant and diligent, their pemuda energy and drive seemed to be waning in the windowless basement after two and a half months of work. I am reminded of comments by Indonesian media scholar Idhar Resmadi about Indonesian archiving as a “lonely path” that “will continue to feel lonely because the archivist is truly alone” (2020). Resmadi points to the difficulty of archiving in Indonesia as a solitary endeavor that limits the amount one can socialize. Reno and Dresthi felt this lonely pain.

I also think of the analysis of archival *Dust* (2002) by historian Carolyn Steedman. She theorizes about how and why the “by-product of all the filthy trades that have, by circuitous routes, deposited their end-products in the archives” (27). She points out how “many of the industrial hazards and diseases that were mapped out in the course of the century” (22) link archival laborers and scholars to occupational hazards via archival objects. Archivists (and scholars studying or using archives) encounter potentially dangerous archival dust. Archival dust can literally kill people.³²

Steedman goes on to reconsider Jacques Derrida’s *Archive Fever*: the drive to document, consign, and assemble as a fever, “a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin” (Derrida 1996:91). Steedman uses this to continue her critique of historians using archives, of what she calls “Archive Fever Proper” (2002:28). For

³² Dust is an organic and inorganic combination that gives medically detectable “brain-fever” (2002:21). Jules Michelet breathed in: “The dust of the makers who made the papers and parchments; the dust of the animals who provided the skins for their leather bindings. He inhaled the by-product of all the filthy trades that have, by circuitous routes, deposited their end-products in the archives. And we are forced to consider whether it was not life that he breathed into ‘the souls who had suffered so long ago and who were smothered now in the past’, but death that he took into himself, with each lungful of dust” (27). Steedman talks about Michelet as potentially getting seriously ill from this dust, possibly anthrax meningitis.

Steedman, it is not the ailment associated with archived materials' situation under "house arrest," as Derrida described as part of Freudian drives, but rather a conceptualization of a literal and metaphorical hybrid fever that combines the possibility of pernicious forms of dust with the fevered frustration of the visiting historian "arrested" by the debilitating recognition that "there will be something left unread, unnoted, untranscribed" (18). Archive Fever Proper is about the fevers involved in the making of and using of archives.

Through Derrida's deconstructive, and possibly political, thoughts and Steedman's practicality, I want to fold Irama Nusantara's "archive fever" and "Archive Fever Proper" into what anthropologist Doreen Lee calls "pemuda fever." For Lee, pemuda fever has the Reformasi generation understanding "their place in the world, as an extension of this nationalist history, as mandate, calling, and destiny (*takdir*)" (2016:11). Pemuda fever is a feeling of a historically charged present of political belonging and identification recognized in post-Suharto Indonesia. It can be externalized in the "hands of activists" as "a meaningful, emotive, and highly productive genre of nationalism that dynamically and practically reflects an interior state" (2016:12). But she challenges the notion of a fever. She stipulates how the theoretical objectification of a pemuda "fever" can lead to "the irrational, the loss of self" that might demystify or reduce activists' intentions to a single motif (12). I already presented this danger of a single motive of the pemuda in the public sphere (chapter two) as being spoken for and flattened by the state (Strassler 2005; 2008).

My research, years after Lee's ethnographic study of explicit political activists, finds pemuda fever lowering and disillusioned with less interest in resolving political issues through state reform. The archival pemuda, no longer blinded by passionate fevers, begin to see more clearly. A prolonged fever is exhausting and potentially deadly if other parts of life are left

unattended. For the Reformasi to continue, there also needs to be enjoyment and solace. Dancing to the soundtrack of a resistance or shirking the rules, adding some levity to future activism. When the fever breaks, saving cultural heritage from the locked rooms of RRI, private collections of renown artists, or dusty basements and dirty streets of mega metropolises, while exciting and cool, also takes determined and persistent work. The wonder of collecting and #gilavinyl folds into meticulous method. The cool and collected archival pemuda set out to execute all the cutout work that still needs doing.

While Steedman analytically targets academic historians and their institutional archives, it also relates to the archival dust and the activities of Irama Nusantara in the basement of Blok M. Dresthi runs around having the fevered frustration of documenting as many of the trader's records as possible. Reno is wearing a mask; he feels sick. The basement's lack of light and proper ventilation is getting to him. Both are part of a grassroots project seeking to reclaim the pemuda identity away from state capture. They archive in a period of relative political calm; documentation and collection already underway, seeking out recordings not found in the cool collections. The fever might be lowering, the romanticism of fashioning cool identities from cool collections might dissipate. Irama Nusantara's archival pemuda enter a new debate, the politics of preservation. Long-term efforts cannot be sustained in a feverous zeal. The effort for out-of-office excursions is draining of energy, finances, and health. It remains difficult, not just logistically, but also emotionally and physically to take part in on-site digitization plans. While members of Irama Nusantara maintain enough funding and personnel to cover their costs through political collaboration and their own campaigns, grassroots archiving in Indonesia remains difficult and precarious work.

“What is considered not cool by collectors is not stored. . . . Traders don’t see what’s cool.” Irama Nusantara’s Blok M stall digitizes recordings beyond the cool collectors, allowing the archivists to become privy to genres, styles, and histories beyond their tastes. The last section of this chapter focuses on how the jazz community benefits from Irama Nusantara’s activities. Even though jazz is not a specific focus of Irama Nusantara’s preservation activities, it remains one of the most accessible and useable collections of jazz recordings in Indonesia.

PRESENTING IRAMA NUSANTARA TO THE JAZZ COMMUNITY

David Tarigan, known among Irama Nusantara members as the “professor,” often speaks at all kinds of events related to Indonesian popular music and archiving (see Appendix A, figure 4.15). For this last section, I focus on one of these events: the “Frontiers of Jazz” discussion at the 2019 Jazz Buzz Festival hosted at the Salihara Art and Music Space in South Jakarta. Music industry professional Aldo Sianturi interviewed Tarigan and jazz pianist Sri Hanuraga (“Aga”), about the history and contemporary practice of jazz in Indonesia.³³

From this broad interview and discussion, I want to draw out two main qualities. First, Aga points out how jazz musicians in Indonesia were never “pure” or “only” jazz musicians. Rather Indonesian jazz musicians always performed, listened to, and enjoyed other styles, including classical music, traditional styles, and other popular musics. This qualifies Irama Nusantara’s far-reaching collection of modern Indonesian music as pertinent to the discussion of

³³ Aldo Sianturi currently works as the Chief Digital Officer at demajors Independent Music Industry and has formally worked as the Chief Operating Officer at Billboard Indonesia, CEO at Musik Bagus, and many other positions. Sri Hanuraga’s work spans jazz, classical, pop, and experimental with notable collaborations with jazz/ethnic fusion group Simak Dialogue and with pop/indie/jazz guitarist Gerald Situmorang. From 2006 to 2011, he studied the Conservatory of Amsterdam. He won the *Anugerah Musik Indonesia* (Indonesian Music Award) for Best Jazz Instrumental Artist in 2016 and 2019, among many other awards and notable accomplishments.

Indonesia's jazz heritage. Instead of framing this genre-dilettante quality as an undesirable, Aga sees the heterogenous musical interests as an asset that inspires Indonesian jazz musicians to adopt new and diverse styles as extending their musical practice. These mixed styles might also potentially attract new Indonesian audiences to jazz. In my discussions with Aga later that evening, he described his observation of Indonesian jazz audiences as being much younger and more populated by a general public compared to his time in Europe where audiences were mostly "parents and college music students" (personal communication, February 16, 2019).

Second, Tarigan explains the pervasiveness of Indonesian musicians with eclectic tastes. He illustrates how Indonesian jazz musicians can be heard on many pop recordings through a specific music industry practice where companies would pay for twelve song pop albums and allow for one of the songs to be "free," for the musicians to record whatever they want. Tarigan declares these "free" songs can be understood as the musician's "true identity" (*jati diri aslinya dia*). Many of these "free" songs included jazz solos, common jazz chord progressions, and swing drum rhythms. From my archival research, two examples of this are the songs "*Paparisa*" by Didi Pattirane and "*Biduk Kasihku*" by Mochtar Embut, sung by jazz crooner Sam Saimun on Irama Records.³⁴ There are numerous popular music albums with one "free" song featuring musicians showing off their jazz chops.

This industry practice follows a notion I often heard articulated during interviews with Indonesian jazz community members about how Indonesian pop musicians would be jazz

³⁴ More examples of single track jazz-like songs on otherwise popular music recordings, as categorized in the *Anthologi Musik Jazz dan Populer* (2017:ix–xii), include Mochtar Embut's "*Biola Djiwaku*" sung by Sam Saimun on the Lokananta *Rangkaian Lagu2 Hiburan* (ARI-043); "*Di Wajahmu Kulihat Bulan*" sung by Rafika Duri on *Lagu-lagu Pop & Bossanova Indonesia* via the Musica label; Titiek Puspa's "*Sebentuk Tjintjin*" on *Doa Ibu*; and versions of songs by Ismail Marzuki "*Djauh di Mata*" (Nick Mamahit version); and "*Hanya Semalam*."

musicians if it were finically viable (interviews, Mustafa van Diest 2019; Hanuraga 2019; Manaf 2017; 2018; 2019). Contemporary jazz bassist Rudy Zulkarnaen offered himself as an example of someone who plays with an experimental jazz group, Simak Dialog, as well as with the pop-jazz singer Tulus. Indonesian jazz musicians today can make a living by playing in pop bands or producing pop recordings. Through Tarigan's remark, jazz identities might be heard on albums labeled pop. Close and attentive listening to Indonesian pop albums can showcase jazz as a living tradition in Indonesia's recording industry and as another important popular music in Indonesia.

At the "Frontiers of Jazz" discussion, Aga began by explaining his understanding of jazz in Indonesia:³⁵

Last year [at the Jazz Buzz Festival] the main style was jazz fusion and smooth jazz from the 80s, the most common form of jazz in Indonesia. When Indonesian people say they know jazz. It sounds mostly like that. . . . Most Indonesian jazz festivals are mainly pop and fusion music. . . . I can categorize the Jazz Buzz performers into three outlooks related to jazz history and technicality. First, people who cross borders in the technical musical sense. Second, people who play in clear jazz boundaries, and third, people outside of jazz, who want to play cross-border music, but they cannot be called jazz musicians, regardless of if they are good or not. . . .

I've watched Ligo have success at Jazz Buzz. Their free jazz approach also includes rock. . . . At the level of composition, Dewa Budjana manages to incorporate the Balinese tradition. Why do I say composition? Because innovation in jazz is seen from its improvisation. If we look at the development of jazz, it all has roots in bebop. From there people deconstruct. No matter how strange. It must be related to bebop. The history of jazz development has been constantly related to bebop since the 1950s. Against various other music *idioms*, it changed and developed. Mas Budjana crossed at the level of composition but not improvisation. Since bebop emerged, jazz has struggled to further develop its improvised language. The second kind of jazz is like Andre Dinuth. It's fusion, jazz rock. Mas Tohpati too. For the third, there are plenty. Last year, Trodon played metal. There was no jazz. Also, Sengat last week. . . .

Aldo Sianturi:

³⁵ This exchange was spoken in Bahasa Indonesia with Betawi slang and English loan words, the vernacular language of the South Jakarta audience. Unlike previous translations, only some phrases are presented with their original language to clarify key terms and concepts. Anything in italics was spoken in English. Otherwise, the discussion is heavily edited for ease of reading, without markings for the original spoken language.

Aga introduced [new styles] to the market, from the side of composition and new harmonization. But how do we get that *message* to the *market*? Should there be more venues or events like Jazz Buzz? . . .

David Tarigan:

It is a challenging music. It is difficult to “Push the Boundaries” as jazz is still difficult to accept in this country. Like Aga said, the most popular jazz is the soft fusion of the 80s, or the jazzy compilations of the same era. Those kinds of compilations continue to be released and re-released. But jazz is not fully understood, before we talk about the pushing the boundaries. Maybe it’s because I am more active in the indie scene or pop alternative music, which is more popular in Indonesia. In those styles, I see many cases of actually pushing boundaries. Attention to music like that is growing. This can also be applied to this festival. . . .

A well-curated event, where cool people socialize. Even though this event is cool, it is very abstract. It should be more real. Actually, at the jazz festivals, there are a lot of weird things. But most of the audience only want to see the big acts and smooth jazz. . . . Jazz in Indonesia has its own story. It’s not easy to play jazz in Indonesia for a long time. To be able to play it in Indonesia, even the Indonesian musicians from the 70s and 80s, you need to feel jazz inside yourself. But now, Aga can go to school abroad, and collaborate with musicians from New York and all over. . . . Today’s exploration can go anywhere with the ease of access to all kinds of things. The quality is formidable. It’s more of a matter about how musicians can survive and explore at the same time. We don’t always know. Aga might play pop later.

Aldo Sianturi:

Exploration is the important keyword. I wanted to talk to Aga about the depth. How do you motivate yourself for big challenges? Everything starts with a *blank canvas* of one color before it becomes a masterpiece. What is your motivation Aga? You have a fairly dynamic journey. Because of your work, people want to know more about Indonesia. There were researchers from abroad researching jazz in Indonesia, and later we will have their questions.³⁶ We need to understand, the *landscape of jazz music in Indonesia*. What motivates Aga to wake up? It must be to become part of the community here. Why not move to another country? . . . It is interesting to think about actually loving the *DNA* that exists in this country.

Sri Hanuraga:

My motivation arises from unplanned things. It’s like tumbling [*nyemplung*]. Talking about which country. When I saw my school friends in Europe, they were in an environment that only contained jazz music. I saw those people tended to be exposed to the same kind of music over and over again. For example, free jazz in the late 50s was atonal and new. But today that sound is the sound of the 60s. When I see people who are pushing boundaries in jazz, they can do it because they are exposed to other music. The

³⁶ An unexpected shout out to me, in the about fifty-person audience. I asked questions in the Q and A section following this discussion.

inspiration is always from other music. For example, I met pianist Jason Moran, who was on the American jazz frontier and curator at Lincoln Center. He said if you want to innovate, don't listen to the current jazz. You listen to traditional jazz. Outside of that, listen to other current music . . . When I returned to Indonesia, I began to interact with the music industry, it was something fresh. When I listen to pop music today, it's actually really cool. There are a lot of new explorations that are not done in art music. I get a lot of inspiration from the music industry. . . . I was not in one *bubble*, content just listening to jazz. . . .

Two years ago, my mentor Riza Arshad died. I was asked to replace him in his group Simak Dialog. That was a big *trigger* and a *turning point* for me to explore traditional Indonesian music more deeply. My journey to start playing with Simak Dialog was not easy. It was January 2016 when Riza Arshad died. There was a concert *remembering* Riza Arshad at Gedung Kesenian Jakarta. They invited me because they needed someone quickly, one month after Riza died. There was a new Simak Dialog composition that we planned to perform. The problem was that there was no *sheet music* or *parts*, even though the song was very complex. It was a big challenge for me. I had to *transcribe* and study the *technically demanding* sections. The composition is really long. There are *technical boundaries* before finally I can reach the *level* of music, *making music* with the trio, which did not use a drum set but used a kendang Sunda. From a technical point of view, the composition and transcribing were very demanding. . . . I started to practice with the trio. I had the problem about how to adjust my language to the drummer Cucu Kurnia. Turns out it wasn't that difficult because Kang Cucu is a skilled musician. . . . I don't know if there are other players who have succeeded in synthesizing Indonesian traditional music idioms with jazz. Even though Kang Cucu is a kendang player, he has studied *jazz drumming idioms*. When I played, he could play *jazz drumming idioms* treated on kendang. I was not satisfied because I couldn't play like him, I had to cross too. At first, he was the one who adapted more to me, since then I started coming towards him. I was inspired that a *synthesis* can really happen in two different *idioms*. It's really smooth. I don't even know which is tradition and which is *modern jazz drumming*.³⁷

AS: A long story Aga. What motivates us all, of course, is the journey. Indonesia can't forget about Tarigan, why? Because David Tarigan was a producer for the album *Jazz Masa Kini* [Today's Jazz]. This album was also the name of a compilation from the 80s. Before we talk about Bhaskara, Modulus, Emerald, this album was released by Tarigan, because the lineage of those groups was broken in Indonesia. If we still had Des Indes Hotel in Jakarta, with our senior musicians playing on there . . . Indonesia has a lot of musicians, like drummer Eddy Tulis.

³⁷ I later asked Aga about Bubi Chen's example of playing traditional Indonesian music on piano, like *Djanger Bali* (1967) or *Kedamaian* (1989). He thought Chen learned traditional music by listening. Aga thought Chen knew how to listen differently. Compared his training in Amsterdam, he thought the school might break jazz down step by step. Instead, he found that the program to be a lot of listening. Aga spoke about seeking to generate an Indonesian jazz style like Tigran Hamasyan with Armenian traditional music (personal communication, February 16, 2019).

I want to discuss, maybe not everyone knows, about the guts of *Jazz Masa Kini*. If we talk about cross-border jazz, this album was *one vehicle*.³⁸ For example, in the past Indra Aziz was not on YouTube, but *Jazz Masa Kini* was the first *vehicle* for Indra Aziz. He has had a long journey with his voice. Even though, Sub Pop Records contacted David, jazz is also in your blood. Now, *Jazz Masa Kini*, is not allowed to be *Jazz Masa Gitu* [that's it]. . . .³⁹

DT: *Jazz Masa Kini* is just an attempt to capture . . . like a soccer scout, looking for what is going to be big. Like *talent scouting*. I looked at the existing trends. In the case of *Jazz Masa Kini*, there was new music school, [Musik Daya Indonesia]. That's where I saw everything that was new in Indonesian jazz at that time. It was very fresh. Different from the Indonesian jazz that I used to know. The people, the way they think, are rich in our generation. Millennials are different, very different. I'm just trying to catch this gang instead of waiting for the jazz musicians to record one by one. You know how many jazz recordings there are in Indonesia, especially if you wait for them to make an album, it's too long a process. During the transition, when people started recording digitally, not many had access to it. It was still quite expensive unlike now. I thought, "What if we accommodate all of these talents at once?" I forgot who everyone was, there were so many. Of course, there was the Tomorrow People Ensemble. It was one of their first recordings. Dion Janapria, who had just returned from the Netherlands, we immediately got him to record.⁴⁰ There was Indra Aziz and Ricky Leonardi. . . .

It's actually the same idea I discussed at the beginning, how we collect something based on a trend. Things that have one common thread with each other. Then well curated, selected. Then exposed and well socialized too. . . . We also followed the musicians at Java Jazz because of the close timing. We would sell the album there and let people know. The musicians on the album were still new but this was the real future of Indonesian jazz. What was done by them at that time was not much, what they could do in Indonesia. So hopefully with Jazz Buzz, something similar can be done. But how can it be realized? What can be done to socialize and package in a more fitting and *cool* way?

AS: Very interesting. Many in the audience do not know about David's involvement with the *Irama Nusantara Movement*. Irama Nusantara makes David quite familiar with the

³⁸ I understand Aldo's use of the English *vehicle* as connoting a path into a successful music industry career.

³⁹ Tarigan's Askara records released a cassette and CD of the album *Jazz Masa Kini: The New Wave of Indonesian Jazz* in 2006. It featured musicians most from Jakarta and Bandung, including Indra Aziz (with his aptly titled song "Jakarta City Blues"); Imam Pras Quartet; Mian Tiara, Riza Arshad, Ricky Lionardi; Parkdrive; Nial Djuliarso; and the Tomorrow People Ensemble. The title references earlier releases in the jazz community such as a 1982 *Jazz Masa Kini* cassette by the Abadi Soesman Band released by Atlantic Records (AR 006), itself a reference to the 1976 cassette *Jazz Masa Lalu dan Masa Kini*, which featured Jack Lesmana, Bubi Chen, Benny Mustafa, The Jazz Riders, Mona Sitompul, and Rien Djamain, released by Hidayat records. Each of these recordings is a timestamped and interconnected who's who of Indonesia's jazz community at that point.

⁴⁰ Dion Janapria is the man editor of the *Anthologi Musik Jazz dan Populer* (chapter six).

Indonesian catalogs from the past. Maybe there was a moment when David realized that Indonesia in fact already had a strong jazz texture. Is there?

DT: Oh, that's clear. At one time, jazz could be referred to as popular music, even in the 50s there was *mainstream jazz*, swing, and others. Its popularity lessened because of rock 'n' roll. Everyone knows a lot about what happened. Because jazz is everywhere, including in Indonesia, it's on the recordings. I'm an archivist. I listen to the results of the recordings. I also read. Jazz music is often played, even from the 30s in Indonesia. Maybe in the 20s it was already here, because jazz is already popular then. We know America's influence after the Second World War is enormous but there is no intact jazz recording in Indonesia.

This might be because you could say the Indonesian music recording industry started after independence. What we know today, the music industry started from the 50s because that was the first time there was a record label and vinyl pressing in Indonesia, whose owner was also an Indonesian. One of the first record labels after independence was Irama Records, Mas Yos Karsono. At that time, he was the biggest jazz supporter. He's a jazz fan even though he's an air force guy. He was a real artist. When Irama Records was opened, he immediately made a group as an accompaniment band and to make music. He made a trio and quartet called Irama Trio/Quartet. It was jazz. The first record he recorded was jazz. But he said, "I released it, but no one bought it." So, he tried to compromise. This generation had 50s entertainment (*hiburan*) music. It was pop that smelled of jazz [*pop yang berbau jazz*]. You could say vocal jazz. There was kroncong, *seriosa*, and there are other styles like cha cha. But jazz is actually popular, but not on recordings. There are recordings that smell of jazz. There were recordings released by Lokananta [that smell of jazz] but only for a certain moment. Perhaps you could say that the first jazz smelling recording in Indonesia was in 1967. It was the Indonesian All Star with the help of Tony Scott's signature. But that's the foundation of Indonesian Jazz.

AS: I have one vinyl record from the Marihot Trio. That's jazz from the Batak. I found it by the Riviera in France. I mean, why was this in Indonesia? We have a lot of small explosions, but then they disappear with time. What is the meaning of our prayers every morning, right? Sri Hanuraga don't disappear from jazz. I also got a vinyl record from Trio the King's, Pop Tapanuli, and the producer, the late Bartje Van Houten. The music was a bit funk, right? But it disappeared again. Why does it happen in Indonesia like that? Is this game or what?

DT: [. . .] We are dealing with industry, very commercial. The efforts to push the boundaries are of course minimal in recordings. . . . But the funny thing is that in Indonesia, when recording an album, there is usually a song where the musicians explore. I thought this, that the musicians at that time were told by the label middlemen how to make music. But in twelve songs, one song was free. But that song is his true identity. [*Tapi dalam 12 lagu, 1 lagu bebas. Tapi itu adalah jati diri aslinya dia*]. Including jazz. So, Indonesian jazz musicians can be found on pop recordings. As soon as I find certain names on a recording, I will pay more attention. Because there will be a moment where he will explore. The *parameters* of his ability can be seen. Like Didi Chia, who was very senior

in the 70s playing pop disco, really cool disco. Eddy Tulis playing everywhere. Benny [Mustafa] the drummer is everywhere, totally different each time. Aga also for sure. He plays pop, immediately sounding different from other pop. I look for things like that. I heard examples of it from scavenging [and digging for vinyl]. Like Indra Lesmana and Sophia Latjuba's pop. It's different from other pop. . . .

KEEPING JAZZ ILLEGIBLE AT IRAMA NUSANTARA

I want to reiterate a few main themes from this far-ranging discussion. David and Aga both describe the bi-musical or poly-musical abilities of Indonesian popular musicians. Neither take issue with musicians playing multiple genres, since music industry labels do not dictate a musician's "true identity." While the Indonesian music industry seems to maintain some genre archetypes, musicians frequently demonstrate the ability to cross boundaries. Pop musicians dabble in jazz. Jazz musicians enjoy metal concerts. Musicians make all sorts of concessions for an industry payday, but this does not stifle the creative possibilities of one "free" song.

In my archival research of popular music albums from the 1950s to 1980s released on vinyl, I found most mainstream popular music albums consisted of eight tracks, and secondarily, twelve tracks. Albums could be anywhere from six to twelve tracks on two sides of one LP disc. While the numbers varied from Tarigan's "one in twelve" declaration, I also noticed how one or two tracks would often differ substantially in style from the other tracks on the album. I take these different tracks to meaningfully be the musician's "true identity."

Both Aga and David smell jazz in many kinds of popular music, but instead of trying to spell out blankly that some people were jazz musicians, and some not, they accepted some amount of "tumbling" from category to category. Certain names indicate that an album will not be the same throughout but will have moments of exploration into other styles. A rigid taxonomy does not seem to be of concern to either speaker, who concentrate more on the smell, sight, and reality of the recorded audio and visual information as different from the community practice

that bore it. “You know how many jazz recordings there are in Indonesia;” officially not very many, but this does not preclude the existence of a plentiful number of quality jazz musicians. The vibrant jazz communities of different eras can be heard in the *Jazz Masa Kini* compilations from 1976, 1982, and 2006.

In this discussion, Tarigan performs his role as an archival pemuda. Even though he has plenty of catalogued data to make comprehensive lists of musicians and styles, he endeavors to be less the interpreter, translator, the diplomat, or the power-crazed magician, but rather a guide to awareness and accessibility. He is not trying to make the managed collection completely legible, to translate the recordings into industry inventory, but rather imposes a bit friction as part of the postcustodial preservation process.

CONCLUSION: HELLO DANGDUT! GOODBYE BEKRAF!

As the legal framework for Irama Nusantara’s efforts remain shaky, their economic support is even shakier. The Hello Dangdut! campaign offered an opportunity for Irama Nusantara to use their managed archived materials related to dangdut as part of a government project without having to give up the materials, sell the recordings, or handover any intellectual property. The Hello Dangdut! campaign was Irama Nusantara’s last BEKRAF collaboration, as BEKRAF was formally discontinued in 2019 and collapsed into the Ministry of Tourism, now the *Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif*. Irama Nusantara’s collaboration with BEKRAF was in many ways an example of a successful endeavor between a governmental office and members of Indonesian civil society. Irama Nusantara gained access to RRI collections and found support for their educational, non-commercial license. In turn, BEKRAF empowered a grassroots project for the benefit of the creative economy. BEKRAF’s Hello

Dangdut! campaign represents a surprising government supported project related to a cultural and historical understanding of an Indonesian popular music.

Adversely, Irama Nusantara members noticed their archiving budget diminish over the same period as they received bonuses from BEKRAF-presentations, in-house reports, and Hello Dangdut! It became increasingly obvious that BEKRAF used Irama Nusantara as a resource to create new sellable commodities such as a small number of books and ticketed events made from 2016 to 2019. BEKRAF realized how the creative economy theorizes how archives should be used (*Ekonomi Kreatif* 2014:5, 9, 30, 52, 58), that is to support creative economic production to make sellable commodities and provide a repository for creative products for later use such as sync-licensing. But this theoretical creative economic structure does not support long-term archiving.⁴¹ A BEKRAF collaboration alone could not sustain a grassroots archive.

In the short term, in line with this lack of long-term archival funding, the Blok M digitization stall was financed through donation rather than through BEKRAF support. They used a crowdfunding platform called kitabisa.com and through a donation tab on their website. When BEKRAF closed, Irama Nusantara was not allowed to receive funding as part of the Ministry of Tourism, due to its lack of tourism benefits (who wants to pay to tour a dusty

⁴¹ In one formulation, “archiving” is part of the Indonesian creative economy, meant to provide a repository for creative products for later use such as sync-licensing (*Ekonomi Kreatif* 2014). I visited the Bandung Creative Hub, which seems to embody this plan in a six-story complex, there was a library, a small and decent music studio (with amplifiers with the Java Jazz logo), an animation studio, a film area, and an internet television area. In each space my friend and musician Zahir introduced me to people. I had to sign books and take photos, so those in charge of each room can document their official activities. It felt like typical Indonesian administration, little work, but lots of meetings and official documents showing that things had happened. My photos and handshakes being part of those official things. There was a sign for an “Arsip” and a room labeled “Arsip.” The architects had formally planed it. The “Arsip” room was used as a photography space. Zahir told me that there was a lack of collections for the archive to store . . . I met with the head, Eva Nur Desitanti, of Bandung Creative Hub. I asked about copyright, and she said that the Bandung Creative Hub can help with that, but it is not really a priority (fieldnotes, July 23, 2019).

basement?). This governmental change left few renewable governmental funding opportunities for grassroots archive, protracted by its timing with the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic.

During the pandemic Irama Nusantara successfully crowdsourced funding via their social media and kitabisa.com for 2020–2021. Irama Nusantara still looks for government and music industry collaboration opportunities like the 2021 album *Lagu Baru Dari Masa Lalu Vol 1*. (New Songs from the Past), which featured the winners of the cigarette company MLD jazz competition and was released by demajors records. Irama Nusantara also published books in 2021 such as *Dari Ngak-Ngik-Ngok ke Dheg-Dheg-Plas: Perjalanan Musik Pop Indonesia 1960–1969* (From Ngak-Ngik-Ngok to Dheg-Dheg-Plas: The Journey of Indonesian Pop Music 1960–1969) with Binatang Press and Norrm Radio.

Irama Nusantara resisted state capture by keeping their managed materials illegible. Even as Hello Dangdut! came and went, ending their collaboration with BEKRAF, Irama Nusantara remained the manager of the materials it digitized. Irama Nusantara benefited from the friction of collaboration with the government, in full view of the Indonesian music industry, to distribute recordings online to increase access and awareness of Indonesia’s popular culture heritage for the Indonesian public. The situation might have been different if Irama Nusantara had not employed a postcustodial methodology, by acting only as the manager of digitized collections rather than the owner of physical and digital materials.

Importantly, a postcustodial methodology, as a weapon of the weak, can lead to ethical concerns. It requires the negotiation of ethical caretaking by archival managers and a continued awareness of multiple beneficiaries and stakeholders. Returning to Candra Darusman’s view of copyright, even as a postcustodial methodology might advantage some groups, it is unethical

from other viewpoints.⁴² A postcustodial methodology involves multiple beneficiaries and stakeholders continuing to interrelate through novel circulation processes. In this case, as long as it is for educational purposes and not commercial, it is okay.

Being the manager of its collection rather than owner, also removes the responsibility of Irama Nusantara to make the materials legible for the government or the commercial music industry. Postcustodial methods allow materials to be shared but makes it difficult to be scalable because the social relations that allow the archive to exist in one form, the educational, non-commercial license, cannot be stretched. The relations will distort if scaled. If the materials become too accessible and used for reasons other than what any of the stakeholder's desire, Irama Nusantara will be asked to take the recordings down. Irama Nusantara members always disapproved of discussions about making their website into a more accessible mobile application for this reason. While Irama Nusantara is willing to cooperate with the government, business, and anyone who might feel slighted by the situation, it keeps its operations difficult to be translated into capitalist inventory or easily used as a governmental resource.

Ultimately, Irama Nusantara's collection is for keeping Indonesian music for Indonesians. They reclaim and, in some ways, reinvent the *pemuda* moniker to include a culture of documentation, adding in an archival sense, archival *pemuda*. A sense of understanding the

⁴² Archival scholar Joel Wurl called for archives to shift from the traditional idea of custodianship to "stewardship" to deal more equitably with records representing diverse ethnicities in collections (2005). He argues a stewardship ethos encompasses a different set of relationships between stakeholders and materials. A stewardship approach, archival material is viewed less as property and more as cultural asset, jointly held and invested in by the archive and the community of origin (72). A main difference between custodianship and stewardship is the concept of ownership, whereby in a stewardship the archive does not claim to solely own the object of archival value as its own property. The Dictionary of Archives Terminology by the Society of American Archivists defines stewardship as the responsible management of archival resources, usually as a surrogate for another party such as the records creators. The steward has responsibility as well as power and authority to archival resources.

pemuda's place in the world, as an extension of nationalist history, that retains a messy status and maintains the documentation of this messiness. The eclectic messiness of the archival pemuda and the musical media they archive is at once enchanting, wonderful, and illegible, making it frictively perplexing to translate into large-scale capitalist or governmental projects.

Irama Nusantara members focus on the betterment of the Indonesian public to reform the ideal role of the pemuda in the disillusioned late-Reformasi. Irama Nusantara's commitment to the Indonesian nation and the Indonesian public attempts to repoliticize Sukarno's anti-imperial politics. The archivists do not want to be smooth, uncritical cogs of the state or business. Their hopes remain aloof from resolving the politics of preservation through state reforms or music industry initiatives. They focus their feelings of Indonesian national struggle over its history and cultural heritage through determined and persistent work. Pemuda fever lowering and disillusioned, the activist archivists are not willing to wait to resolve political issues through state reform. "We made Irama Nusantara instead of waiting," to save Indonesian cultural heritage from the locked rooms of RRI, private collections of renown artists, and the dusty basements of mega metropolises. The archival pemuda, less blinded by passionate fevers, might see more cleareyed. The answer to the politics of preservation might be refusal, holding back, inaction, slow action, or timed action. The cool and collected archival pemuda know their stuff and abstain from translating it into consumable properties, even those expensive recordings that smell of jazz, look like jazz, and sound like jazz.

CHAPTER FIVE

ARCHIVAL CARE AT ARSIP JAZZ INDONESIA

The past remains important to be kept as knowledge.
For archivists, this is a lonely path because not many people are doing it.
It will continue to feel lonely because the archivist is truly alone.
Idhar Resmadi, *Dinding Ini Milik Kami*

“Don’t be afraid to come forward and talk about ideas you. Once you are scared, you lose.”
One of his adages he said directly to me. I consider it a slap to the Indonesian youth.
One sentence that I will cherish for the rest of my life.
Alfred Ticoalu, *Suatu Hari Dalam Kehidupan Pramoedya Ananta Toer*
[One Day in Pramoedya Ananta Toer’s Life]

The grassroots community archive of Arsip Jazz Indonesia (the Indonesia Jazz Archive) is perhaps best introduced with one producer and one recording. The producer Harry Lim was born in 1919 in the Dutch East Indies capital of Batavia (now Jakarta) and died in New York City in 1990. He never visited Java after Indonesian independence. He identified himself as a Javanese man with Chinese ancestry and devoted his life to jazz. The recording, the eponymously named song “Cattin’ at the Keynote,” took place on February 17, 1944, at Keynote Records in New York under the “personal supervision” of Harry Lim with the inscribed compositional credit to “the Quartet,” referring to the “Coleman Hawkins Quartet,” featuring tenor saxophonist Coleman Hawkins, pianist Teddy Wilson, bassist Israel Crosby, and drummer Cozy Cole. Lim arranged, funded, and selected the musicians for this session as part of a long career as a record producer, critic, and label owner. While the recording itself was not a major commercial success, examining the recording’s personnel and how the recording credits changed when sold to other labels offers a “persistent representation of the activities,” or what archival studies scholars define as a *record* (Caswell 2014:6; Yeo 2007:334), of a Javanese cosmopolitan

man in the American music business.¹ Unlike an analysis of an object's cultural biography (Kopytoff 1986) whereby an object circulates through various regimes of value, I will focus on the "persistent representation of the activities" maintained in the collections Arsip Jazz Indonesia. I observe how archivists at Arsip Jazz Indonesia notice silences in the recordkeeping process and take great care in socializing these silences back into public discourse.

Centering the *record* of documentation furthers discussions about evidence, power, and historical production. Rather than exclusively focusing on what the document captures or does not capture at the moment of its creation, I seek to explore the reevaluation of key moments of historical production. Anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot theorizes these key moments as: "the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)" (1995:26). The *record* intertwines with Trouillot's theorization to show how the inequalities and silences encoded into each stage often compound. Trouillot recognizes how "any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences" (27), but these encoded silences are not necessarily forgotten and are increasingly challenged by the ongoing archival actions of subaltern communities.

A recording made in New York with a Javanese jazz producer might not seem an obvious source for deepening historical perspectives on Indonesian and American history. And yet the concern for a cosmopolitan Javanese man with Chinese ancestry, who never officially became Indonesian or Dutch, gives a unique view into the historical notions of the archivists at Arsip Jazz Indonesia. It demonstrates the ongoing concerns over the political erasure of Chinese people as contributors to Indonesian identity as well as the expression of experiences by Chinese in Java and other parts of Indonesia beyond national stereotypes. Detailing Harry Lim's activities, who

¹ In an attempt not to confuse the reader, I italicize *record* when I mean it in the archival sense.

lived the majority of his life in the United States, also identifies unfamiliar contributions of Asian Americans to the American jazz tradition.



Figure 5.1. Charlie Shavers (Trumpet), Billy Taylor (Bass), Harry Lim (Producer), Coleman Hawkins (Piano), and likely behind the piano Deniz Best (Drums) at the recording session for “My Man / El Salon De Gutbucket.” October 18, 1944. Courtesy of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.

INDONESIAN ACTIVIST ARCHIVES

In Indonesia, explicit actions of remembering have been on the rise since the fall of Suharto in 1998. A growing trend of minority and non-dominant Indonesians speak through a “culture of documentation” (Strassler 2010; 2020) and through the actions of emerging Indonesian activist archives. Anthropologist Doreen Lee has described “activist archives” mostly as a metaphorical archive of themed document collections from Indonesia’s 1998 political activists that allow for increased historical reflection, transparency, information gathering, and self-study by bringing public secrets into the open (2016).² In their study in the United States and United Kingdom, Jez Collins and Oliver Carter observe how popular music “activist archives”

² Lee also describes physical archives outside of Indonesia, mostly in Europe, that maintain these Indonesian activist documents.

serve as a political response to the loss or the risk of loss of material objects related to popular music through individual, community, and organizational action in order to preserve, share, and celebrate musical heritage. These activist archivists often rely upon newly available digital tools and online platforms (2015:126). For Arsip Jazz Indonesia, as an Indonesian grassroots popular music activist archive, both definitions apply. Arsip Jazz Indonesia continues the Indonesian critical tradition as inspired by scholars like Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Benedict Anderson, and Goenawan Mohamad.

By understanding Arsip Jazz Indonesia as an activist archive, I observe its actions as adding a reevaluative process to Trouillot's four key moments. While not an additional fifth step, this reevaluative process applies to each key moment. Arsip Jazz Indonesia as an activist archive remains critical and aims to reevaluate the unsatisfactory qualities of the moments of historical production. This has become increasingly possible in Indonesia due to the ways in which the political and technological realities that structured those silences have since transformed, ebbed, or dissipated.

Archival scholar Michelle Caswell makes a similar argument about Cambodian prison photos during the brutal Khmer Rouge era. She draws on a new archival methodology called the "records continuum model" that focuses "on records as evidence of human activity" (2014:13), first developed in Australia by Frank Upward and Sue McKemmish (Upward, McKemmish, Reed 2009). This framework better articulates the reuses and ongoing circulation beyond the archive as an integral part of the archival *record*. The linearity of Trouillot's framework and conventional archival theory becomes challenged as new sources, archives, and narratives are circulated, remade, and reused in a much more simultaneous and porous process. New formations of power in relation to evidence and historical production allow for reformed political subjectivities and ability to access the state and the public, reshaping how the gaps of histories

can be understood, witnessed, acted upon, and resocialized.

I argue throughout this dissertation that archival processes create another regime of value, called archival value, for objects to circulate in. This framing suggests archival value as part of more generalized circulation and exchange. Archival value as a regime of value is neither the beginning nor the end of circulation but part of ongoing forms of social exchange.



Figure 5.2. An August 1939 private party and jam session organized for a Life article (which never appeared in the magazine), featuring (from left to right) Duke Ellington playing the piano; recorder producer Harry Lim; Ivie Anderson, Ellington band vocalist from 1931 to 1942; singer Cab Calloway (far right); trumpeter Max Kaminisky (behind Ellington); and trombonist J.C. Higginbotham (behind Lim). A French jazz guest (behind Max). From: Swing Era New York: The Jazz Photographs of Charles Peterson. Courtesy of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.

In this chapter, I attend to the idea of archival care among the activities of Arsip Jazz Indonesia. Arsip Jazz Indonesia offers careful insights into histories of racialized violence, as archivists critically, restoratively, and reparatively intervene in the audible figuration of Chinese jazz musicians and jazz professionals in Indonesia. The material objects ascribed archival value by the archivist at Arsip Jazz Indonesia require great care in terms of precision, trauma, and

attention to ongoing community needs to confront the ongoing political and historical challenges of Chinese Indonesians.³

BACKGROUND OF ARSIP JAZZ INDONESIA

I learned about Arsip Jazz Indonesia from a presentation by Indonesian cultural scholar Ignatius Aditya Adhiyatmaka (Adit) in 2016 at Monash University outside of Melbourne.⁴ From his work with the Lokananta Project and visiting with members of Museum Musik Indonesia and Irama Nusantara, Adit uses theories from Raymond Williams' epochal tradition to analyze the general trend of popular music archiving in Indonesia as an emergent. Adit was unable to visit Arsip Jazz Indonesia's location in the United States and had failed to secure a meeting at the Bogor location that limited his work on Arsip Jazz Indonesia to online sources (Adhiyatmaka 2018:78). As fortune would have it, the United States location had a Chicago address, and I already had booked a trip back to Chicago to visit my parents for Christmas. I proposed to Adit that I could visit and send him information about the space not available online.

Following Adit's suggestions, I contacted the administrators through the website's portal, stating my interest in the archive. I dug through their online posts to learn more about the two

³ The term "Chinese Indonesian" refers to Chinese in Indonesia focusing on identity formations in the postcolonial period. Peranakan, totok, and ethnic Chinese refer to the broader colonial and postcolonial history of Chinese immigration and settlement throughout Southeast Asia. The first significant Chinese settlements in Java began in the fourteenth century with immigrants from Fukien Province (mostly of Hokkien ethnicity). Ethnic Chinese refers to Chinese in Indonesia as part of other overseas Chinese outside of China. The flow of immigration continued through the nineteenth century as a distinctive mestizo, Malay-speaking culture developed known as peranakan. Newer immigrants since the 1900s were known as totok (full-blooded) because they were born in China and tended to maintain a more exclusively Chinese milieu. While these other terms remain relevant, I focus on manifestations of "Chinese Indonesians."

⁴ I am much in debt to Adit's project in shaping my own. I hope to expand his work by focusing on jazz in the grassroots archival revival and introduce more archival theory to understand these Indonesian activities.

figureheads: Alfred D. Ticoalu located in the United States and Roullandi N. Siregar in Indonesia. One post on the Arsip Jazz Indonesia website stated the goals of the archive as collecting “any material related to jazz in Indonesia, from recordings, articles, photos, interviews, and others . . . from 1900 until the present” (Pratiwie 2015).⁵ Other posts featured names like Nikita Dompas, Jack Lesmana, the Indonesian Jazz All Stars, Bubi Chen, the Hawaiian Syncopators, and Roekiah. I quickly realized these essays contained information using sources not referenced in any other popular press or academic publications.

Due to my privilege of international travel and the luck of the archive being in my hometown, I asked for an in-person visit and luckily received a call back. Arsip Jazz Indonesia allows users to make appointments with its physical collection, but its online offerings remain carefully limited. After a few phone calls to discuss my history as an undergraduate student of the well-known scholar of Indonesian music and media Philip Yampolsky, my interest in traditional and popular musics of Indonesia, and my other research in Indonesian culture, history, and politics at UCLA, I received an invitation to Arsip Jazz Indonesia in the chilly Chicago suburbs. I found myself in the basement of a non-descript home, intruding on Ticoalu’s very welcoming family, where the majority of the archive’s physical holdings reside. Arsip Jazz Indonesian also has off-site storage and many members of the advisory board maintain separate collections in Indonesia.

Ticoalu’s house has a little free lending library out front; inside, a playback system ready for almost any media format from almost any era. One machine, the KAB Souvenir EQS MK12 used by archiving professions and high-end collectors, tops off the playback setup with an

⁵ I cite Intan Anggita Pratiwie’s interview with Ticoalu heavily throughout this chapter for two reasons. First, it shows the interconnections of the various grassroots popular music archives (Anggita was also involved with #SahabatLokananta). Second, despite Ticoalu’s outspoken moments, he is a rather private person and I want to limit what I share about him, mostly to what he publicly presents about himself.

adjustable multiband equalizer with presets for twelve early recording eras. The Rek-O-Kut Rondine 3 turntable, artfully covered with a blue floral batik, allows for variable playback speeds beyond the defaults of 16, 33, 45, and 78 rpm. The space is equipped with other playback machines, including a high-quality cassette deck, a stereo receiver, power amplifiers, a compact disc player, a reel-to-reel tape machine with a Javanese patterned batik cloth, and at least eleven different record needle heads. A second record player has analog and digital options with pitch adjust features and weighted centers for different sized discs (see figure 5.3). We could clearly hear the bass lines from shellac recordings!



Figure 5.3. Ticoalu playing a record using the Rek-O-Kut Rondine 3 and KAB Souvenir EQS MK12 at Arsip Jazz Indonesia. June 17, 2017.

My first meetings at Arsip Jazz Indonesia involved long listening dives of specific artists throughout their careers, interspersed with Ticoalu’s conversations, deep knowledge, and connected personal stories. We dove through extensive lists of related recordings and media, including deep dives focused on Irama Records founder Suyoso Karsono, Harry Lim, and each musician from the Indonesian All Stars (and an extraordinary video of a live performance during the Djanger Bali European tour with Tony Scott in the late 1960s!).



Figure 5.4. Part of Arsip Jazz Indonesia’s collection of vinyl, cassettes, and shellac.

From these experiences I witnessed how Arsip Jazz Indonesia gathers and organizes audio and visual recordings related to jazz in Indonesia. The collection contains print media of poetry, books, academic materials, photography, and other arts related to the musicians, producers, writers, and their families. The collection also features books about capitalism, communism, authors from Cornell’s Modern Indonesia Project, hard to get books and documents

about Sukarno, one of the most complete collections of Pramoedya Antara Toer's published and unpublished writings as well as writing about Pramoedya. Other books focus on the history, politic, and culture of the Chinese in Indonesia and in other Southeast Asian countries. Notably the recordings extend beyond the limits of what bare the label of "jazz" to include other Indonesian musical styles like pop, R&B, funk, children's songs, *hiburan*, *kroncong*, *bangsawan*, *stambul*, world music, and *musik kontemporer*. The collections went beyond popular music styles; the Balinese gamelan recordings by Tjokorde Mas on Irama Records were included, in part due to the jazz-related owner and founder Suyoso Karsono.

Many of the recordings have their original album covers as well as price stamps from (re)sellers in places like Pasar Baru and Blok M in Jakarta. These original album covers are often even more rare than the recordings due to environmental and human issues that affect long-term preservation in Indonesia. The album covers provide extra information about each recording such as liner notes, sometimes a year of publication, and advertisements about other recordings. The price stamps provide documentation about the price, but also the location of their sale, possibly the date, and details about business districts that might have since closed or changed. Arsip Jazz Indonesia classifies jazz in Indonesia within complex webs of cultural production that noticeably does not disaggregate jazz from other styles as much as display its embeddedness.

The archive provides evidence to the fact of jazz has been in Indonesia for a long time (at least since 1919) and that Indonesians (with the categorical caveat that Indonesia was not officially founded until 1945) participated in jazz performances early on. Since these beginnings, jazz has often been part of other international forms of music present in Indonesia, notably Hawaiian music and dance styles like foxtrot, waltz, and rhumba, as well as national musical styles like *kroncong langgam*. Rarely has jazz been recognized as maintaining its own unique cultural heritage and history in Indonesia.

Naming the Archive

The name of Arsip Jazz Indonesia does not connote the idea of Indonesian jazz as a genre or coherent style, rather it serves as an archival home for jazz materials in Indonesia and any materials relevant to the Indonesian jazz community. This means documenting international artists who have performed or taught in Indonesia, following artists throughout their careers outside of Indonesia, and contextualizing jazz and popular music in the region before Indonesia's official founding.



Figure 5.5. Arsip Jazz Indonesia Logo

Arsip Jazz Indonesia would conventionally translate to the “*Indonesian Jazz Archive*,” but Arsip Jazz Indonesia translates their name to the “*Indonesia Jazz Archive*” (see figure 5.5). In formal Bahasa Indonesia, the national language since 1945, adjectives follow the noun they modify; jazz modifies *arsip* (archive) and Indonesia modifies jazz. The kind of archive is jazz, and the kind of jazz is Indonesian. But this is not how the archivists and founders of Arsip Jazz Indonesia choose to translate their archive's name.

This lack of an “N” makes the word Indonesia a noun instead of an adjective. While a bit confusing in English grammar, this minor change precludes a couple of issues. First, it gets around the question of whether the concept of Indonesian jazz refers to a stylistic practice or relates to Indonesian people playing jazz. Instead, it allows for an expansive designation about

any jazz that occurred in relation to the people and the geographies of Indonesia.

Second, it clarifies the group as a community archive instead of a governmental entity. The translation of Arsip Jazz Indonesia might also be “the Jazz Archive of Indonesia,” but this begins to imply a certain formality and governmental relation. The translation of the government run Indonesian national archives, *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*, are phrased in English as “the National Archives of Indonesia,” instead of “the Indonesian National Archives” or “the Archives of the Republic of Indonesia.” This translation convention follows in many other governmental institutions such as the National Library of Indonesia. While there is not an explicit rule against other institutions from using this word order, by not using it, the Indonesia Jazz Archive sends a clear message that they are not a governmental entity. The Arsip Jazz Indonesia archivists have not been interested in governmental collaboration, for fear of loss of quality in terms of research, preservation, and access, autonomy, and ability to carry on projects that do not align with fluctuating and pervasive governmental sensibilities.

FROM COLLECTION TO ARCHIVE

Arsip Jazz Indonesia began from the interests of one collector, who then spread archiving to other members of Indonesia’s jazz community. Arsip Jazz Indonesia officially formed as an archive in 2010 and draws on the concerns of Alfred Ticoalu, who began building his personal collections in 1995. Ticoalu began forming the Arsip Jazz Indonesia collection beyond his own personal interests in the early 2000s by broadening his scope to focus on “collecting, documenting, preserving, and reporting the history of jazz in Indonesia” (Ticoalu 2012).

In 1995, Ticoalu left Jakarta to go to school at SUNY Buffalo, studying management information systems, finance, and international marketing. After his education finished, he stayed in the United States working in information technology positions in Chicago. On visits

back to Indonesia, much of his time was limited to family. During this period a Yahoo! Group, a free email list-serv and online discussion board, emerged focused on jazz in Indonesia.⁶ The discussions, primarily in the Indonesian language, debated various opinions and tastes of jazz, provided information about different eras and styles, discussed the history of jazz in Indonesia, and deliberated what might constitute “Indonesian jazz.”

While the Internet remained cost prohibitive for most middle-class home use and even upper-class Indonesians at the time, some early adopters of the internet could access this Indonesian jazz forum through early internet cafes (*warnet*), university libraries, or professional offices. This virtual space allowed for interactions between Indonesians, inside the country and abroad, about matters concerning jazz on international, national, regional, and local scales. Indonesians from the major urban centers of Java, particularly Jakarta and Bandung, could interact with jazz enthusiasts in other parts of Indonesia such as Yogyakarta, Medan (Sumatra), Bali, and with people outside of Indonesia, particularly in the United States and in the Netherlands. Each participant provided their own knowledge and opinions of jazz, from its history in different locales and updates on the contemporary practice in different regions of Indonesia. The Yahoo! Group contributed to the formation of Arsip Jazz Indonesia’s advisory board. The advisory board includes jazz event producers and media professionals like Chico Hindarto, Agus Setiawan Basuni, Ajie Wartono, and Gideon Momongan; jazz educators like Venche Manuhutu and Jilly Likumahuwa; and major musicians like Dewa Budjana, Dwiki Dharmawan, and Riza Arshad (1962–2017). This advisory board contributed recordings, new releases, older print media, interviews, and their knowledge of the jazz community in Indonesia to Arsip Jazz Indonesia. The relationships that started in this Yahoo! Group transformed

⁶ The actual name of “Yahoo! Group” was not used by Yahoo! until 2000 but my interviewees used this name when referring to this discussion platform.

throughout the years via physical meetings and new technologies. Discussions continue today via social media and WhatsApp. Advisory board members established a physical meeting called Forum Jazz Indonesia and the Warta Jazz media network is very much an outgrowth of this online community. Members who contributed to and learned from Arsip Jazz Indonesia have written detailed articles, reviews, and interviews for news sources and media sites like WartaJazz.com.

Ticoalu's main mission through Arsip Jazz Indonesia and its advisory board is the creation of a comprehensive book series that would serve as the most in-depth and sourced history of jazz in Indonesia. Similar books have been attempted throughout the years, such as projects by Insitut Teknologi Bandung architecture scholar and jazz aficionado Om Sudibyo Pr, a section of a book by Samboedi (1989), and a book by Indonesian popular music scholar Dede ER Moerad (1995). These other quality texts and assembled collections draw upon community stories, magazine and newspaper articles, and interviews (which Ticoalu also draws upon), but often lack of comprehensive physical evidence, particularly of recordings. For example, in the section of Samboedi's text where he discusses the history of jazz in Indonesia, his history draws on interviews from musicians like Bubi Chen and Indra Lesmana discussing their own histories. In the Bubi Chen section Samboedi writes:

In the mid-1960s, the Indonesian government banned "*ngak-ngik-ngok*" music, which is music that has a Western feeling [smell]. However, the first Indonesian president Soekarno saw and admired Bubi Chen's ability. Ultimately, in 1965 Bung Karno invited Bubi and his bandmates to tour Western and Eastern Europe and Algeria; but he did not play jazz music. (1989:170)

There is plenty to unpack (see chapter three), but one major omission is Bubi Chen's Lokananta recording during this era. It should be remembered that Samboedi's book was published during the Suharto era, when political sensitivity was of utmost concern. While I remain curious why Chen and Samboedi did not mention the Lokananta recording, one reason this omission was

possible was the lack of a complete catalogue and discographic *record* of jazz in Indonesia. This sort of discographic *record* of Indonesia's jazz community would more generally allow for accurate information regarding Indonesia's recording history. It will also be witness to how these recordings have been left out of public knowledge, restricted, and returned.

A comprehensive book based on Arsip Jazz Indonesia's collection would serve as the paramount example of jazz history in Indonesia. A precise discographic *record* of jazz in Indonesia allows for attention to trauma and other community needs to confront ongoing political and historical challenges. The resurfacing of a material *record* leads to new versions of old stories, clarified timelines, and the inclusion of narratives that might have been left out or forgotten by the community's oral history for a variety of reasons. The act of forgetting can be painful for those who want to remember, as well as for those who want to continue forgetting.

THEORY OF ARCHIVAL CARE

The emerging concept of "care" in archival studies draws upon feminist theories and affect theory to challenge older individual, rights-based models of the long-held linear paradigm of the archival life cycle. An ethics of care approach requires archival methodologies to better engage with the everyday recordkeeping activities of individuals, groups, and organizations such as the "continuum model" (McKemmish 2001; Upward, McKemmish, Reed 2009) and the multitude of practices within the "archival multiverse" (Gilliland 2017). Sue McKemmish writes of the continuum model as "referencing the Archive in the very broadest sense as 'encompassing oral and written records, literature, landscape, dance, art, the built environment and artefacts' insofar as they provide traces of social, cultural and organisational activity" (2017b:122). Archival scholar Anne Gilliland writes of the archival multiverse as seeking to address the "philosophical, cultural and media aspects of the Archive and its societal functions in a

‘multicultural, pluralistic, and increasingly interconnected and globalised world’” (2017:32). These new (institutional) archival methods seek to include influences from the experiences of grassroots communities and their archives whereby an ethics of care is paramount. Archivists in grassroots communities have long been considered part of the community that bear certain responsibilities beyond academic approaches to archiving. Grassroots archivists usually maintain reparative aspirations to ongoing power imbalances in the key moments of historical production for their community.

Both the continuum model and the archival multiverse understand the structure of archives, at any level, as part of social life; a fact that has become increasingly difficult to ignore even at the most exclusive institutions. These models point to the social relations that make up what might be thought of as the “structure” of archiving, which, as Sherry B. Ortner points out in a practice theory framework, can make human action, while also considering that human action “always makes and possibly unmakes” structure (1996:2). These newer archival methodologies point to archives in a fuller web of culture that I see as drawing on the structure and agency problematic. Ideas of archival care has the potential to remake the Archive, through agential possibility in the ongoing relationships among records’ creators, subjects, users, and communities,

Archival scholars Marika Cifor and Anne Gilliland review the resonances of the “affective turn” since the 1990s on archive studies as they notice how affect relates to the “ongoing discussions of archival ethics and activism in various human rights and community archives contexts” (2016:3). In the same special journal issue, Cifor relates archival methodologies to major affect theorists—Ann Cvetkovich, Sara Ahmed, and Lauren Berlant—to argue that the ethical concerns of archival studies must consider the deeply implicated webs of affective relations (2016:7). This call to “care” has gained renewed attention as theories such as

the continuum model and the archival multiverse seek to digitize, recirculate, and decolonize collections that explicitly frames archives as part of disparate communities.

These goals of the recirculation of collections push into what has been generally termed postcustodial archival methods that aims to support and steward materials rather than own or maintain legal custody over archival holdings (Shein and Lapworth 2016; Zanish-Belcher 2019). Postcustodial archival methods immediately confront the challenges of archival value as part of more generalized circulation. Archival scholar Andreas Pantazatos discusses these tensions as the “ethics of trusteeship” (2016) in the biography of objects at institutional museums, but I want to extend this understanding as also integral to grassroots practices. The value of objects as archival produces a desire for some forms of circulation but at the same time imposes new limits in the paradox of “how to keep-while-giving” (Weiner 1992). Some limits include the licit issues of copyright, fair use, and royalties in the sharing of digitized collections that also need to consider and navigate different local, regional, national, and international protocols. While some situations allow for materials to be freely accessible online, others require more delicate and ongoing negotiations with sadness, trauma, empathy, and trust. Concerns around privacy, disclosure, and transactions complicates the ongoing relationships with *record* creators, the objects, and various communities. How and if archivists attend to these issues can be explained through the idea of archival care.

Archival scholars Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario Ramirez examine how this ethics of care approach can be applied to digital archival projects to reconceptualize digitization as “as more than a singular event” but rather understood as part of ongoing relationships among records’ creators, subjects, users, and communities (2016:160). Cultural studies scholar Temi Odumosu uses this ethics of care to interrogate, reconsider, and repair structural power inequities drawing on the wide-ranging manifestations of coloniality in technology in data and internet

studies (2020:S290). The ethics of care approach strives to move beyond replicating existing structures and power inequities into the digital realm, but rather articulates the position of archivists and archival users as *record* creators, as agents, within the field of power and ongoing negotiations of race, gender, and class.

ARCHIVAL CARE AT ARSIP JAZZ INDONESIA

Arsip Jazz Indonesia focuses on their own community's preservation due to lack of trust in and lack of interest from governmental or corporate initiatives. Since its inception, Arsip Jazz Indonesia relies on personal funds and support from the community. It has never received assistance from the Indonesian government or commercial organizations. Archival activities occur in members' free time, as there are no salaried positions at Arsip Jazz Indonesia. Each member maintains a separate money-making profession. Most of the non-professional musician members work in information technology or the media industries.

The archivists at Arsip Jazz Indonesia recognize issues of copyright, fair use, and royalties in the sharing of their digitized collections, against an Indonesian media-landscape that has not prioritized such practices in the past. Since many Indonesian jazz musicians have long been overlooked, Arsip Jazz Indonesia takes great care in gaining all the appropriate permissions before sharing digitized files. This often causes the archivists to refuse the release of images or audio in digital formats that can be easily copied without permission. They do not want to "create an uncomfortable situation for various parties" (Ticoalu 2015). This also gestures to the complex logistics of copyright in Indonesia (see chapter four). Arsip Jazz Indonesia would rather respect everyone's claim rather than excluding any individual, group, or company. This contrasts to the archivists at Irama Nusantara who begin to circulate recordings after only their self-defined permission threshold, with an easy take-down request. Arsip Jazz Indonesia waits until

all permissions are granted, which both slows and sometimes stop circulation.

The historical reflection through Arsip Jazz Indonesia reinforces certain community narratives while also revealing silenced histories, pain and trauma, and connections among musicians, power, and politics. Bart Barendregt, Peter Keppy, and Henk Schulte Nordholt, as cultural historians of Indonesia, would term these silenced histories as part of the “muted histories” of banal Indonesian music (2017). This connotes the issues through which Indonesian communities reflect on historical figures like Harry Lim, who do not easily fall into staunchly anti-colonial or anti-imperialist Indonesian hero narratives. When asking for input on stewardship of the collection, Arsip Jazz Indonesia also asks the community to consider these silenced figures in Indonesia’s changing political context.

Arsip Jazz Indonesia challenges an exclusionary nationalist perspective of history in Indonesia that has particularly omitted minorities as contributing to the nation before Indonesia’s independence in 1945. They also argue that Indonesian jazz materials have archival value, despite the extended absence due to commercial and non-traditional qualities as well as association with minority groups, most notably Chinese Indonesians and Eurasians. In the efforts to remember the contributions of Lim to jazz, Arsip Jazz Indonesia offers great care in the need to witness the contributions by Chinese Indonesians to jazz, the need for intense precision in the process of Indonesian jazz historiography, and attention to ongoing community needs beyond victimhood to prevent the co-option of these histories into simplified nationalist paradigms.

Caring about the Community

When Arsip Jazz Indonesia began forming its collection and worked to recover recordings, the archivists began by inviting musicians to get involved. But many musicians did not have great knowledge of their community’s recording history, most did not have their own

recordings, and sometimes musicians could not even remember that some recordings existed. For example, pianist Indra Lesmana did not have a copy of his “Women and Children First” recording he made while studying in Melbourne, Australia in 1984. The archivists at Arsip Jazz Indonesia had found a copy and sent it to him so he could discuss it. As it became clear that Indonesian jazz musicians made and stored materials outside of Indonesia, the archivists at Arsip Jazz Indonesia began to explore archives and musicians in- and outside of Indonesia to get a more complete discographic *record* that presents new definitions and issues for the Indonesian jazz community.

Ticoalu notes how “many early jazz musicians left Indonesia because after the proclamation they couldn’t stay anymore” (Prawaite 2015), such as Eurasians bassist Dick van Der Capellen who settled in the Netherlands. Whole communities related to the Javanese jazz community of the 1920s–1940s moved to the Netherlands and the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. These people have stories of family loss, musical triumphs, and complex relationships to their diasporic identities. Collections of rare recordings by these 1920s-1940s communities can be difficult to access by the Arsip Jazz Indonesia stewards:

What really hurts is when we find out that a collector has something we need but is not giving us any access. Some collectors are short-sighted and selfish even when we ask for only a little information. It’s sad because we need it for the sake of knowledge. But at the same time there are many who help us, and we are very grateful. We always accept any kind of help from anyone. Because basically the contents of Arsip Jazz Indonesia are for all of us who love and care about jazz and our homeland, Indonesia. (Ticoalu in Prawaite 2015)

There are many painful stories of gathering these sources as well as in the histories the sources reveal. Ticoalu’s comment of the “sake of knowledge” connotes a drive to get a precise material history of the Indonesian jazz community (before it potentially disappears), even if it

means revealing histories of pain and separation.⁷ The jazz community in Indonesia transformed during independence, there have not been many actions trying to systematic reassemble these disparate histories through material means.

Ticoalu's own history, leaving from Indonesia to study in the United States in 1995, is another part of the complex Arsip Jazz Indonesia community. While he often visits Indonesia, he left at time when Chinese Indonesians, like him and his extended family, began experiencing public anti-Chinese anxieties again. This anti-Chinese violence culminated three years later in 1998, in the form of riots, property destruction, and sexual assault (see Purdey 2006; Sidel 2007). While the Reformasi political activities of 1998 resulted in the toppling of the Suharto regime, it also brought up old and ongoing trauma of anti-Chinese sentiment in large portions of Indonesian society. During my research, the 2017 elections for Jakarta Governor again brought back anti-Chinese anxieties into the public sphere. The incumbent, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, commonly known as Ahok, had his Indonesian-ness publicly questioned due to his double minority status as a Chinese Indonesian and a Christian. Commenting on the Ahok Trial and his reasons for departing from Indonesia the 1995, Ticoalu said to me, "It was getting dark . . . and it's getting dark again" (personal communication, June 26, 2017). The darkness of Indonesian politics has not dissipated and often, violence still targets the Chinese Indonesian community.

Since this I planned this chapter over the course of my research, I had learned of a lineage

⁷ I do not analyze this as Derrida's *Archive Fever* (1996), where he theorizes how the drive to document, consign, and assemble signs becomes a fever, "a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin" (91). Instead, I understand it as drive for evidence of the *record* of persistent representation of the activities. The difference between historicity and historiography, favoring the later.

of ethnic Chinese playing jazz in Indonesia.⁸ First, I thought it important to describe this lineage in detail to get the information out there, as it is not common information. Upon learning more about the context and the amount of ongoing trauma for the Chinese Indonesian community, I wanted to understand Ticoalu's persistent mention to me that *Arsip Jazz Indonesia* is not just about saving the history of Chinese Indonesians. The archivists seek to archive any material related to jazz in Indonesia, including both majority and minority histories.

Archives in Indonesia need to work carefully, to continue their projects as well as not put any of their donors, archivists, documented subjects, and their related families and communities in harm's way without their knowledge as potential targets of backlash. This methodological framing matches with Indonesian historian Ariel Heryanto's charge that "mere disclosure of Indonesia's past history with its cosmopolitan features will not necessarily lead to changes for the better in contemporary Indonesia, especially if the new revelation runs counter to the interests of those in power" (2018:607). Critical perspectives of Indonesian nationalism are not always dangerous but for a minority community, a critique without power often falls silent and can lead to outsized repercussions. A critique without (re)action can be understood as heard by the powerful, and processed completely with official recommendation of inaction, what Sarah Ahmed would call a "nonperformative" (2006).

I kept thinking about how to use my role as a white American scholar with university

⁸ A quick, incomplete, overview includes the *Tiong Hwa Jazz* group, who recorded on the German labels *Beka* and *Odeon*, in the 1930s; *Gouw Pak Hong*, a Bandung based drummer active from the late 1920s; *Theo Choa*, a professional saxophone and clarinet player in in *Batavia* in the 1930s; *Harry Lim* from the 1930s–1990s; from the 1950s the *Chen* musician family (Hokkien name: *Tan*) of *Teddy*, *Nico*, *Jopic*, and famed pianist *Bubi*; Bandung-based pianist *Yongky Nusantara*, born *Tan Tek Young*; bassist *Prasadjia Budidharma* active in the jazz/pop/world music group *Krakatau* in the 1970s onwards; pianist *Bambang Nugroho* in the 1980s; and from the late 2000s onwards and from my ethnographic experiences, bassist *Kevin Yosua*; drummer *Sandy Winarata*; pianist *Sri Hanuraga*; guitarist *Robert Mulyarahardja*; pianist *Jason Limanjaya*; guitarist and singer *Nyara Budidharma*, pianist *Yongky Vincent*; singer *Sierra Soetedjo*; saxophonist *Dennis Junio Gani*; and pianist *Aditya Ong*.

backing. I need to go beyond highlighting this lineage, to understand the careful measures the archivists at Arsip Jazz Indonesia take to expose the politics by which “Chineseness” has become both audible and inaudible in different ways and at different moments in Indonesian history. As an ethnographer interested in history, I have witnessed jazz emerge as part of Indonesian identity projects during the present-day Reformasi era. Names like Bubi Chen have become more commonplace and Chinese Indonesians are understood as playing an outsized role in the performance and preservation of jazz in Indonesia. Chinese Indonesians contribute to the national project and national culture (chapter three). Despite this, essentialist notions of Indonesian nationalism pervade.

The idea that anyone might establish a project that disseminates information that non-dominant Indonesians might have made long-lasting contributions to the Indonesian nation, its present and past imaginary, and the present and future structure, runs counter to the conservative, and still prevailing understanding of Indonesia. A layer theory of identity remains the central identity formation for Indonesians that figures “Indonesian” in opposition to a prior and more authentic rooted core in localized ethnic cultures. These successive layers of influence of various religions, cultures, and ideologies are said to be built on top of ethnic identities felt as timeless and pure. Even as the Indonesians constantly reinvent and transform themselves and their communities, as Benedict Anderson describes a “new and thin topsoil to the cultures of Indonesia . . . has proved only too liable to suffer erosion once the winds begin to blow” (1966:106). Essentialist claims often blame and reject outside influences when under stress usually related to economic or religious concerns. These feelings are not evenly distributed throughout the Indonesian population and many social paradoxes continue to exist in this “improbable nation” (Pisani 2014). The “hegemonic knowledge” (Abdullah 1999) I have gestured towards many times in this dissertation, contains this layer theory, of deciding who are

the arbiters of the real, authentic, and unmixed Indonesian essence. A layer theory of identity, as Anderson describes it, is a multicultural one, where one tolerates the practices of others, but can reject and throw them off at any point.

This layer theory of identity with its implicit core was challenged and made anxious as the Reformasi bloomed. The decentralization of political power brought questions to the decentralization of Indonesian identity away from Javanese *priyayi* upper-class ideals and categories flowing from this worldview, coded as *pribumi* (indigenous) rights, that dominated other nearby and faraway groups. Religious extremism also grew after 1998, such as the 2002 Bali Bombings, the 2002 Makassar Bombing, continuing into the 2009 Jakarta Bombings, 2016 Jakarta Attacks, 2016 Surakarta Suicide Bombing, and 2018 Surabaya Suicide Bombings.⁹ These situations often entailed Islamic religious groups who had been radicalized, or not successfully deradicalized by the National Counter Terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*), who then target churches, government buildings, or symbols of economic globalization such as McDonalds. This is not to blame one religion, but rather notice how a perceived and actual majority seeks to conform minority groups. Religion continues as source of anxiety over the fate of the core identity of the nation. At the same time, anti-Chinese sentiment again became prevalent.

The ethnic Chinese in Indonesia have been understood by hegemonic knowledge and through colonial practices as the quintessential “outsiders within” (Coppel 1977). I follow Coppel to move against these pervasive colonialist notations. I argue any understanding of postcolonial Indonesian national modernity must include ethnic Chinese within its frame. Charles Coppel appeals for research directed not only toward the “Chinese as a separate group but also as a part of Indonesian society and its history” (182). For this reason, I argue that the

⁹ Information of these incidents can be found in mainstream press.

telling of jazz history in Indonesia reveals the contributions of ethnic Chinese through microhistories, as a meaningful part of Indonesian history and culture. These histories are not independent of other Indonesian histories, as the Chinese Indonesian community has been a constant contributor to Indonesia through cultural, political, and economic means. This participation has not been towards a multicultural society, but towards a more liberal society where the production of collective identity leads to collective betterment of a plural identity. For example, Chinese Indonesian printing presses were paramount in the use and dissemination of the Indonesian language (Hoogervorst and Nordholt 2017; Hoogervorst 2017). The Chinese Indonesian newspaper, *Sin Po*, circulated the first newspaper printing of the musical notation and lyrics of “Indonesia Raya,” against the wishes of Dutch authorities. Chinese Indonesians have made many specific and direct contributions to the Indonesian nation.

Ticoalu and the Indonesian Critical Tradition

Because of the complex positionality of Chinese Indonesians, Alfred Ticoalu is particularly bold in introducing a material history that often refutes the hegemonic narrative that poses Chinese, often Christian, Indonesians at best as ambivalent outsiders. In asking for a precise and material history, the critique is never about lack of respect for those steeped in hegemonic knowledge, but about asking how the community should understand itself when new sources arise with inconsistent information to hegemonic knowledge that allows for greater and more complex remembering.

Ticoalu wrote a book called *One Day in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Life* (2017) that recounts his experiences with the well-known novelist, historian, and cultural critic during a North American lecture tour in 1999. Among many poignant movements, Ticoalu writes how Pramoedya told him, “Do not be afraid to come forward and talk about your ideas. Once you are

afraid, you lose” (51). As a collector turned archivist, this passage frames Ticoalu’s position on the process of history, and that despite the challenges of producing a more complete history of Indonesian musicians, full of both joys and sorrows, it must be done.

This critical historical view is not an aberration for Ticoalu. He directly connects his family lineage with the critics and analysts of the Indonesian critical tradition. His grandfather was a store owner, teacher, and held long political conversations with various community members in the south Sumatran town of Bengkulu during Sukarno’s exile there by the Dutch from 1938 to 1942. Many members of Ticoalu’s family have stories of Sukarno at the dinner table in Bengkulu, talking about the current state of the world and deliberating the issues of Europe and Indonesia. Sukarno would often hangout at Ticoalu’s grandfather’s general store (personal communication, June 22, 2019). This key moment in Indonesia’s independence struggle, featured Ticoalu’s family as contributors and supporters.

Following Ticoalu’s interest in material evidence, he supports his family’s narrative with the 1982 book *Sahabat Karib Bung Karno* (Sukarno’s Best Friend) by Abdul Karim Oey Tjeng Hien, a Bengkulu-based Chinese Indonesian who converted to Islam (Karim 1982). Abdul Karim Oey Tjeng Hien recounts his experiences with Sukarno and mentions Ticoalu’s grandfather as Sin Tjie Hoo (actually the name of his business), as the leader of the Chinese in Bengkulu who met with and welcomed Sukarno (73–74). The book was printed during the Suharto era. The text bears the marks of the pressures of Chinese Indonesians under Suharto and is surprisingly anti-Chinese throughout, despite the author’s heritage. This makes the positive portrayal of Ticoalu’s grandfather that much more striking. While questions remain of the many other histories occluded in this text, the author offers a glimpse of Ticoalu’s family positively relating to a major national figure of Indonesian independence and resistance. From this text and Ticoalu’s general use of it as supporting the critical and material approach to Indonesian history, what can

be thought is that a critical perspective on Indonesian national history is not anti-Indonesian but actually supportive and constitutive of the national project. This critique offers a hope to the realization that a multitude of Indonesian people came together and debated the successful formation of an independent Indonesia. The critical Indonesian tradition needs to remain vigilant to the conditions that continue to separate Indonesian groups, as was the colonial practice, in favor of emphasizing the historical and present-day cooperation and collaboration.

Even as a seemingly separate Chinese Indonesian history remains absolutely central to the history of Indonesian jazz, we cannot ignore the extent to which the past interactions between Chinese and pribumi Indonesians existed and continues today. The fact that Arsip Jazz Indonesia is not just one person, but a collaboration of different kinds of Indonesians (most of the advisory board members would be considered pribumi) allows for contact with imaginings that transcend and undermine hegemonic knowledge. The colonial policy that attempted to segregate Indonesians breaks down through projects like Arsip Jazz Indonesia as the silences become audible. While the celebration of a minority history might at one moment seem like a way of differentiating groups in Indonesia, the process through which it happened and continues to happen portends of another (still) reforming Indonesian nationalism.

The last section is a historiography of Harry Lim. Most of the details about Lim's life in this chapter I learned from conversations with Alfred Ticoalu and sources he wrote or recommended, particularly his articles *Irama Jazz dan Peranakan Tionghoa* (Jazz Rhythms and Chinese Peranakan) (2016) and *Jazz di Indonesia dan Peranan Kaum Peranakan Tionghoa* (Jazz in Indonesian and the Role of the Chinese Peranakan) (n.d.). These sources recount a more complete lineage of Chinese Indonesian figures in the Indonesian jazz community. The different sources embrace the "archival multiverse" as they empower interviews within the Indonesian jazz community such as Nico Sigarlaki and Yongky Nusantara (Om Yong) to fill in some of the

encoded silences of the key moments of historical production and use physical materials collected mostly in Indonesia, the Netherlands, and the United States. Academic debates about Chinese Indonesians, Indonesian politics, and the role of history in Indonesia also frame Harry Lim's cosmopolitan position. I heavily draw on Ticoalu's influence, although I present my own interpretation, as I trace aspects of Harry Lim and the recording "Cattin" at the Keynote."

BEING THE CAT AT THE KEYNOTE

Born in Batavia, Harry Lim could speak and read multiple languages, including Dutch and English (with a noticeable New York accent) as well as Indonesian, German, French, Javanese, and possibly other local languages such as Betawi and Hokkien Chinese. Lim benefited from his merchant class background to study law in the Hague in the 1930s with his father's support, who held an influential government post in the rubber trade as a supplier to Good Year Tires. While in the Netherlands he collected the latest jazz recordings and met many American jazz musicians touring and living in Europe, most notably the tenor saxophone pioneer Coleman Hawkins.

Lim brought his collection of over six thousand discs and many magazines back to Java in 1936 where he held the more extensive and complete jazz collection in the Dutch East Indies (Pasaribu 1986[1955]b:65; Sakrie 2015:23). Lim served as one of the founders of the first jazz fan communities of about two hundred people in Java from 1937 to 1938, called the Batavia Rhythm Club (Punjol 2013:11). He began as treasurer and became the commissioner of the community. He helped edit the community's magazine *Swing: Officeel Orgaan van de Batavia Rhythm Club* and wrote straightforward record reviews, columns, and critiques in Dutch with English phrases. The magazine chronicles the opinions and fandom of Lim and other Batavia Rhythm Club members regarding major American swing musicians such as Benny Goodman,

Chick Webb, Count Basie, and Coleman Hawkins. The magazine features reviews of film appearances, radio, concerts, and popular gossip that often relayed information from American magazines and newspaper sources.

Other sections of the magazine discussed the performances and radio broadcasts on NIROM by jazz musicians in the Dutch East Indies, mostly in the colonial urban centers of Batavia, Surabaya, and Bandung.¹⁰ There are reviews of prominent groups like the Rhythm Boys, the Silver Kings, the Oriental Ramblers, and Brown's Sugar Babies, along with individual, mostly Dutch or Eurasian musicians like Harry Braun, Charlie Overbeek Bloem, and Ludwig van Zele.¹¹ The magazine only lasted a year with a circulation of around 800 ("Music: From Batavia" 1939). Written in Dutch, it was associated with the upper, Dutch educated classes in Batavia.

Ticoalu notes Lim's most lasting contribution to the jazz community in Indonesia has been through his music journalism (2015). Lim's columns in *Swing* served as the intellectual scaffolding for other members of the Club that shaped how they understood the American and international jazz community. A subsequent music critic in 1950s Indonesia, Amir Pasaribu, wrote of Lim as the "rector spiritus" of jazz as he organized jam sessions, gave lectures, and set "public opinion" through his music criticism (1986[1955]b:64–5, quoted words originally in English). His tastes and opinions on "off-beat" American dance music were held above the radio and the best record stores in the Dutch East Indies like the Knies music store.

Lim focused reverently on what he classified as authentic and professional swing and hot jazz. Lim announced that he no longer listened to the colonial controlled Batavia radio in 1937 as

¹⁰ NIROM is the *Nederlandsch-Indische Radio-Omroep Maatschappij* (Dutch East Indies Radio Broadcasting Corporation). See Yampolsky 2013 for a more complete history of radio in 1930s Java.

¹¹ For additional biographical information and photo evidence of this era see Möller 1987 and Van Dijk 2019.

he already felt “there is too much commercial dance music on” (Lim quoted in Van Dijk 2019:226). In a 1939 *Time* article, Lim states: “If . . . we in Batavia were ever so lucky as to hear a concert by Duke Ellington or Tommy Dorsey, we would study it, sit and revel in the sound of it, but we would not shake our fingers at it nor cut the carpet with our shoes” (“Music: From Batavia” 1939). In a clear manifestation of Bourdieu’s (1984) characterization of taste, as structured by education and economic class, Lim’s clear attitude on jazz styles and how jazz should be experienced forecasts his later production choices when recording numerous jazz greats in the United States. For Lim, jazz was a high art that should be given one’s full attention through careful listening. Dancing to the music would distract from this goal. For Lim, musicians producing commercial dance music did not merit such careful attention, as such Lim could not listen to Dutch radio, but rather preferred his own collection of recordings purchased abroad.

Harry Lim arrived in the United States in late 1939 from Batavia, at the age of twenty, by way of the Netherlands on the brink of Nazi attack. He never returned to his native Java in his lifetime and became a Javanese American.¹² Landing in New York, Lim soon traveled to Chicago and New Orleans to host jam sessions and recording sessions for swing musicians he particularly admired. He met Duke Ellington, Billie Holiday, Jelly Roll Morton, and many others through connections from his time in the Netherlands. His recording sessions throughout his career stylistically covered a range from Dixieland to Bebop. He prioritized small groups who continued to perform the waning styles of jazz of the early 1940s, with a number of musicians playing in the Kansas City jazz style. Most importantly he sought out his favorite style, swing.

He put together jazz concerts in Chicago at the downtown Sherman Hotel’s Old Town Room that were “tremendous successes musically, and duds financially” (caption from

¹² I do not know when, how, and if his legal citizenship changed, but he never lived anywhere else. Lim would vacation and spend some time in Europe after the war subsided but lived in New York.

Downbeat magazine quoted in Punjol 2013:17). He continued to collaborate with jazz promoters in Chicago and establish himself as a jazz concert promoter and producer (Ticoalu in Manan 2021). After some problems with the American Federation of Musicians to continue booking events in Chicago (Punjol 2013:19), Lim went on to produce weekly jam sessions in a similar style at New York's not yet well-known Village Vanguard (Morgenstern 2004). When needed, Lim personally financed many of these jam sessions and recordings, often going into debt, but it allowed him more influence over who and what was recorded. As his recorded collection grew, he drew up agreements with Keynote Records in 1943 to commercially release the sessions. In the deal with Keynote, Lim would pay upfront for the recording sessions, and later be paid back in royalties by Keynote. Lim said his recordings "would be done with men which I particularly liked, who would record both standard and originals chosen by both the musicians and myself" (Lim quoted in liner notes Punjol 2013:22).

Keynote Years

The unabashed left-wing Eric Bernay founded Keynote Recordings in 1937 as a small and independent New York company that released folk and protest songs from anti-war American musicians such as Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, and Paul Robeson as well as comparable politically inflected brass and chorus music from the Soviet Union, China, and the Spanish Civil War. In 1943, looking for more lucrative styles and a larger audience, Bernay switched gears at Keynote to focus on jazz under the guidance of Lim. Keynote's sales and business prospects generally became brighter during Lim's tenure (1943–46), with a few other producers also involved. Notably during this era, Leonard Feather organized Dinah Washington's 1943 debut recording of "Evil Gal Blues" on Keynote (Morgenstern 2004). The jazz focused years at Keynote records documented the American jazz history of the forties as the

big bands and swing styles began to fall out of favor and bebop, boogie-woogie, and jump blues were on the rise.

Keynote greatly benefited from Lim's sessions due to the dearth of major commercial jazz recordings at the time. This was due to the union musicians' strike (1942–1944), compelled by the leader of the American Federation of Musicians, James Petrillo, who prevented union musicians from making commercial recordings for major recording companies. Keynote served as a non-union label, as one of the small specialty labels that allowed musicians to record if they were not in the union. Keynote was also able to attract musicians who had multiple contracts or were willing to record surreptitiously under pseudonyms. At Keynote, Count Basie used the name "Prince Charming," and Roy Eldridge was credited as "Little Jazz."

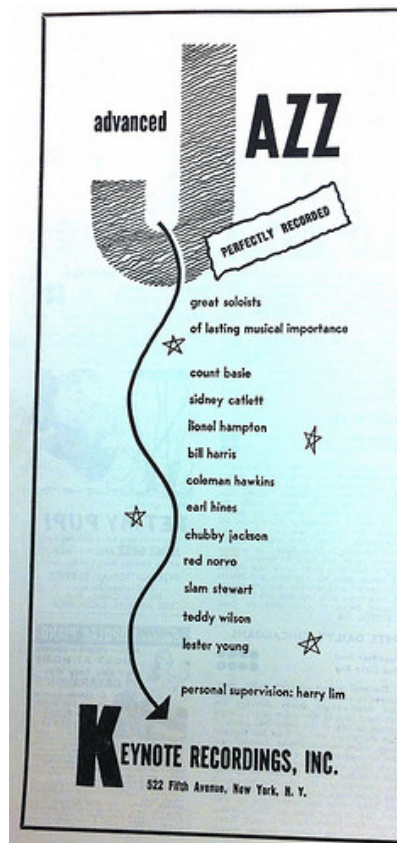


Figure 5.6. An advertisement for Keynote Records during Lim's tenure. Courtesy of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.

Lim's leading role to Keynote's jazz years and contribution to documenting American jazz during the twilight of the swing era remains underacknowledged and undervalued in the United States and Indonesia. The reasons for this underacknowledgment have been unexamined and, in some ways, actively erased possibly due to anti-Asian sentiments in the American business community as well as issues of taste and commercial profitability.

Caring to Remember Harry Lim

I have to admit I'm obsessed by Harry. I can identify with this guy. See what I'm saying? We know we're both born in Jakarta, Batavia. We both have Chinese background. We both went to Western school. We both love jazz since we were tikes, basically. It's just weird. I mean, I'm not trying to say that I am just like Harry Lim. I'm just saying I can identify with him. You know, based on my own experience with jazz. It's just amazing. . . . Oh, by the way, here's the original label. See that? Harry Lim, HL-16. See that? That's the original matrix. See there is still that original but that they put a new one on . . . (personal communication, June 26, 2017)

Ticoalu exposes his personal interest in and identification with Harry Lim. This focus and care to remember Lim has led to the discovery of new sources that could reshape some understandings of Lim. In documenting Lim, someone who clearly relates to and troubles ideas of jazz in Indonesia, questions categories and helps reevaluate key moments of historical production.

While Lim has been noticed by some American jazz historians in relation to other figures, no one has yet tried to understand Lim from multiple perspectives as both a record producer in America and a transnational migrant and refugee. By focusing on and caring about Harry Lim as a transnational migrant, rather than thinking of him only as one of the "foreign 'hot boys,'" similar to descriptions of record producers like Belgian Robert Goffin, Frenchman Charles Delaunay, and Englishman Leonard Feather (Punjol 2013:19), a new narrative emerges of Lim as a contributor to and casualty of the ruthless American music business in the late-1940s.

Understanding Lim after Keynote informs new perspectives about his experiences at Keynote. A

reevaluation of the major historical themes of the intersecting cosmopolitan trajectories comes from focusing on and caring about Lim.

Eric Bernay had a sustained connection with John Hammond. Bernay, in his role as the publisher of *The New Masses*, the journal of the American Communist Party, financed John Hammond's first "From Spirituals to Swing" concert at Carnegie Hall on December 23, 1938. The concert included performances by Count Basie, the Golden Gate Quartet, James P. Johnson, and others. Hammond was a well-known record producer and talent scout who served in the military during World War II from 1943 and was discharged in 1946, paralleling Lim's time at Keynote. Soon after leaving the military, Hammond returned to the New York jazz community. Hammond joined Keynote in July 1946 after a "longstanding invite from Eric Bernay, who sold Hammond a block of stock to bring him into the firm. Hammond would also act as an advisor for new talent artists" (Punjol 2013:30). Even though Lim had profitably steered Keynote, in part due to his own personal debt, as soon as Hammond returned, Lim lost much of his control over the label's direction. Lim's past success did not earn him longer term respect from Keynote's board or the wider jazz community. Even though Lim recorded many swing greats, the commercial priorities began to shift to the new kinds of dance music, blues, and R&B that did not fit Lim's tastes.

In February 1947, Lim left Keynote due to "professional differences with John Hammond" and in March 1947 Hammond became the head of the label (Punjol 2013:31–36). Soon Hammond began selling some of Keynote's assets to Mercury Records, after an "ill-advised investment" in a pressing plant (Morgenstern 2004). To avoid bankruptcy in 1948, John Hammond sold all of Keynote's holdings, including "Cattin' at the Keynote" to Mercury Records.

Mercury Records bought Keynote's unsold merchandise and stamped new, edited labels,

often without Harry Lim's name onto the recordings (see figure 5.7). Mercury Records started their jazz catalog with based on Keynote's collection that went on to be resold several times to other major labels —Philips, PolyGram, and then the Universal Music Group. Hammond's complete role in Lim's exit from Keynote silently lingers.



Figure 5.7. Mercury Records with peeling labels showing their stamps over older Keynote recordings. Materials courtesy of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.

After their time at Keynote, Bernay and Lim did not want to leave the record business entirely. Each began their own label soon after in 1949, Theme Records for Bernay and HL records for Lim. Unfortunately, neither were very profitable. Bernay and Lim tried to reactivate Keynote in 1955, but this proved short lived. Lim eventually could not make a living producing records and worked in Sam Goody's jazz section in New York from 1956 to 1973. He continued to produce records into the 1980s in the United States under his new label Famous Door. Despite the high production quality, Famous Door was only moderately commercially successful. This section concluded by acknowledging our witnessing of parts of Lim's *record*. The final section draws out the archival care through precision.

BEING CAREFUL (BEING PRECISE)

When Keynote's recordings were sold to Mercury, they still used Harry's original matrix number that always started with the prefix HL. Noticeably, the credits on "Cattin' at the Keynote" change in each subsequent pressing (see figure 5.8). Lim's background with Hawkins can help articulate how this recording happened and some insight into the labels and credits. Even as the recording was sold and re-released on others label, the title cannot be edited out or muted. The title expresses Lim's time at Keynote Records and his connection to Hawkins and the American jazz community.

Lim's "personal supervision" on this recording and contracts with Keynote did not entitle him to the royalties or payments he was promised after the Keynote catalog was sold. Harry Lim was inconstantly included on the Mercury labels and not at all on the Blue Star labels. Even though Lim's name was not included on most of the Mercury labels for the sessions he supervised, the continued use of his matrix number of HL shows a trace of Lim's participation in these sessions (Ticoalu, personal communication, November 16, 2020).

The changing credits at times confuse what happened. The latter two pressings on Mercury and Blue Star remove or downplay Lim's role in the recording session. In an attempt to recuperate Lim's contributions, some authors have taken Lim's credit on the Keynote labels, particularly the compositional credit changes from "the Quartet" to "Harry Lim" on the second Keynote pressing, as evidence of Lim's musical skill. The authors Punjol (2013), Van Dijk (2019), and Morgenstern (2004) all write that Harry Lim actually wrote and arranged songs for some of the Keynote jam and recording sessions. In particular, they cite the songs "Flamethrower" (performed by Coleman Hawkins), "Willie Weep for Me" (performed by Les Paul), "Mostly Faz" (performed by Irving Fazola), "Airiness a la Nat" (performed by Nat King Cole), and "5054 Whitsett" (Willie Weep for Me" (performed by Babe Russin). The evidence of

this labeling follows a similar issue as “Cattin’ at the Keynote,” yet those authors do not seem to consider “Cattin’ at the Keynote” in the same way for some reason. Ticoalu offers a much more compelling explanation.



Figure 5.8. Four labels of “Cattin’ at the Keynote” with different credits.

Ticoalu points out that these above songs were originally credited to a collective or traditional source. When these kinds of compositions were reprinted Lim’s name took the composer credit. The compositional credit is stamped unevenly throughout Keynote’s catalogue,

with frequent changes on repressings and alternative takes.¹³ But the above authors are also uneven and not consistent in their analysis, such as the label for the 1943 Lester Young Quartet “Afternoon of a Basie-ite” that cites Harry Lim as the composer and labeled as “traditional” in other pressings. Yet again none of the authors take that credit seriously. Of course, everything that happened at Keynote was not above board, such as the use of pseudonyms like Nat King Cole performing “Airiness a la Nat” under the pseudonym “Lord Calvert” for the union contractual reasons. In reviewing these labels, one needs to be careful about assigning credit (personal communication, May 26, 2021).

Throughout the many sources written by and about Harry Lim, there are no stories of Lim playing instruments or singing in any presentational or professional way. It is unclear beyond these variable labels how and if Lim learned how to compose and arrange. It seems much more likely, as Ticoalu suggests, that Lim’s credits on Keynote repressings are more about lessening Lim’s financial debt, as he had no advances from Keynote. Lim had taken on much debt and seems to have overall lost most of his investment through Keynote. Those multi-credited songs were written collaboratively by the groups, with unclear royalty status given to entities like “the Quartet.” These compositional credits to Lim should not be understood as evidence of Lim writing music or claiming that he wrote the music. While the Keynote bookkeeping remains opaque, it is likely that those unaccounted-for compositional credit monies went to label owners. Rightfully, royalties were sorted out back to musicians during Mercury’s tenure.

¹³ An alternative take of “Cattin’ at the Keynote” was found by Bob Hilbert, maintained at Arsip Jazz Indonesia. When the “complete” Keynote boxed set was released in Japan this alternative take, which was a little longer and had different solos is inscribed with a different matrix number of 15 with a “6” written over the 5 to match the label of HL-16. Other sources point to a recording date of July 23, 1944, but the order of the matrix numbers differs with HL-14 (“Imagination”), HL-15 (used on one of the Keynote stamps), and HL 16 used on the other Keynote stamp and the Mercury release.

For “Cattin’ at the Keynote,” it was more likely that the song was put together on the spot from a riff or riff-based variations in the head arrangements common in the Count Basie Orchestra and the Kansas City style of performance and composition. The “composer” of the riff and its arrangers would all happen rather quickly through this stylistic convention. For example, Coleman Hawkins composed the song “Battle of the Saxes” over the “China Boy” changes in the riff compositional style. The recording session of this “Coleman Hawkins Quartet” has several tunes composed, arranged, and recorded in this way, where the compositional credit to the “Quartet” should be understood as this riff and collective realization style.

Beyond these debates over compositional credit, Lim left traces in other recordings by American jazz musicians. Lim had songs dedicated to him and about his stories. Barney Bigard, who famously played jazz clarinet in Duke Ellington’s orchestra, recorded two songs dedicated to Harry Lim, “Borobudur” and “Lament for Javanette” (1941). In this chapter, I chose to focus on “Cattin’ at the Keynote” as it immortalizes Lim’s connections with Coleman Hawkins that sustained over decades and oceans as well as the complexities of Lim’s role in the jazz community and Keynote recordings in the past and in its present.

The erasure of Harry Lim’s contribution to jazz remains under examined. I argue his erasure is in part due to his race as well as his stubborn taste in certain styles of jazz. The importance of remembering of Lim’s contributions extend beyond the details of his life. Lim’s erasure and remembering connects to ongoing debates over the role of contributions by the Chinese Indonesian minority in the colonial and postcolonial history of Indonesia. Where is the space in the history of jazz in Indonesia for the someone who “didn’t call himself Indonesian” as “that whole concept didn’t exist in his mindset . . . and he didn’t call himself Dutch” (Ticoalu n.d.).

CONCLUSION

A complete catalogue and discographic record of jazz in Indonesia has been lacking. Of course, the inscription of any cultural canon involves negotiation, the careful methods of Arsip Jazz Indonesia invites new understandings of the history of jazz in Indonesia. Centering on the *record* of “Cattin’ at the Keynote” maintained in the collections Arsip Jazz Indonesia furthers discussions about evidence, power, and historical production. It provides more details about the people who made these recordings, how archivists at Arsip Jazz Indonesia notice the silences in the recordkeeping process, and take great care in socializing these silences back into public discourse. The lack of general knowledge about Harry Lim’s contribution to jazz in the United States and the unawareness of Lim in the Indonesian jazz community are some of the silences Ticoalu reevaluates through Arsip Jazz Indonesia. In resistance to “hegemonic history,” Ticoalu collects multiple sources, analyzes the multiple narratives surrounding Lim, and scrutinizes other historiographies of Lim (Punjol 2013; Morgenstern 2004). The making of history in the final instance places Harry Lim in an excluded position in both American jazz historiography and Indonesian historiography. Arsip Jazz Indonesia serves as a careful reconsideration of cases like Lim that strives for greater precision, witness the contributions of Chinese Indonesians to jazz, and ongoing attention to changing community needs.

Through Ticoalu’s care to be precise to the *record* held at Arsip Jazz Indonesia, he offers a witness to the many accomplishments of Harry Lim while also noticing how Lim’s contributions have been muted and skewed by subsequent companies and scholarly writing. The goal of deep precision in Ticoalu’s method slows the speed of production of these restorative histories.

Pratiwie:

What is the big dream after the archive has collected enough?

Ticoalu:

It feels like it will never be enough because this is still part of a process. Every moment we find something new. But one day we hope to create a location like a central library. Hopefully as soon as possible we can publish Volume I of the Indonesian jazz history book of a planned three volumes. We hope we can continue to contribute and hopefully friends will also help us on this journey. (Pratiwie 2015)

The process of archival care is continually challenged as new sources, archives, and narratives are circulated, remade, and reused as part of the ascription of archival value. New formations of power in relation to evidence and historical production allow for reformed political subjectivities by records' creators, subjects, users, and communities. Arsip Jazz Indonesia offers careful insights into histories of racialized violence, as archivists critically, restoratively, and reparatively intervene in the audible figuration of Chinese people in Indonesia. The deep-rooted role of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia's jazz culture continues to be documented and recognized as shaping current manifestation of jazz in Indonesia. The material objects ascribed archival value by Arsip Jazz Indonesia require great care in terms of precision, trauma, and attention to ongoing community needs. The community needs fall within the reparative aspirations by grassroots archivists to ongoing power imbalances in the key moments of historical production for all kinds of musical media stored at the Indonesia Jazz Archive.

CHAPTER SIX

REVITALIZING MUSICAL HERITAGE THROUGH AURAL DISCOGRAPHY IN *ANTHOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA*

This last chapter shifts focus from a specific grassroots archive and its relationship to the preservation of jazz heritage in Indonesia towards the activities of members of the Jakarta jazz scene using the archives. I describe two jazz guitarists, Dion Janapria and Robert Mulyaraharja, as archival users. The duo led a small team of other scene members in transcribing archival recordings into lead sheets for other Indonesians to access, learn from, and perform.¹ The archives, particularly Irama Nusantara, provided digital access to all kinds of recordings that could be related to jazz for the team to listen to and transcribe.² Members of Arsip Jazz Indonesia and Om Yong (Yongky Nusantara) provided consultation in how to whittle down the team's hundreds of transcriptions into a 173-song publication called *Anthologi Musik Indonesia: Seri II Jazz dan Populer* (The Anthology of Indonesian Music: Series 2 Jazz and Popular).³ The Anthology was published in 2017 by the Jakarta Arts Council and features 59 composers from the 1950s to the present.

This Anthology reinforces jazz as a vital part of Indonesian musical heritage and provides the first comprehensive musical notation of the tradition. The authors use the practice of jazz transcription to organize, listen to, and analyze recordings that have been increasingly rare in the Jakarta jazz scene. Janapria describes how most of the lead sheets “started from sound” (2017),

¹ A lead sheet is a musical notation that includes the melody, lyrics, rhythmic feel, and harmonic progression.

² The titles of the team members are as follows: Dion Janapria is the “conceptor” and “editor;” Robert Mulyaraharja is the “assistant editor;” Grace Imanuelly Bostan is the “music editor;” Irsa Destiwi, Noah Revevalin, and Yedid Sompotan are the “assistant music editors;” and Aditya Pradana Setiadi is the “translator” and “proofreader.”

³ Series I focuses on Indonesian classical music. This series is discussed later in the chapter.

rather from the notebooks of composers or from previously published scores.⁴ The team members wrote down many compositions they had not known to exist and published scores of many of these sounds for the first time.



Figure 6.1. Members of the Anthology team together. Left to Right: Robert Mulyaraharja, Alice Grace, Irsa Destiwi, Noah Revealin, and Dion Janapria at Anomali Coffee in Jakarta. May 31, 2017. Used with permission Dion Janapria.

The awareness gap of the jazz community’s material history is in part due to the absence of an established discographic record or catalogue, particularly recordings from “the post-independence era [late 1940s] to the Radio Bintang era [late 1950s]” (Janapria 2016). Regarding the team’s selection process, Janapria articulates the Anthology’s three main selection criteria: 1)

⁴ The Anthology also includes newer compositions that drew upon the working scores Janapria collected as a performer in the Jakarta jazz scene (e.g., *Anthologi Musik Indonesia: Seri II Jazz dan Populer* 2017:44–49).

association of songs with the jazz tradition, 2) unique compositions, and 3) their significance in broader popular music trends in Indonesia.⁵ Janapria qualifies how the realization of their criteria required interviews with many members of the jazz community, most notably the archivists and Om Yong. The community derived recommendations were then factored into the team's decision-making process to find which songs best fit their classification criteria (see Appendix C for more details about their selection criteria).⁶

One of my observations is about how this group of jazz musicians used the archives. The process was informed by their habitus.⁷ Through the individual performance of their upper-middle class habitus, each member accumulated forms of Bourdieusian capital. In particular, I focus on the high amount of educational capital, as a substratum of cultural capital, of each member. Every member of the Anthology production team maintains at least one higher education diploma related to jazz and the team members have all taught at higher education institutions in Jakarta. One might assume that the Anthology's producers would endeavor to

⁵ See Janapria 2016 for a full explanation. In summary he writes: the association of songs with the jazz tradition includes popular songs that have played by musicians with "reputations and traces of work in jazz." These songs may be rearranged and presented in a jazz capacity, for example with a blues form, swing rhythm, popular song 32-bar forms like AABA, or modal jazz composition using Latin American rhythms like cha-cha or rhumba. Unique composition refers to the perceived authentic quality of each composition, including those that mix aesthetic styles to make something that has perceived historical significance. This includes the ways in which "regional songs are presented in the context of jazz products," such as the Indonesian All Stars' jazz performance of "Gambang Suling," a Central Javanese and nationally regarded kroncong composition (see Appendix B, Example 6) and "Ilir Ilir." This excludes compositions considered unoriginal among Indonesian jazz musicians. Finally, the prevalence of specific versions of songs in the popular music community led to certain selections.

⁶ Janapria gathered "interviews, testimonials and references from musicians, music workers such as producers and arrangers, radio broadcasters, and music observers who have expertise and competence in their fields. Apart from that, they also need to have a credible viewpoint in terms of aesthetic analysis, and knowledge of jazz and popular music in Indonesia, so that their opinion is calculated according to their capacity as a resource" (2016).

⁷ Habitus is the subjective system of expectations and predispositions acquired through past experience (Bourdieu 1984).

define an aesthetic canon by their archival selections that would then be reproducible, and in doing so, advance their educated and classed position in a Bourdieusian field of cultural production (1993). But, less in the spirit of advancement and more in the spirit of the reproduction of knowledge as a process, the team sought to offer the Anthology as a partial knowledge, as a document of the Jakarta jazz scene members using the archives with their embodied knowledge of listening and transcription. The team continually emphasized the inclusive, subjective, and practical qualities of their selections and dedicated the Anthology to its “readers” (Janapria 2017). In this spirit, the notation is prescriptive rather than descriptive, with the idea that other jazz musicians could perform songs from the Anthology as a kind workbook, what the Anthology producers described as an “Indonesian Real Book.”⁸ The Anthology aims to represent the range and diversity of songs that have been considered jazz by Indonesian musicians, rather than a distinctive and finite canon that fits the team’s tastes. The Anthology serves as an inclusive path to listen to, reconceptualize, embody, and hear jazz songs, as well as learn about how jazz can be found in archival sources, particularly those held in grassroots archives. In this way, the Anthology does not delimit history as much as be part of the opening of Indonesian historical consciousness extended by the emergent culture of documentation.

ANTHOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA: AN AURAL DISCOGRAPHY

I think the best way to understand this collection is through a term I call “aural discography.” I use aural discography to focus on the listening subjectivity of discographer(s). Discography has often been posed as an objective and scientific endeavor that provides lists of things like names, dates, and matrix numbers on recordings (in any format).⁹ Bruce D. Epperson,

⁸ The *Real Book* is the internationally recognized compilation of lead sheets of mostly American jazz standards.

⁹ Piano rolls organized in this way could be called a rollography.

a leading authority on jazz discography, identifies are three main categories of discography: genre, label, and artist specific (2013). While some early discographies focused on cataloguing the releases of record labels, particularly those without comprehensive product guides, many early discographies categorized by genre, particularly jazz.¹⁰ The significance of “takes” in jazz, whereby two versions of the same composition may significantly differ, even those taken one right after the other, makes discography a particularly useful practice in describing jazz recordings. While the Anthology producers did not entitle their project a discography, it does have a systematic directory that provides an enumerated list of names, dates, and record numbers of the transcribed recordings (2017:5–36). I understand the Anthology selections, with its well-sourced and cited recorded media information, as providing a systematic discographic record.¹¹

Attorney and recorded sound scholar, Bruce Epperson acknowledges that “like any literature, a discography is a work of interpretation” (2013:6). He discusses and problematizes how discographic authors “admit” their subjective “beliefs” that often lead the authors to apologize for their non-thoroughly-objective “omissions” (7). While Epperson briefly considers the idea of discography as a “methodology,” he quickly returns to the idea that “the vast majority of record collectors, musicologists, and musicians think of ‘discography’ not as method, but as the tangible outcome of that procedure: a product, a document, a thing” (5). Of course, as anyone who has ever taken Marx seriously knows, the process of the production of things is paramount.

¹⁰ See Epperson *More Important than the Music: A History of Jazz Discography* (2013:141–158) for more examples of genre, label, and artist specific discographies. Examples of early genre discographies are *Le Jazz Hot* by Hugues Panassié (1934) and *Hot Discography* by Charles Delaunay (1936).

¹¹ I am hesitant to claim the Anthology is the first jazz discography in Indonesia as GS Pardede’s 1987 book *Pop, Jazz, Rock* includes cipher notion of related compositions, but does not clarify how the author categorizes the genre for each composition. Deded ER Morerad’s *Jazz Indonesia* offers a short-written summary of discs (1995:36–37).

The closest Epperson comes to what I mean by aural discography is what he calls “listening guides.” These listening guides are closer to “best of” lists, with annotated biographical information that sometimes includes song structure summaries (2013:14–15).¹² None of Epperson’s taxonomies seem to take seriously the politics of sound and hearing as anything other than an objective practice. The idea that the aural and embodied knowledge of a listener would organize sound recordings differently and productively for their listening communities is not included under his umbrella of discography. Nevertheless, I find parts of his analysis of jazz discography useful in developing my understanding of aural discography.

FINDING THE AURAL IN DISCOGRAPHY

The term “discography” was popularized in the journals and writings of 1930s jazz collectors who did research to organize and self-publish record catalogues (Epperson 2013:141–158). The historical circumstances that gave rise to who could talk about music through the organizing of discs is particular and involves specific arrangements of power. For example, most if not all early discographers were white, upper-class, male, and Euro-American who, I argue, exhibited their cultural capital and financial ability to access many recordings by producing discographies. But as the Indonesian Anthology demonstrates, who has access to many kinds of recordings, especially rare recordings, has changed and allows for different groups to produce discographies.

I understand discography as a kind of DIY reference book to evoke its subjective qualities. Unlike most other reference books, like atlases, dictionaries, and encyclopedias,

¹² Epperson describes Edward Brook’s 2002 book *The Young Louis Armstrong on Records: A Critical Survey of the Early Recordings, 1923–1928* as kind of discography that is “technically a listening guide” of Armstrong tunes. Each entry also includes a summary of the song’s structure but no notation (2013:15).

discographies usually do not have sustained corporate funding. They are most often the product of avid collectors and aficionados. This makes the production of corrective and more dispassionate editions challenging to mobilize. There is also a limited audience for discographies making them difficult to fund, print, and broadly circulate beyond particular scenes.

The subjectivity of genre-based discographies, as is this Anthology, is particularly noticeable due to issues of genre in musical communities. For example, how musicians and musical communities consider their music often differs from the genre definitions that help music industry professionals organize themselves. Furthermore, after recordings leave store bins that designate the recording's current music industry category, genre can take on new meanings that change over time, making genre a notorious classifying classifier.¹³

Further into my development of the term “aural discography,” I reflected on Janapria’s description in the Anthology’s preface of “digging into the diversity of Indonesian popular music” (2017:xxvi). Ethnomusicologist David Novak has framed the “crate-digging” of recordings, searching for lost and disappearing regional media, as a kind of “aural ethnography” (2011:606). I understand this aural ethnography as a method of participant observation that learns from and participates with diggers to access sound recordings as part of cultural heritage. Many of the jazz musicians and grassroots archivists who contributed to the Anthology are crate-diggers in this sense and I understand the Anthology as another step. “Aural discography” is a subjective and written organization of recordings from aural ethnography.

Aural discography continues to apply particular practices of listening, analysis, and organization to systematize recordings. I maintain that a discography can include other written forms beyond letters and numbers, namely musical notation, Western or otherwise. Forms of

¹³ Fabian Holt (2009:3–25) and Keith Negus (1999:19–26) discuss genre as an organizing principle in music industry corporate practice.

musical notation can more precisely describe the sound or aural information on recordings. This aural information is often left out of what has traditionally been thought of as a proper discography of composed lettered lists. This aural information on recordings is understood through the subjectivity of the listener's ear structured by habitus. In this chapter, I use aural discography to describe this Anthology, as it exemplifies the application of the aural, embodied, and subjective musical knowledges and practices from members of the Jakarta jazz scene to engender a written interpretation of a collection of recorded materials.

Towards an Ethnomusicological Theory of Discography

My main argument is that the practice of discography, writing about discs, has gone undertheorized in anthropology, history, musicology, and, in my discipline, ethnomusicology. Discography is interconnected with, among many other structures, the music industry, identity formation, and cultural heritage. The practice of discography produces a publicly circulating text and imagines a listening community. Recordings can circulate as charged signs of belonging, providing mechanisms of identification and affective attachment that bind people to larger collectivities and histories. Discography suggests access to a number of sound recordings that need organizing and an understanding that members of the reading public will have similar access. I hope to point out some needed inquiry about how ethnomusicologists could ask about discography playing into the lives of the communities we work with, as increasingly groups document and organize their own aural heritage. Each community's access to many kinds of recordings, particularly historical recordings, and recordings on expensive or rare formats has been transformed by digitation and postcustodial archival methods. The making of an aural discography as a form of cultural production does not always fit within colonially informed

paradigms of traditional music or official lists of intangible heritages, as communities use and interact with preserved sound recordings of many styles as part of their aural heritage.

Often considerations of the relation between sound and text, such as my inquiries about discography, enter the realm of sound studies (e.g., Sterne 2012; Novak 2011; Ochoa Gautier 2006; 2015). Similar to a sound studies discourse, my focus on aural discography takes the listener's subjectivity seriously instead of assuming a disembodied ear. I refocus discography on differing listening experiences and positionalities, related to sound scholar Dylan Robinson's categorization of the "Indigenous listening experience" (2020), and as informed by ones' habitus.

Aural discography might be used as a kind of feedback methodology, whereby listener groups respond to archival materials. This kind of feedback methodology has been a common method in repatriation projects involving materials from imperial and colonial extractive practices (see Stone and Stone 1981; Seeger 2019). But commercial, popular, and non-traditional musical heritages also benefit from the genealogies of listening from diverse communities, groups, and scenes who can listen back to various collections as part of their cultural heritage and organize recordings they care about. This includes materials left out colonial and institutional archives as part of feedback methodologies, materials that might not have been considered different enough to represent the Other for the "imperial ear" (Talusán 2021:6–10; see also "imperial listening" Radano and Olaniyan 2016; and "segregating sound" Miller 2016). The aural engagement with the archival record as partial knowledges, as part of the patchwork of various forms of knowledge, allows for specific feedback by archival users in how materials are understood, interpreted, and heard.

In Diana Taylor's performance studies description of the archive and the repertoire (2003), the repertoire is foregrounded as something to take seriously and consider historically as a means of storing and transmitting knowledge. While many scholars tend to emphasize the

difference between the categories, in reality, and in Taylor's writing, the two sides are very much intertwined. The archive and the repertoire work together to make political claims, transmit sometimes traumatic memory, and forge a new sense of cultural identity. For many ethnomusicologists, the repertoire is often the central focus, and in this chapter, I suppose it still is, but I also grapple with how musicians use archives and write as part of their musical practice. In describing the Anthology as an aural discography, I notice a situation where musical recordings have been away from the community for under a lifetime, about 50–70 years. Elders who helped produce the materials listen back with the younger generations who have never heard the recordings, all responding to the separation and recombination of the archive and repertoire.

My analysis in this chapter will combine an examination of the contents of the Anthology alongside ethnographic inquiries of its producers, who include Indonesian jazz musicians, audiovisual archivists, and the Jakarta-based cultural foundation members that provided funding for the project. These groups contributed aural embodied knowledge, material evidence, and concrete financial limitations that shaped the Anthology. The selected transcriptions include variously labels and genres, but the publication's preface argues each song contributes to Indonesia's jazz heritage.

ENTER THE END USER

In this chapter, I return to how archivists organize themselves with an end user in mind. Organizing systems around an end user is a paramount quality that differentiates archives from simply being collections of objects. This focus on an archival end user also moves against using the term "archive" for a metaphoric palimpsest or for something that simply requires

steganographic analysis.¹⁴ My theorization of archival value foregrounds circulation and recenters archives as nodes of exchange through actions that make holdings more accessible and generate greater awareness. Archival value can act as a tool against the colonial structures and practices of many institutional archives and helps argue for making collections accessible to the communities that bore objects of archival value through the negation of “how to keep-while-giving” (Weiner 1992). In the case of this Anthology, archival value flows from the grassroots archivists’ appraisal, leading to the allocation of time, materials, and labor resources for protection, preservation, and structured use oriented towards an end user.

History of technology scholar Bryan Pfaffenberger describes an end user as the person who actually uses, for decision making or analytical purposes, the information that an information retrieval system makes available. Pfaffenberger notes how end users can become information creators themselves, thereby creating a loop (1990:4). I argued in the previous chapter (five) how the linearity of conventional archival theory becomes challenged as new sources and narratives are circulated, remade, and reused in a more simultaneous and porous process. In making this claim, I draw upon archival scholar Michelle Caswell’s articulation of the “records continuum model” (2014). Media studies scholar Yochai Benkler recognizes how end users are substantially more engaged participants that can sometimes be consumers and sometimes producers (2006:138), an often-echoed premise in media studies (e.g., Jenkins 2006; Anderson 2014). Benkler’s comment relates to my discussion (chapter two) of the *turis* (tourist) users as participants and consumers and *mahasiswa* (college student) users as consumers and producers, both imagined parts of the Indonesian public sphere. In this chapter, the end users are

¹⁴ Information studies scholar Margert Hedstrom notices how the equivalence of archives with memory can be useful rhetorically but argues to “move beyond the metaphor” (2009:167). Anthropologist David Zeitlyn (2012) notices how the term “archive” has been called on for too many uses and meanings and argues in favor of understandings that are grounded in actual archival theory.

from a specific scene, the Jakarta jazz scene, interpreting materials primarily from the Jakarta jazz scene of previous eras made available to them through Irama Nusantara’s postcustodial methodology.



Figure 6.2. Books at Irama Nusantara office, including the Anthologi Musik Indonesia: Seri II Jazz dan Populer; Anthologi Musik Klasik Indonesia: Seri I: Vokal dan Piano “Seriosa” (Anthology of Indonesian Classical Music: Art Song); Perjalanan Sebuah Lagu (The Song’s Journey) by Candra Darusman. February 19, 2019.

This Anthology is an example of a situation where archival materials are circulated due to their value in regimes defined by national identity (Myers 2001), related to the idea of “community value” (Brown 1991), as well as for the “evidential value” of the genre and “narrative value” of jazz in Indonesia (Caswell 2014; Furner and Gilliland 2016). This is a clear example of how the use of archival materials by end users is not an end point, but a node in ongoing circulation. The Anthology is now housed at Arsip Jazz Indonesia and Irama Nusantara for new end users to access and learn from the knowledge of previous end users (see figure 6.2). The end users, as members of an Indonesian jazz scene, provide their subjective understanding of

the archival materials through their listening practices informed by habitus. Their listening practices as habitus structures the process of producing this Anthology.

“Starting From Sound”

Janapria contrasts the process of making the *Anthology of Indonesian Music: Jazz and Popular* with the 2013 *Anthology of Indonesian Classical Music* (see figure 6.2), both published by the Jakarta Arts Council. The editors of the Classical Music Anthology compiled sheet music from other sheet music collections, including songbooks from the *RRI Radio Bintang Contest* and a 1956 collection of Iskandar’s Indonesian Light Classics (*Kumpulan Lagu-Lagu Seriosa Indonesia*) (2013:xvi–3). In juxtaposition, the *Anthology of Indonesian Music: Jazz and Popular* “started from sound,” transformed into a “collection of images” of musical notation (Janapria 2017). The process of “starting from sound” centers the listening practices of the end users from the Jakarta jazz scene.

In chapter four, a member of the Jakarta jazz scene, pianist Sri Hanuraga (Aga) described his thoughts about listening as a jazz musician. He discussed his own listening practice when joining the experimental jazz ensemble Simak Dialog (quoted at length in chapter four).¹⁵ In my other discussions with Aga, he described his wonder at legendary pianist Bubi Chen’s listening ability, particularly for Chen’s ability to use his ear to learn about traditional music affectations (personal communication, February 16, 2019). Aga explained how Chen’s musical education started by taking classical music lessons, but Chen took his own path as a jazz musician by following his ear to teach himself. For Aga, Chen applied his listening practice to combine jazz and traditional music to make recordings like *Djanger Bali* (1967) and *Kedamaian* (1989). Instead of taking traditional music lessons or studying in a formal program, Aga understood

¹⁵ Aga has a number of compositions included in the Anthology (see Appendix B, Example 13).

Chen as applying his “jazz listening” skills to explore Indonesian musical traditions. Aga described how he followed a similar approach when joining Simak Dialog, to play with *kendang Sunda* (Sundanese drum) player Cucu Kurina. To join, Aga included transcription and analysis as part of his listening process. By classifying Bubi Chen’s listening habits as a jazz listening skill, Aga demonstrates jazz listening as a specialized practice and as an integral mode of his habitus.¹⁶

This specialized listening of Indonesian jazz musicians not only exists but it also has a history, as can be seen in Aga’s historicization of Chen’s listening. Sound anthropologist Steven Feld conveys a similar sense in his phrasing of the “genealogies of listening” among West African jazz musicians (2012:16). Feld describes the *Jazz Cosmopolitans of Accra* through their “listening as habitus, in routinized, emplaced hearing as an embodied mastery of locality” (2012:126) that allows for a “sensing place in Accra’s urban acoustemology” (132). Feld’s theory of acoustemology, the conjoining of acoustics and epistemology, is a way to theorize sound as a way of knowing and creates a focus on knowledgeable listeners.

In the Jakarta jazz scene, Feld’s conception of an urban acoustemology finds purchase as many musicians know and respond to the urban sounds of Jakarta. In some compositions by members of the Jakarta jazz scene, such as in the songs “Jakarta” by pianist David Manuhutu and “City Lights” by guitarist and Anthology co-editor Robert Mulyaraharja (see Appendix B, Example 12), there are references to the traffic din, the street noises of food hawkers, and traditional street performers.¹⁷ By the producers of this Anthology “starting from sound,” the

¹⁶ Jazz scholar Caroline Davis has described related specialized listener experiences and genealogies specific to various jazz communities in the United States (2010).

¹⁷ The sounds of food hawkers and some warung each have their own sonic call to advertise food for sale. For example, a *bakso* (meatball soup) seller hits the high pitch bowl or wooden *kentongan* slit drum with specific

Anthology centers the listening practices of the Jakarta jazz scene, including Jakarta's urban acoustemology. The scene members listening as habitus informs the process of knowledgeable listeners writing things down.

An Indonesian Real Book

This Anthology is understood by its producers to be a kind of “Indonesian Real Book.” The original *Real Book* is a well-known jazz teaching and reference book made in the 1970s from the collections and transcriptions of students at Boston's Berklee College of Music. It was a DIY reference book for many years, until 2004 when the first legal edition printed each lead sheet as a copyrighted “score” rather than as a homemade DIY transcription.¹⁸ The name “Real Book” puns on the idea of a “fake book,” a collected volume of lead sheets that allows a proficient musician to “fake” a performance with minimal information. The *Real Book* is a musical reference book, a workbook, and a book of lead sheets that organizes and standardizes jazz compositions as examples of well-known repertoire for education and collective improvisation.

In my interviews with the editors of the Indonesian Anthology, they told me how they were inspired to make an “Indonesian Real Book” during their studies abroad in places like the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. While they were still high school students in Jakarta, Janapria and Mulyaraharja described playing songs from the *Real Book*, like

rhythms. The recordings of *tahu bulat goreng* (fried tofu balls) advertisements in Bandung are particularly memorable for my sonic arriving home at a few places I lived.

¹⁸ The first legal publication, the sixth edition, was published by the Hal Leonard Corporation in 2004. This legal edition does not feature “transcriptions” as much as scores defined by the music industry publishers urtexts, understood as the “original composition” from the “composer.” In jazz communities the idea of original composition and composer do not always fit neatly into music industry schemas, such as Count Basie's riff compositions.

“Autumn Leaves,” as accurately and as seriously as possible. They went on to recognize during their higher education abroad that songs in the *Real Book* were understood more as educational constructions, rather than songs musicians would play verbatim live. They learned how the *Real Book* was a tool to begin one’s approach when someone calls a certain style or form like “rhythm changes” at a jam session or concert.

The collaborative editors began to understand the *Real Book* compositions as key to learning about core concepts and styles that also require the listening to and transcription of many well-known performances. Upon this understanding, Janapria and Mulyaraharja felt that Indonesian students could learn these same concepts and styles from Indonesian composers like Ismail Marzuki, Nick Mamahit, and Jack Lesmana, who they heard using similar structures as those in the *Real Book*. For the editors, it was possible for Indonesian students to learn important jazz lessons as well as other paradigms from Indonesia’s popular musical culture. Further, making an “Indonesian Real Book” allows Indonesian musicians to learn about and cultivate their own heritage by reading, listening, and performing. When the editors returned to Indonesia, they began exploring older recordings to fit this premise that became the basis for the criteria of the Anthology (interview, October 26, 2019). While the Anthology producers have never argued to supplant the *Real Book* with their Anthology, they understand it as serving a similar role in the education of Indonesian jazz musicians as performers, transcribers, and listeners.¹⁹

¹⁹ There are many recent “Real Books” such as the community-based *Alaska Real Book* (2021), the *Australian Real Book* (Nikolsky 2012), and the *South African Jazz Real Book: (Vol. 1), Jika* (2021) as well as spinoffs from the now official publisher of Hal Leonard Corp. such as *The Real Bluegrass Book: C Instruments* (2011). The goals of these jazz “Real Books” from other places are like the Anthology. They all seek to represent a rich heritage of jazz from various communities that, as many argue, have been overlooked in education in part because collections of lead sheets have not been organized together. The “Real Books” make each community’s auditory heritage recognizable and accessible. While all these texts are DIY reference books, except those from the Hal Leonard Corp. productions, they are not all necessarily aural discographies. The *Australian Real Book*, for example, was mostly assembled from the collection of scores rather than through transcription of aural sources (Nikolsky 2012:43–47).

Many Anthology songs are written by great Indonesian popular music and nationally recognized composers not commonly understood as jazz musicians. This is similar to how the *Real Book* draws upon many songs from the Great American Songbook. The analogy of the idea of the Great American Songbook, as a metaphoric and loosely defined canon, applied to the Indonesian Anthology explains why some songs by great Indonesian popular music composers, less associated with jazz, are included. For example, “My Favorite Things” written by Rodgers and Hammerstein for the 1959 musical “The Sound of Music,” is included in the *Real Book* due to many famous jazz renderings. Similarly, every song on the 1959 album “Kasih Pasar Baru” is featured in the Anthology, even though the song composers Ismail Marzuki, Bing Slamet, and Achoed Usman are not considered explicitly jazz musicians. Nevertheless, the songs are rendered by jazz musicians, who include things like melodic guitar improvisation on the song “Kisah Pasar Baru” and a similar treatment with the pedal steel guitar on “Sabda Alam.” The knowingly subjective quality of the Anthology is apparent in the inclusion of “Kasih Pasar Baru.” Janapria told me that the inclusion of the entire recording was mostly due to “self-preference since I love that album so much.” The album was recommended to him by David Tarigan and later Om Yong. Janapria described it as “one of great albums that captured the popular music of the 50s in Jakarta” (personal communication, January 24, 2022).

The main difference between the Anthology and the *Real Book* is how the source recordings are listed in the Anthology (see figure 6.3). The *Real Book* does not consistently or systematically list which recording the transcription or lead sheet came from, while the Anthology provides this discographic data at the end of each transcription as well as in a detailed index. Understanding the Anthology as a “Real Book” moves it beyond being only a reference book of the musical heritage delineated in conversation with community members, but also

something intended to influence contemporary performance.²⁰ The Anthology does not only give musicians something to read and perform, but also a list of which recordings to listen to.

27 G_{Maj7} G_{Maj7} E_{m7} 3 A_{m7} 3
ke - ce - wa tr - ma - lah i - ni la - gu

30 $D7$ G_{Maj7}
per - sem - ba - han - ku

Irama Special Trio (Sam Saimun): Meratap Sunji. Irama Record LPI 17506

Figure 6.3. Citation, including catalogue number, of the recording used to transcribe “Persembahanku” by Iskandar.

DOCUMENTATION AS HABITUS

This Anthology is part of an increasing cultural interest in documentation. Janapria ends his editor’s preface by professing the Anthology demonstrates “the importance of historical consciousness . . . that shapes the identity of Indonesia’s national culture” (2017:xxv). To help interpret Janapria’s comment, I return to the work of anthropologists Karen Strassler (2010;

²⁰ In the forward of the *Real Book*, Fifth Edition the source references are listed as “a) the composer(s) of every tune is listed. b) Whenever possible, one or more examples of jazz recordings of the tunes are listed. (The tunes are not necessarily taken from those particular sources, however)” (1999:i). The legal Sixth Edition has a new Forward that writes: “b) Every song presented in the *Real Book* is now fully licensed” (2004:i). This process solidifies the “composer” publisher right for many jazz compositions but not necessarily how it was played on recordings.

2020) and Doreen Lee (2016) as describing the growing trend of documenting the present and critically reconsidering Indonesia's history during the Reformasi era. I relate the Anthology and its methodology as marking out the borders for political possibility, what Strassler has called an "imaginative resource" (2020:17), as part of Janapria's push towards historical consciousness. By showing what is known and how it is known, Janapria allows readers to continue uncovering other muted parts of Indonesia's musical and politicized history. By performing his habitus to accumulate forms of cultural capital, specifically forms of educational capital, he argues documentation awareness in an important part of academic processes that have stimulated his historical consciousness.

In his companion blog, Janapria posts quotes by education scholars Yvonna Lincoln and Norman Denzin (1997) he learned through his academic pursuits. He uses these scholars to suggest the Anthology as contributing to "historical imagination," referring to how "history is inherently political" and that "there is no single standard guideline for assessing the 'truth' of historical knowledge" (2016).²¹ This theoretical understanding of a lack of standard history allows Janapria to question arguments as apolitical when referring to historical logic, intuition, perseverance, and common sense. The Anthology enters the battlegrounds in the struggles over authenticity, memory, political recognition, and national envisioning. It offers implicit recognition of musical people who have not fit nicely into earlier and contemporary hegemonic definitions of national (musical) culture. The Anthology expands the historical consciousness of what has shaped the identity of Indonesia's national culture by drawing upon the archive and embodied memory. The production of this Anthology, shaped by the performance of the habitus

²¹ The rest of the quoted material reads: "There are only agreements and disagreements, both explicit and implicit, about the substance, use value, and meaning of knowledge which we call history . . . This process deals with the issue of enforcement (and the demolition) and protection (and destruction) of a hegemonic definition of history" (Janapria 2016).

of its creators, serves as educational capital, a form of cultural capital, to critique what Bourdieu would term “scholastically recognized knowledge” (1984:23) in Indonesian institutions. Janapria argues through the Anthology that a historically conscious Indonesian should realize studying jazz as an Indonesian requires studying the history and contemporary practice of jazz by Indonesians.

I relate the practices of the Anthology to ethnomusicologist Andrew Weintraub’s descriptions of five musical historical strategies (*panca-strategi*) in Indonesia (2021b): (1) *Meluruskan sejarah* (straightening out history); (2) *Bergerak* (organizing); (3) *Menuliskan kembali* (Rewriting); (4) Performing; and (5) Sound Recording (and publishing) (2021b:8–9). This Anthology particularly embodies the strategy of *menuliskan kembali* and helps Indonesian musicians rediscovering music from earlier eras. Doreen Lee sees these kinds of activities as forms of “activist labor, specifically the labor of making and reproducing papers” (2019) and wonders how they are valued. Adding to Weintraub’s strategies from my research is *mengarsipkan dokumentasi* (archiving documentation), whereby the inscription of archival value for musical media heralds a momentous shift in awareness and access. While Weintraub traces some of these strategies as responding directly to the atrocities of 1965, the bulk of these strategies have seemed to have effervesced in the Reformasi era. Analogously, media scholar Emma Baulch investigates a trend in the 2000s of rediscovering the Indonesian and international music of the 1970s through tribute albums and in music magazines propelled by international record labels that opened branch offices in Indonesia in the 1990s (2016).

I do not understand the “culture of documentation” that the Anthology editors participate in as entirely new, as of course it relates to their habitus, but rather I propose aural discography as a new articulation or performance of their habitus in the Indonesian community. In this way, I pose the political ruptures, particularly of 1965 and 1998, as not entirely silencing certain

histories or representing full breaks, but rather as periods of muting or hushing.²² I recall the description by Indonesian composer and music critic Amir Pasaribu of jazz that had already “gone inside” (1986[1955]b:85) before 1965, suggesting that jazz in Indonesia never fell completely silent. His remarks demonstrate how muted musical histories could appear more continuous if one were allowed to enter the house. In my ethnographic research, I witnessed many housed collections beginning to recirculate through the archives and community members willing to publicly share their collections and aural knowledge, including stories and listening experience.

Growing Middle Class, Growing Number of Collectors

I argue that an interest in music collecting and documentation is connected to the growing Indonesian middle class. Government and economics scholar Howard Dick described the emergent Indonesian middle class, starting in the 1970s, as being recognized through restrained forms of conspicuous consumption (1985; 1990:65). Emma Baulch analyzes the musical practices of the Indonesian middle class and connects two music industry booms as related to technological and political transformations (2020:148–169). The 1970s boom is related to the introduction of the cassette and the 1990s boom is related to the introduction of private commercial television. Both Indonesian music industry booms allowed for a growing Indonesian middle class to begin consuming more Indonesian musical media.

One form of consumption is collecting, which, in some cases, leads to the preservation of popular music collections.²³ Many of the grassroots archivists in this dissertation related

²² I am not minimizing the many painful and traumatic movements of these eras that were cut short.

²³ Economic scholar Marina Bianchi theorizes “Collecting as a Paradigm of Consumption” and points to issues of the open-ended collection serialization and managing the sense of novelty. She argues that collecting, as specific

narratives about finding significant musical collections of their parents or other elder family members. People like Gerry Apriryan of Irama Nusantara (chapter four) slowly began to frame those collections as part of their own auditory heritage.²⁴ Collecting culture can be rearticulated as a culture of documentation through the process of using materials as evidence.

Concerning the Anthology as part of a culture of documentation, Janapria writes:

The function of the Anthology of Jazz and Popular Music should not only be seen in terms of data collection and archiving of primary sources, but also from an epistemological point of view that puts forward the benefits of historical awareness through the opening of reading rooms, as well as cultural recontextualization within a relevant cultural frame. (2017)

Janapria makes clear his intentions for the Anthology to take part in documenting the present and critically reconsidering Indonesia's past. As Janapria conceived of this Anthology as a book of jazz lead sheet transcriptions, he knew his interest in older recordings and history could be extended by other members of his community. David Tarigan explains the process of helping Janapria with the digitized collections of Irama Nusantara.

Of course, we provided data and stuff. Basically, everything that he needs regarding the audio recordings and text. . . . We also had discussions regarding which tracks to select.

I mean, we were really open for this project because basically there's nothing like this before. You know, it never happened yet. We never experienced this kind of stuff in Indonesia. We really need this. [I asked myself how to let] people know who are generally better educated about jazz stuff. There's still gonna be plenty of recordings they don't know. They don't know about [some recordings] because it's like you might know an artist or album well, but [they] might not know that a certain record exists. . . . There aren't really catalogs. So, if you don't see the record somewhere or an advertisement for it, you might not know it exists. . . .

[For the process,] he came to me with his idea at 50%. And he wanted help with the whole process and sketching it up. . . . But of course, this is the first time this kind of stuff has happened. It's up to him. It's all about me. Like his selections . . . it's basically

form of consumption, "does not allow the law of decreasing marginal utility to be applied to successive units" (1997:284), noting how collecting the tenth or thousandth serialized item does not lower desire to consume more.

²⁴ When demonstrating some of the recordings of my research to Southern California Balinese gamelan and contemporary music instructor I Nyoman Wenten, he told me remembered hearing many of the Lokananta *hiburan* records on RRI while studying at ISI Yogyakarta in the early 1960s.

pop and jazz, jazz and pop. . . . It's like Indonesian pop but with other definitions of jazz. [. . .]

This is a totally different process from the classical one. The classical one is from other books. It's more like a collection, like a redo. Not done for a long time. This one [jazz and pop] is a different process. For instance, you can't find any archive vaults with the original scores or anything from the composers. For instance, Ismail Marzuki. When I helped Dion, we discussed reversions of Marzuki's "Djauh di Mata," which was sung by [Sam] Saimun. It's Dion who decides, which version is best for him. [. . .]

When Dion talked to me, he always seemed very happy with the results. But he also knows the process had a lot of compromises. I think he was saying, more than finding all the sources, [transcribing] was a lot of work. It is already a very thick book. I forget how many songs he prepared, but I think it was like 350, with the main melody and chords.²⁵ . . . Each one is based on one actual recording. . . . Of course, for most of the compositions, it is the first time they are available. . . . [Transcription] can lead to issues because how somebody hears something is different than how you do. Do you feel it better another way? Yes. Maybe 123. 1234. . . . I gave him the early Irama Records, that Irama Special crooner stuff, for him to get the idea. I mean, the Rollies stuff, he already knows. But some other tracks would maybe give him a different idea. He would listen to everything. (interview, October 29, 2019)

Tarigan's comments corroborate much of Janapria's blog (2016; 2017) and his editor's note in the Anthology. From the perspective of the archivist, Tarigan seems to clearly understand much of Janapria's thought process. Even though Tarigan heard jazz in the Irama Nusantara collection, he knew Dion would hear the same recordings differently. Tarigan is not part of the jazz scene as a performer, composer, or musician, and does not understand himself as having a specialized jazz listening practice. Even though Tarigan and Janapria might be from the same Indonesian popular music community, they position themselves in different scenes that listen differently. Because of this difference, I was surprised by the casualness of how both Janapria and Tarigan spoke of working with each other until Tarigan told me:

I was helping him because, well, we knew each other. I mean, I know Dion. From my high school days. His older brother was a friend of mine. Their family has a studio, where we jammed. We went to the same high school. Dion was playing jazz when he was that young, but we all liked rock music, hard rock, and music by Weezer. Then he went to

²⁵ From a working spreadsheet Janapria shared with me, there were 269 transcribed songs in contention for inclusion in the Anthology.

study in the Netherlands. After one year there, he threw out all the other CDs. I got some good old CDs. (interview, October 29, 2019)

Tarigan relates himself as part of the broader Indonesian popular music community that includes members of the Jakarta jazz scene. Tarigan maintains an interest and knowledge of jazz but considers the scene members as the ultimate authorities. I thought Janapria might tell me a similar narrative of about developing an interest in archiving and crate-digging as a member of the broader Indonesian popular music community. I thought his work for digging into the diversity of Indonesian music for the Anthology might include attending pop-up record fairs and journeying down to dusty basements to find elusive pieces of Indonesia's jazz history. But instead, Janapria explained that he simply discussed his plans with Tarigan, who then prepared several hard drives of digitized recordings specifically for him and his team. Janapria only needed to promise not to circulate, specifically not to upload to YouTube, without explicit permission (personal communication, October 18, 2019).

One way to understand Janapria and Tarigan's relationship is through their shared habitus as members of the Indonesian upper-middle class. Through the performance of their habitus, they have accumulated forms of capital in this case cultural and social capital, as ways of conferring status and relating to one another. The accumulation of educational capital by Janapria, who has taught at various higher education institutions and earned jazz-related degrees, allows him status a not only a jazz musician but a formally knowledgeable jazz musician. Janapria has performed his habitus to accumulate forms of cultural capital related to jazz, including things like academic degrees that are most easily convertible into official status and related to power.

Tarigan has also accumulated cultural capital through the performance of his habitus as a well-known archivist, collector, record label owner, punk musician, DJ, and public intellectual,

but less so related to jazz. The pair's backgrounds allowed them both the possibility of interest in jazz and familiarity with jazz, but Tarigan choose not to follow this path as directly. Instead, his accumulated cultural capital allows him status over all forms of Indonesian popular music heritage, particularly older materials, but not in forms as easily convertible to make an authoritative publication focused on jazz.

When working on this Anthology project together, Tarigan realized he collected and maintained vast quantities of materials related to jazz needing a jazz expert, for which Janapria's accumulated cultural capital distinctively qualifies him. Their shared familial history relates a similar social capital whereby the pair could easily offer each other a helping hand. The mutual recognition of each other's cultural and social capital made working together simpler and faster on this jazz Anthology. Other individuals might have had a more difficult process in gaining mutual trust and acceptance, and later garnering outside recognition on the authority of their results, such as the acceptance of the project by the Jakarta Arts Council.

Outside the Sound Archive

While I have emphasized the use of the archives in the making of the Anthology, Janapria and his team also explored other sources, both written and embodied, to help articulate the Anthology's criteria. Some of the written sources the team drew upon were the historical and contemporary playlists from a number of radio and television stations, like KLCBS and MARA Radio in Bandung, and ARH, CnJ, and Brava radio in Jakarta. They used these lists to understand the popularity of songs in different eras. The team also consulted books like Deded ER Moerad's *Jazz Indonesia* (1995), Samboedi's *Jazz: Sejarah dan Tokoh Tokohnya* (1989), Denny Sakrie's *100 Years of Indonesian Music* (2015), and Sumohadi Marsis's liner notes for the *Album Kenangan Bing Slamet* (1975). Newspaper articles in the *Pikiran Rakyat* and

magazine features in *Tempo* also provided biographical and event information. These publications focus on interviews with musicians and articles documenting event information, but none feature in-depth analysis of sound recordings or transcriptions. These publications provided many important names, dates, locations, and stories, but a comprehensive understanding of the sounds was unwritten.

Importantly, the producers of the Anthology drew upon their embodied knowledge as jazz musicians, specifically I focus on their genealogy of specialized listening. The editorial team knew many jazz performers and performances exist outside the record industry. This illustrates a repertoire that never made it on record and into a sound archive. To include the historical knowledge of jazz performances in Indonesia that never made it on record, the Anthology team consulted elder scene members for their input, as an expression of the team's social capital recognized by other jazz community members. This embodied knowledge of elders, such from radio host, jazz critic, and pianist Om Yong, drummer Benny Mustafa van Diest, and guitarist Oele Pattiselanno, was transferred to the team members via conversation, co-performance, and bearing witness to live performance. This embodied knowledge of elders serves as a form of cultural capital that legitimizes the Anthology as an authentic representation of the Indonesian jazz community.

The live performance of jazz occurs throughout Indonesia at festivals like Jazz Goes to Campus at the University of Indonesia and at community events such as by the ITB Jazz Community and Klub Jazz in Bandung (see Stuparitz n.d.). Malls and local jazz festivals like Ramadan Jazz in Jakarta and Ngayogjazz in Yogyakarta have showcased many kinds of jazz over the recent decades and provide opportunities for musicians from before the 1990s like Fariz FM, Candra Darusman, Idang Rasjidi, members of Krakatau, Benny Likumahuwa, and Margie Segers to publicly perform. The links between Indonesia's newer and older jazz generations have

been strengthened by these live performances and related workshops. These events helped the Anthology team members develop their social capital, which could later be used to connect with more elite members of the Indonesian jazz community. Despite these intergenerational social connections, access to the older generation's recordings had remained elusive until the grassroots archives emerged.



Figure 6.4. A (silent) photo wall of departed (mostly male) musicians at Java Jazz 2019.

While an in-depth discussion of the live jazz performers in Indonesia is more than I can explore in this dissertation, I hope this chapter can begin to point out the interconnections of the archive and the repertoire, and the archive as a newly accessible form of cultural capital in the Indonesian jazz community. The repertoire of live performers, another form of cultural capital, helps articulate the specialized jazz listening practice used to make the Anthology. The photo wall at the 2019 Java Jazz Festival gestures towards a recognized live performance history of jazz in Indonesia (figure 6.4). This wall of jazz musicians taught the next generation, through

formal education and through embodied experience to listen to the structures, forms, and arrangements of jazz compositions. These now departed musicians expected their students to learn how to analyze and understand a musician's individual style through listening and transcription. The specialized listening of the Jakarta jazz scene also maintains biases of the upper-middle class and mutes the contributions of women to the Indonesian jazz community. As I describe listening as a part of the habitus of the Jakarta scene members, their membership in the upper-middle class structures the performance of habitus and the accumulation of social, economic, and cultural forms of capital.

HABITUS AND THE JAKARTA JAZZ SCENE

I am arguing that by exploring the habitus of members of the Jakarta jazz scene, it will provide insight into how this group organized the Anthology. Bourdieu theorizes how through the performance of habitus, forms of capital can be accumulated. Social and cultural capital are understood as immaterial objects accumulated through performance of the habitus. His other main form of capital, economic capital, refers to more tangible concepts such as money and property rights. Importantly, I am not arguing that this group is representative of all Indonesian jazz musicians, but reflects a specific configuration of education, class, and gender of the Jakarta jazz scene.²⁶ The contributors were all educated at higher education institutions in Indonesia,

²⁶ Race and ethnicity are also central to the identity constructions of Indonesian jazz musicians. For most local jazz critics, jazz in Indonesia is imagined to have emerged primarily as Dutch pastime, rather than as an Indonesian art (Mundiarso and Nugroho 2010; Dwifriansyah 2011). In this way, jazz has often been associated with ethnic and racial identities other than pribumi, particularly Chinese Indonesians, Eurasians, and Eastern Indonesians from Maluku and in particular Ambon. Black and African American jazz musicians have histories treasured as important educational knowledge by Indonesians, but there are no Black or African American musicians participating in the Indonesian jazz scene long term. I discuss further ways to address the racial projects of Blackness in the Indonesian jazz community in the conclusion.

mostly in Jakarta and Bandung, and some outside of it, particularly Australia, Europe, and the United States, serving as a form of cultural capital. The contributors are from upper-middle class backgrounds with higher-than-average amounts of economic capital for Indonesia, whose families could a) afford to send their children to prestigious institutions, b) afford expensive, often imported instruments like electric jazz guitars, saxophones, and keyboards, and c) could allow their children to survive without high paying jobs in Jakarta, one of the most expensive areas in Indonesia.

The gender dynamics of the team reflect a changing Indonesian society. While the chief editors (Janapria and Mulyaraharja), publishers (Irawan Karseno, Anto Hoed, Aksan Sjuman, Anusirwan, and Otto Sidharta), and curators (Alfred Ticoalu, David Tarigan, Yongky Nusantara) are all men, a few women are formally included in the editorial team. The women on the editorial team have similar cultural capital as the men such as higher education diplomas and a distinguished performance and recording history. I suggest this reflects a change in Indonesian society. Previous patterns of prominent women in the Indonesian jazz community all had high social capital through husbands or other family members, who were also in the jazz community or music industry. The change is that high cultural capital without high social capital can now also confer status for women in the Indonesian jazz community. While gender dynamics in the Indonesian jazz community are far from equal and maintain a stark patriarchal bias, the editorial group does signal a positive and significant change.

In this case study, I want to focus on how multiple modes of learning are part of one's habitus. Bourdieu theorizes formal education as a substratum of cultural capital, what he calls part of the "institutionalized state" (1986:246).²⁷ I embrace Bourdieu's conception when applied

²⁷ Bourdieu axiomatizes cultural capital as existing in three forms: 1) In the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; 2) in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods, which are the

to ideas like educational diplomas, but also notice how various modes of educational knowledge seem to weave themselves into other parts of his theories. For example, Bourdieu's definition of academic capital is "the guaranteed product of the combined effects of cultural transmission by the family and cultural transmission by the school" (1984:23). Academic capital focuses on the forms of the institutionalized state most readily convertible into economic capital, such as the idea of prestigious schools serving as reproductive vehicles for the positions of the affluent. But academic capital also includes cultural transmission by the family, pointing to other ways education figures into one's social life. I aver those qualities of inquiry and epistemological modes are structured through one's habitus, a "process one is born into" (Bourdieu 1990:57), which not only structures what kind of knowledge is valued as academic capital, but also categorizes who makes the most sense to have academic capital. In this case, it has usually been affluent Indonesian men with academic capital, but this has begun to change as women with academic capital are recognized in the Jakarta jazz scene.

Bourdieu notes how the efficiency of academic capital "depends on the amount of cultural capital directly inherited from the family" (1984:23), whereby the process one is born into also influences modes of education. There is double quality to education, it is in one way something one can acquire in the institutionalized state and accumulate in the academic capital sense through the performance of habitus, but it also something structured by habitus, as in the common sense of inquisitive and insightful dispositions. This relates to Bourdieu's ideas of habitus as generative of all the "reasonable" and "common sense" behaviors (1990:55) especially for a group or class (58). It involves the "feel for the game" by way of the encounter of the

trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories; and 3) in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set part because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (1986:243).

habitus and the field (66). I think of this second aspect of education as suggested by terms outside of Bourdieusian discourse such as “organic intellectuals” (Gramsci 1971), what I prefer to call the grassroots critique, and “local knowledge” (Geertz 2000[1983]).²⁸ This approach gets at the kinds of recognized knowledges outside of formal education, needing to be studied and learned just are voraciously. In the case of this Anthology, I examine the local knowledge from the grassroots critique that community members seek to validate through educational systems and foster into what Bourdieu would term “scholastically recognized knowledge” (1984:23). I will now analyze the class, gender, and education of these Jakarta jazz scene members through this lens.

Class: To describe the Jakarta jazz scene members as part of Indonesia’s upper-middle class, I draw upon political economy scholar Richard Robison’s suggestion of conceiving of Indonesia’s middle class as a series of divisions, the “new rich,” the “petty bourgeoisie,” and the “lower-middle classes” (1996:84–93). These divisions are Bourdieusian positions in the field of power with specific expressions of economic capital directly related to their jobs and income. The Indonesian middle class consists of a wide range of elements from “wealthy, urban managers, and professionals to lower-level clerks and teachers in the regions and small towns, often with a strong connection to local *ulama*” (88). These positions were always connected to the state, and hence also explicitly political.²⁹ Even though Robison wrote these divisions just

²⁸ I disagree with the term “organic intellectuals” because it seems to imply an intellectualism reminiscent of and comprehensible to the European great thinker’s paradigm. Rather I agree with David Graeber and David Wengrow who argue that humans have never been non-intellectual, rather humans have always been “self-conscious political actor[s]” (2021:92–93). I am still working to re-term Gramsci’s notion to impart the political quality of knowledge and remove some of the ecological enlightenment baggage.

²⁹ Robison notes a professional and managerial middle class of around 7.5 million people, or 3.9 percent of the total population (1996:88). The wealthy were patrons of state enterprises, urban managers held leadership roles in those

before the 1998 political transition, I notice the same divisions continuing after 1998 through the present (see also Smith-Hefner 2007; Baulch 2016; 2020)

I suggest theorizing the Jakarta jazz scene members as part of the petite bourgeoisie with some from the new rich. Both groups do not share the exact sensibilities of the elite, but do not exist in opposition to those elite sensibilities. The petite bourgeoisie, or what Robison identifies as the indigenous petite bourgeoisie, are part of the industries that have flourished by working in textiles, foodstuffs, and beverages. They participate in trading networks that they formerly dominated and are now challenged by larger corporate groups in the world of big business (Robison 1996:90). Despite the limits to their petite bourgeoisie business ventures, these families produce jazz musicians for the Jakarta jazz scene, who are also notable workers such as teachers, wedding entertainment, and entertainment for corporate spaces. Even though they are workers, most are not destitute in between financial lurches due to the financial cushioning as part of their class position. Many have their own cars that help them travel to various jobs sounding elite spaces and the cars are themselves signs of high status.

The new rich, or what Robison calls the “big bourgeoisie: the Chinese Conglomerates,” also produce musicians for the Jakarta jazz scene. The new rich grew corporate power in the 1970s through a disingenuous allegiance to Suharto’s anti-Chinese rhetoric, while benefiting from economic preference and state bank credit (Robison 1996:92). Unlike the petite bourgeoisie, who work as teachers and wedding entertainment, the new rich jazz musicians enter the same educational institutions but are more often featured as guest artists, lead short term workshops, and produce independent recording projects. Both groups in the Jakarta jazz scene

kinds of enterprises, and the lower middle were official civil servants or minor army officials. The consolidation of an Indonesian middle class has been debated with differing opinions when group consciousness started and changed, but the fashioning of social class based on economics implicated by state politics is similar in each rendition (e.g., Dick 1985; Tanter and Young 1990; Smith-Hefner 2007; Baulch 2016; 2020).

perform at similar venues like the Salihara Art Space or the Fabster Stage in South Jakarta. The nature of their events might differ, as the new rich might play workshops or one-off weekend events, while the petite bourgeoisie might play every Tuesday or be the house band for specific jam sessions. These upper-middle class groups mix in these spaces, which might be argued as an economic world reversed, but each musician's ability to participate draws upon their economic capital as part of their class background.

Each Jakarta jazz scene member's middle-class background contributed to their access of imported instruments and recording studios. This afforded the production conditions for high quality audition materials that led some to be admitted into international jazz programs. Jakarta jazz musicians are the most awarded and officially credentialed jazz musicians in Indonesia. Jakarta is still the location of most Indonesia's music industry activities. This allows Jakarta jazz scene members to be the most connected Indonesian jazz scene to the music industry.

The ownership of cars and imported instruments is an expression of economic capital. Bourdieu notes how the direct transmission of economic capital remains one of the principle means of reproduction, and the effect of the related social capital like a helping hand or other forms favoritism tends to counteract the effect of academic sanctions (1986:29). The desire to acquire cultural capital is altered when the status conferred by economic capital satisfies the inscription in the objective structure of the social world which is then incorporated and reproduced in the habitus of individuals. The comparatively high economic capital of these Jakarta jazz musicians is displayed in the cars they drive and the imported instruments they play, things that could be easily translated back into economic capital or other commodities. The importance of music industry success of Jakarta jazz scene members again relates to ease translatability of musical activities into economic capital.

Gender: Gender relations in a Bourdieusian framework are part of the common sense and self-evident status of habitus. The idea of habitus has yielded a dynamic theory of embodiment central to a feminist understanding of gender identity as a durable but not immutable norm. The concept of embodiment is central to feminist theories such as Judith Butler's conception of performativity (1990), whereby gender is deeply inscribed upon human bodies, while the necessity for performative reiteration points to an instability of gendered identity.

In the article "La Domination Masculine" (1990b), Bourdieu draws on his research with the Kabyle in North Africa to frame gender inequality as the paradigm of symbolic domination, becoming a structuring structure of power relations. Political and feminist scholar Lois McNay sees a weakness in Bourdieu's articulation of a gendered habitus as not fully integrated into his conception of the field. Luckily, McNay completed this analysis to explore how the field permits the conceptualization of differentiation within the construction of gender identity (1999). As Butler and McNay provide a necessary feminist critique and more attention to specific gendered details of Bourdieu's theorizations, the philosophical underpinnings of practice theory undergird each of their arguments. Gender is something that one is both born into and is also performed. The performance of a gendered habitus also strategically accumulates forms of capital.

The gender dynamics in the Indonesian jazz community is vastly under explored as a field where gender dynamics have changed somewhat over time (something I hope could be the focus of later research). Gender in the Indonesian jazz community context focuses on a heteronormative dynamic with no prominent openly gay or transgender performers or community members. The general organization has been for men to play instruments, sing, compose, arrange, and own the means of production (i.e., record labels, recording studios, and festival organizers), while women sing with a notably few women composers, such as Nien Lesmana (see Appendix B, Example 1). Historically, the women composers all have significant

economic and social capital. Usually from upper-class families, the women composer's husbands or other family members are also in prominent positions in the jazz community. For example, Nien Lesmana's husband, Jack Lesmana, is one of the most well-regarded jazz guitarists and recording engineers. Nien Lesmana is also the sister of Irama Records owner and slide guitarist Suyoso Karsono. Nien and Jack's children, Indra Lesmana and Mira Lesmana, have also been successful in the jazz community.³⁰ Historically, the social capital of women in the Indonesian jazz community has been paramount, but I notice how this has been changing.

Women jazz instrumentalists have become more prominent in the last few decades in Indonesia like pianist Astrid Sulaiman, guitarist Nayra Dharma, and pianist and arranger Imelda Rosalin. Their accumulated cultural capital such as through education and through cultural production has become increasingly recognized by the Indonesian jazz community. In the recent decades, several women have moved into prominent music industry roles such as festival organizers Dewi Gontha for the Java Jazz Festival and Sruti Respati for Solo City Jazz. Pianist and educator Professor Tjut Nyak Deviana Daudsjah founded one of the top jazz institutions in Indonesia in 2001, the Daya Indonesia Performing Arts Academy (where Tarigan went talent scouting for the *Jazz Masa Kini* album). While women's cultural capital has been increasingly recognized through the conferral of status and opportunities in the Indonesian jazz community, economic capital and social capital remain important. Similar to the men in the Indonesian jazz community, economic capital allows access to imported instruments and expensive academic institutions. The women jazz musician's social capital related to men in the jazz community and the music industry remains pervasive such as Dewi Gontha's father, Peter Gontha, who founded the Java Jazz Festival and remains a major industry player, and Nayra Dharma's father Prasadja Budidharma, who is the bassist of the well-known jazz fusion band Krakatau. Even

³⁰ Mira Lesmana, a well-known film maker, has helped her brother Indra co-write songs for his recordings.

though social capital remains important, the other women listed above do not have as explicit social capital in the Indonesian jazz community but rather very high levels of cultural capital.

In terms of the Anthology, the team leaders and publication committee were all men, with the women members serving assistant roles. These men were instrumentalists (guitar and piano) and composers.³¹ As the Anthology focuses on transcriptions of compositions by composers, the men of Indonesian jazz are foregrounded. Of the 59 composers featured, only a handful are women such as vocalists Nien Lesmana (see Appendix B, Example 2), Titiek Puspa (see Appendix B, Example 7), and Yessi Robot from before the 2000s, and pianist Francesca Prihasti and vocalist Rieka Roslan after the 2000s.³² Of these featured women composers, they all maintain high economic capital and either high social and/or cultural capital. From before the 2000s, Titiek Puspa is a well-known popular music star beyond jazz, who married Indonesian music industry professional Mus Mualim. After the year 2000, Francesca Prihasti does not have any explicit familial connections to the jazz community, but she has high cultural capital. Prihasti holds a bachelor's degree from the Sydney Conservatorium and Master of Music from New York University, as examples of high levels of academic capital, but specifically a form supported by economic capital, through jazz-related degrees from global institutions in expensive cities. It is difficult to say that the women composers after the 2000s did not benefit at all from their forms of social capital, as their economic capital put them in relation to other upper-class musicians, but in a different way than in earlier eras. While these capital requirements of women composers are not in the selection criteria of the Anthology, all the women composers included in the Anthology present similar qualities.

³¹ It might be argued since the instrumentalists play chordal instruments, the Anthology provides the most help to those instruments through the harmonic frameworks that guitarists and pianists are expected to provide.

³² Male singers like Sam Saimun, Alfian, and, less, Bing Slamet have been muted for similar reasons.

There are many other women featured in the Anthology recording citations as vocalists, such as Ratna, Rien Djamain, Nina Kirana, Tetty Kadi, Ermy Kullit, and Theresa Amanupunnjo (also known as Theresa Zen). These women, from before the 2000s, also maintain high levels of social and economic capital, but demonstrate how these qualities were not guarantees to achieve the status of composer. These examples show how it was rare to confer the status as an important Indonesian composer to women in the jazz community. Despite this, these women singers were the singers who recorded on what was deemed to be, by the Anthology editors, the most important version of each song. This is made more complex by the common paradox in jazz of recognizing the style and improvisations of performers as a form of composition. This muddles the importance of the official status of composer in jazz, whereby distinct performances are at least as important as the written notation of official composers. The organization of the Anthology with a focus on composers, who were mostly men, and selection committee, who were of mostly men, underrepresents and in some ways distorts the contribution of women to the Indonesian discographic record and musical practice of jazz in Indonesia.

Education: The educational context of the producers' habitus remains an extremely compelling way to understand the organization of the Anthology. The two main editors have received degrees from and later taught at many institutions of high education. Guitarist and composer Dion Janapria received a bachelor's degree in Music and Arts Education in the Netherlands at the Utrecht School of Arts. He went on to receive a master's degree in Urban Arts and Cultural Industry Studies from the Jakarta Arts Institute (*Institut Kesenian Jakarta*). Robert Mulyaraharja received a bachelor's degree at Berklee School of Music in Boston as well as a master's degree in Creative and Cultural Entrepreneurship from Goldsmiths, University of London. The two taught jazz performance, jazz guitar, improvisation, and generalized music courses at D'Jazz Music School in West Jakarta during my 2019 interviews. They have also

taught at many Jakarta-based higher education institutions, including Universitas Pelita Harapan, Institut Musik Indonesia, and Institut Musik Daya Indonesia.

Janapria also runs his own jazz improvisation workshops and courses at well-known spaces in South Jakarta like iCanstudiolive. This demonstrates how education for Janapria is not just about getting certificates, although many of the workshop members are also graduates of these same higher education institutions. Janapria wants to add to what has been left out of formal institutions and applies a grassroots critique to amplify the importance of local knowledge. Janapria makes his intentions explicit in his blog where he enumerates the educational foci Jakarta-based educational institutions and how he imagines each could benefit from incorporating the Anthology into their curriculums.³³ He writes:

As a music educator and practitioner, I see the need for a comprehensive, accurate, and valid source of jazz and popular music notation as a reference in meeting practical and academic needs. Especially in the academic field of popular music, which is currently rapidly growing.

In an academic context, there is need related to the process of learning songs and analysis which is generally done by studying sheet music visually and using techniques and music theory to interpret and explore the content contained in the work. (2016)

Since Janapria has studied and worked at number of the institutions he analyzes, such as Universitas Pelita Harapan, the structuring of the Anthology is meant to be of explicit benefit to those institutions. Even though the Anthology has explicit use at these Jakarta institutions, the

³³ The Bachelor's (S1) program of Jazz dan Popular Music at Universitas Pelita Harapan focuses on improvisation concepts, jazz ensemble, jazz history, major instruments, and evaluation and staging. The Bachelor's (S1) program at Institut Kesenian Jakarta focuses on major instruments. The vocational/technical degree (D4) from Institut Musik Indonesia – SOCA focuses on jazz improvisation, jazz ensemble, and major instruments. Institut Musik Daya Indonesia offers a bachelors and a "Master of Music" focused on major instruments and ensemble playing. The non-degree institutions of D'Jazz Music School, Farabi Music School, and Sjuman School of Music offer major instruments, ensemble playing, and jazz instrument workshops (Janapria 2016).

Anthology could also be used and accessed by anyone in the Indonesia jazz community. Janapria writes: “For musicians and music artists from amateur to professional levels, I would like to point out the need for a *workbook* that has a high level of accuracy to support the acts of reproducing and reconstructing jazz and popular music by Indonesian composers” (2016). Janapria ultimately seeks to make “audio and music notation widely accessible to the public” and includes English translations of the introductory materials to make the Anthology more accessible to non-Indonesian speaking audiences to access, learn from, and perform. I understand Janapria’s educational goals as addressing both the desire to generate academic capital as well as insert a grassroots critique to include local knowledge as scholastically recognized knowledge.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ANTHOLOGY

In getting towards a conclusion, I want to summarize four main point about the significance of the Anthology. First, it is an example of a comprehensive analysis of Indonesian jazz traced through its aural qualities. Most previous studies are journalistic in tone that explain who, what, when, and where things happened, but had minimal information about the music itself. Second, even though I have mostly discussed this Anthology in terms of subjectivity, the Anthology does make an argument about an objective aesthetic lineage of jazz in Indonesia. The editors point out specific musical qualities in their introduction such as common chord progressions that draw on *langgam kroncong* and the blues. They note how Indonesian jazz musicians participate in what they call a “progressive understanding of jazz” (2017:xxv), indicating that the meaning of jazz has changed over time. They also suggest a popular side of jazz more interrelated with the popular music of each era. The Anthology provides a subjective understanding of which songs fit into these aesthetic parameters. This is delineated more explicitly in Appendix C.

Third, the Anthology demonstrates a history of interactions between jazz musicians and popular musicians that has not been widely acknowledged. For example, it was common for the backing bands at popular music studios, like the Irama Special, to identify themselves as jazz musicians. These interactions open new lines of inquiry into a potentially larger role of jazz in Indonesia than previously known. Lastly, the Anthology shows how jazz is part of Indonesian popular music heritage. Many included jazz musicians are also widely acknowledged as legendary pop musicians. By showing how many of Indonesia's great popular musicians are also jazz performers, it demonstrates jazz as contributing to Indonesia's musical heritage.

I want to point out four of my concerns with the Anthology. First, it does not engage with musicians prior to 1950 as contributing to Indonesia's jazz heritage. This delimits the meaning of the term "Indonesian" in Indonesian jazz. Indonesia was officially founded in 1945 so a 1950 lower limit makes musicians who existed during or between the colonial and independent eras excluded. Those on the boarder of this limit are unevenly included. For example, there are four well-known Eurasian musicians, part of the Irama Special Quartet (also called the Progressive Trio in some instances) who recorded during the 1950s. The guitarist Dick Abel is included in this Anthology as a composer (Appendix B, Example 1). Nick Mamahit is not included as a composer, only as a pianist. Bassist Dick van der Capellen and drummer Max van Dalm are not mentioned at all by name, only under the ensemble credit. In terms of each member's contribution to Indonesia's jazz heritage, Nick Mamahit has many arranging credits and became one of Bubi Chen's "source of inspiration" (Ticoalu 2015). Even though Dick Abel is included in the Anthology, he left Indonesia during the 1950s for the Netherlands and then the United Kingdom as Indonesia became less tolerant of Dutch and European citizens. Conversely, Nick Mamahit, of a similar background as Abel, continued to live in Indonesia. Simply this chronological and political cutoff of 1950 left many important Eurasian and ethnic Chinese

musicians out of this Anthology. Many of the musicians left out by this cutoff are part of Allard Möller's book *Batavia, a Swinging Town! Dansorkesten en Jazzbands in Batavia, 1922–1949* (1989). Despite the time marker in the title, many musicians actually extend their time into 1950, returning during and after the *Revolusi (Bersiap)* period, such as Charlie Overbeek Bloem, who was given a farewell concert in 1950 when he left for the Netherlands featuring Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* (Van Dijk 2019:266), Jos Cleber who stayed until 1952 and arranged what became the official rendering of the Indonesian national anthem ("Indonesia Raya"), and Lud van Zele, who lived in Indonesia until 1950. Zele composed a *Jazz Concerto for Piano with Small Jazz Orchestra* in a Gershwin era classical and swing style and performed it in Malang in 1938 (215). I am not arguing for the necessity to include these Eurasian and Dutch musicians, but rather noticing the strategy of the 1950 cutoff. If the Anthology had gone back to 1945, this entire musical community would be difficult to overlook.

The second issue is that the Anthology prioritizes composers over performers. This is mostly the result of the terms of funding from the Jakarta Arts Council with their focus on Indonesian composers, but it poses a distinct issue for the jazz community. Jazz musicians often prize notable performers and interpretations over the composer. Many lauded Indonesian jazz performers, like Nick Mamahit, have entire albums without recording one of their own original compositions. Further, full lists of performers are not always written on older recordings or older documentation so many significant performers, like Dick van der Capellen or drummer Benny Mustafa van Diest, are not given credit with the Anthology's focus on composers. The grassroots archives have worked to recover some of this information, but it remains partial. The disc labeling excludes performers who were also not composers, even if their performances are well documented. This points to another issue of the lack of women represented in the Anthology, discussed above, for the same reason of lack of composer credit.

The next issue is practical. The Anthology editors had to limit the number of transcriptions due to the printing cost. The editors also described to me the difficulty of attaining permissions from some musicians, like pianist Indra Lesmana, for inclusion. Also, some recordings were too damaged to hear entire songs that excluded them from selection. I received the editors' full lists of considerations and saw how each song was ranked in terms of quality of recording and ease of access for permission. No partial transcriptions were included. These other issues should be known more publicly and printed in future editions to help a reader understand why some very popular songs by popular jazz musicians might not have been included.



Figure 6.5. Two recordings with the “Irama Quartet” featuring Nick Mamahit on piano, Dick van der Capellen on bass, Dick Abel (Abell) on electric guitar and saxophone, and Max van Dalm on drums. Recorded on Irama Records, and on a related label Serimpi, in the early 1950s. Materials courtesy of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.

Finally, the last issue was that the Anthology was not well circulated after printing. Even though it was meant to become an educational tool and reference book, it had not yet been received by most major jazz programs in Jakarta and other parts of Indonesia. Instead, most copies remain in the Jakarta Arts Council storage (not as objects of archival value) at Taman Ismail Marzuki in Central Jakarta. Part of the reason for this is that the Jakarta Arts Council

reformed soon after this Anthology was published. To achieve the goal of sharing this information with more community members, the Anthology needs to become more readily available to the Indonesian community.

CONCLUSION

The specialized listening practices of the Jakarta jazz scene informs how members listen to and organize recordings to make the *Anthologi Musik Indonesia: Seri II Jazz dan Populer*, through the meaningfully subjective practice I call aural discography. Throughout this chapter, I have been tracing how some Jakarta jazz scene members went about listening to their recorded heritage. But my larger question asks how ethnomusicologists and other scholars might reframe subjective listening practices as an asset to learn about how people listen to and organize recordings. The historical circumstances that gave rise to who could talk about music through the organizing of discs is particular and involves specific arrangements of power, interconnected with other domains such as the music industry, identity formation, and cultural heritage.

I ask what kind of knowledges go into producing discographies. What kinds of knowledges are left out? How has the aural/oral tradition related to discographic writing? Has this relationship changed as technologies and decolonizing methodologies, like postcustodial archiving, allow for improved access to sound recordings from many eras? Discography suggests discographers have access to a number of sound recordings that need organizing. Discographers also imagine members of their reading public as having similar access. From this case study, it is clear that soon after musicians gained access to older recordings their community discourse was reshaped. The return of and access to jazz recordings to Jakarta jazz scene members as archival end users offers a chance for Indonesian jazz musicians to not only get more familiar with their own heritage, but to recognize that a recorded heritage actually exists. But with this return, it is

inaccurate to believe that all the information captured on sound recordings has simply been missing or lost while it was stored away in the archive. Rather sound recordings are a partial knowledge that intertwines with embodied knowledge.

Discographies are in most ways unique to music studies. Of course, many fields study musical phenomena, but rarely do fields outside of (music) library science and music (sound) studies cite the metadata on recordings as pertinent to their arguments. The DIY reference book quality also evokes the subjectivity of discography, often critiqued in metadiscographic discourse. Instead of considering the subjective quality of discography being a negative aspect, I notice its existence in every genre-based discography and move to celebrate it.

I hope to point out some needed inquiry about how ethnomusicologists could ask about discography playing into the lives of the communities we work with, as increasingly groups document and organize their own aural heritage. This kind of feedback methodology, of listener groups responding to related archival materials is relevant to commercial, popular, and non-traditional musical heritages. I have drawn on the work of Steven Feld who sought a feedback methodology with the *Jazz Cosmopolitans of Accra* that stressed how “to listen carefully to stories is to take local subjectivity seriously” (2012:8), which can then “lift experience . . . in the poetics and politics of memory” (49). In this way, I offer this case study of aural discography as a feedback methodology of grassroots archival end users accessing postcustodial recordings to take local subjectivity seriously and lift that experience into the politics of memory. Aural discography allows for a community’s listening practices to exalt particular memories as history made up of explicit and implicit agreements and disagreements debating the substance, use value, and meaning of aural knowledge in history. Aural discography as a feedback methodology and a grassroots critique allows ethnomusicologists to remove some of the bias of being the ones determining whether certain sound recordings contain valuable or culturally important music,

like those delineated by UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage. Styles rendered mute by the ethnomusicological taste can be heard when exploring how people listen to and organize sound recordings of many genres, traditions, and styles as part of their experience. Aural discography as a method seeks to articulate the sequence of embodied aural engagement with recorded sonic media.

CONCLUSION

LIVING IN THE ARCHIVAL MULTIVERSE

I intended the ethnographic fieldwork for this project to conclude in 2019, when I returned to the United States. After a few months back, still feeling disordered by the weirdness that is daily life in Los Angeles, the Covid-19 pandemic surged around the world. I had moved three times as part of my makeshift logistics returning from fieldwork. Throughout the dissertation writing process, I would move four more times, generally closer to family in Chicago and then back to Los Angeles for the final process. This constant moving was destabilizing, just as everyone was destabilized caring for loved ones and trying our best to decide the daily course of action. Life in the United States was completely reassessed in how to deal with near constant political upheavals related to racist and immoral leaders and how to keep our spirits up. As many of my closest contacts were in Indonesia, I messaged with friends to help process and compare local and national reactions and figure out how to share my American stimulus money as best I could.

As much of the world attempted to go fully online, I was almost as close to the archives and archivists as I would be if I were locked down in Indonesia. The archives all had various online services that would become their primary focus during lockdowns. Some online services were only partially tested for users, but the archivists seemed to garner more attention from members of the Indonesian general public who wanted to focus away from the news cycle. The archivists in this dissertation all started participating in more online forums via Zoom, podcasts, and Facebook/YouTube Live. Some users became more interested in different aspects of Indonesia's popular music history, and now had the resources and time to follow up on their questions.

The funding for each of the archive became an issue. The government grants from BEKRAF had just ended, as BEKRAF closed in 2019. BEKRAF became folded into the Ministry of Tourism. The renewal of the grants from the Ministry of Tourism for the archives were left pending as it determined that archival funding should come from the Ministry of Education. Further, all government and institutional funding for non-Covid 19 related activities had difficulty getting processed at all. Irama Nusantara created a crowd sourcing fund raising campaign, which kept them afloat through 2020. Museum Musik Indonesia began asking for more regular small donations from the public and larger donations requested from specific individuals. Arsip Jazz Indonesia's independent funding model helped weather the storm.

As with many ethnographic fieldwork projects, the question of where and when the field ends remains subjective. I could not ignore how the Indonesian public seemed to be becoming aware of these archives in a new way. Also, I felt I had influenced how some of the archivists understood their objects of archival value. I noticed how Museum Musik Indonesia and Irama Nusantara began including mentions of jazz more often in their collection overviews. Despite the global pandemic, the Indonesian public did give some of their attention to the history of jazz in Indonesia. For example, Irama Nusantara featured spotlights of jazz musicians in their collection like Nick Mamahit, Ireng Maulana, Bubi Chen, Jack Lesmana, and others (figure 7.1). Irama Nusantara's post highlighted the main information found on liner notes as well as information from more obscure recordings. Their posts also included female singers like Margie Segers and Ermy Kullit.



Figure 7.1. Irama Nusantara’s public post from January 12, 2022. Top Left to Right: Singer and pedal steel guitarist Mas Jos, pianist Nick Mamahit, pianist Bubi Chen. Bottom Left to Right: Guitarist, bassist, and trombonist Jack Lesmana, The Progressives Trio at Radio Batavia featuring pianist Nick Mamahit, bassist Dick van der Capellen and guitarist Dick Abel, and flautist Bill Saragih.¹

As part of the unending fieldwork process, I continued discussions with the archivists about their work and personal matters. I would ask about social media posts and join various online talk shows, sometimes billed as a speaker. I began to see how many of the communities,

¹ The caption reads: “Welcoming the beginning of 2022 and the heavy rains that have been pouring back into the capital recently, Editor’s Choice Irama Nusantara presents a selection of archived releases with the theme ‘The Jazz Riders.’ This time, we will discuss the story behind the development of jazz music at the beginning of its recording in Indonesia. Let’s enjoy the selected archives at www.iranusanusantara.org, perfect for accompanying work time or a short break waiting for the rain to stop. If anyone knows anything about jazz developments in the 1960s–1970s, please comment or DM us!”

separated in each of my chapters, intermingled. For example, many members of the Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board and the Jakarta Arts Council attended a May 7, 2022, presentation by Dion Janapria about his Anthology hosted by the Indonesia Jazz Forum via Zoom. The event featured group discussion with Alfred Ticoalu and Aksan Sjaman of the Jakarta Arts Council. Some of the Jakarta Arts Council members, such as Adra Karim, would later attend events related to Irama Nusantara. Hengki Herwanto of Museum Musik Indonesia would also sometimes join for these events. Museum Musik Indonesia began hosting more online magazine scans than ever before, a fact celebrated by Irama Nusantara members. It was clear to me that the grassroots archivists felt themselves part of larger Indonesian musical communities, who endeavor to support one another to help confront similar issues.

In the Virtual Field

The Covid-19 pandemic was a painful time, many elder musicians died. Often the archivists would produce short biographies to commemorate and celebrate musicians. Of the musicians I have mentioned in this dissertation, Benny Mustapha van Diest, Yongky Nusantara, Didi Kempot, Djaduk Ferianto, Idang Rasjidi, and Benny Likumahuwa, received such tributes.

The archivists kept working. Arsip Jazz Indonesia members began presenting information more often in public forums and shared more content online than they had in several years (much of which is included in chapter five). Members of Warta Jazz on the Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board began a weekly series interviewing Indonesian jazz musicians, including an interview with my group of West Javanese jazz fusion named Bluesukan highlighting our record release (see Stuparitz 2020). Museum Musik Indonesia digitized more of their magazines and hosted them on their website. Museum Musik Indonesia also received funding from MOWCAP-

UNESCO (Memory of the World Committee Asia Pacific-United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) to digitize nearly every edition of *Aktuil*. They continued to collect and organize materials.²

Many of these activities were included in each chapter, but Irama Nusantara completed many projects that I can only briefly mention. Of most interest to me is the release of a book with Binatang Press and Norrm Radio called *Dari Ngak-Ngik-Ngok ke Dheg-Dheg-Plas: Perjalanan Musik Pop Indonesia 1960–1969* [From Ngak-Ngik-Ngok to Dheg-Dheg-Plas: The Journey of Indonesian Pop Music 1960–1969]. The clever title refers to the band Koes Bersaudara, who were the targets of Sukarno’s “Ngak-Ngik-Ngok” vitriol. *Dheg Dheg Plas* is the name of the group’s Beatles-feeling 1969 album on Melody records. At that point, the ensemble had renamed themselves Koes Plus. Irama Nusantara’s book provides a history of the transition from the 1960s to the 1970s era with more in-depth information, similar to the journalistic style of Denny Sakrie (2015). Before including too much from this book into my writing, more ethnographic research would need to be done to understand how it came about as much of the information is not on Irama Nusantara’s website. Irama Nusantara members have many such projects going on, such as a Harry Roesli film documentary, and a documentary of the Bandung Gelora sport stadium building that hosted performances by many of Bandung’s indie and hard rock bands during the 1990s and early 2000s (Martua 2021).

Irama Nusantara’s next major project during the pandemic was a 2021 album entitled *Lagu Baru Dari Masa Lalu Vol 1*. [New Songs from the Past Vol. 1]. The album might be compared with David Tarigan’s 2006 compilation album *Jazz Masa Kini: The New Wave of*

² The Lokananta Project of course did nothing as they no longer exist. The Lokananta recording company had been refashioning their archival space into a museum. I hope to visit in the future. At first glance, it seems much like the edutainment of Museum Musik Dunia (chapter one).

Indonesian Jazz in 2006 released on Aksara records (chapter four). *Lagu Baru Dari Masa Lalu Vol 1*. Is similarly a compilation with pop and jazz part of Indonesia's urban popular music heritage, what I was told was being called "city pop" (Apriryan, personal communication, November 12, 2021). Of particular interest to me was a recording of Ermy Kullit's "*Walau Dalam Mimpi*" [Even in a Dream]. Wahyu "Acum" Nugroho (of #gilavinyl) described the song as "David Messakh's classic jazz pop song sung by Ermy Kullit's powerful voice" (2021). The *Lagu Baru Dari Masa Lalu Vol 1*. Version was sung by Bandung musician Dhira Bongs, who I had interviewed many times about being a popular and indie musician in Indonesia but never interviewed about her relationship to jazz. When I did ask about jazz, she told me she did not have a deep relationship with the style, which might have changed at some point, or she might be using other classifications that would require more research. I would want to ask her and her fellow indie musicians how they might consider themselves in relation to Indonesian jazz history. Another group I heard in a similar musical position were indie stalwarts Mocca, who also have many jazz-influenced qualities in their recordings. Were these indie artists interested in Indonesian jazz history, or was jazz being used as a branding technique?

Further, *Lagu Baru Dari Masa Lalu* opens more questions about Irama Nusantara's copyright and licensing techniques, as they did not release an album of old recordings, rather new recordings of older compositions with new artists. I am unaware how the songs were chosen, who choose them, and how the legalities were worked out. This album was celebrated as a way to get older sounds back into the contemporary community and drive interest back to Irama Nusantara. All the original tracks are still hosted on Irama Nusantara's website with their non-commercial education license still intact. Irama Nusantara had translated these objects of archival value into a new commodity, the details of which require more ethnographic research.

As I have just demonstrated, ethnography is never finished. Communities continue to grow and change. In this dissertation, I have described the ethnographic moments as I experienced them. These experiences guided my theoretical interests in publics, archival value, and critical archive studies. In this conclusion, I summarize my main arguments and then broaden the scope into plainer language. Finally, I discuss some of the limitations of my role as a researcher and missing ethnographic and theoretical aspects needing further research.

MAIN THEORIES AND THEMES

I use three main bodies of theory in this dissertation. One is the public sphere, drawing on the Habermasian concept through Nancy Fraser and Michael Warner, and applied to Indonesian studies by anthropologist Karen Strassler and media studies scholar Emma Baulch. Through theories of the public sphere, I argue that the methods and ethics of the grassroots archivists contribute to the production of the national, liberal, and democratic public sphere that resembles the ethos the early Reformasi. The second body of theory is anthropological theories of value, drawing from the ideas of Marxian and Maussian value theories adopted and expanded by social theorists like David Graeber, Nancy Munn, Fred Myers, Michael Lambek, Anna Tsing, and Arjun Appadurai, and taken into music studies by ethnomusicologists Timothy D. Taylor and Anna Morcom. Through the anthropological theories of value, I argue for an understanding of objects of archival value as produced through the actions of keeping and protection, paradoxically circulated and recognized as having archival value through processes negotiating “how to keep-while-giving” (Weiner 1992). Finally, the third body of theory I use is critical archive studies, following work by archival scholars like Anne Gilliland, Marika Cifor, and Michelle Caswell, who all explore the affective turn in archival science. Affect and the archive

focuses on ethics, care, and activism in various human rights and community archival contexts that aim to interrogate, reconsider, and repair structural power inequities. Through critical archive studies, I argue the “postcustodial methodologies” of some of these archives, seeking to circulate digitized materials freely online, should be understood as a “weapon of the weak” (Scott 2008 [1985]) against the hegemonic structures of the state and capitalism that also need to negotiate an archival ethics of care in postcolonial contexts. These three bodies of theory were used to interpret archival and ethnographic research undertaken from 2016 to 2022 mainly in Indonesia, the Netherlands, and the United States.

These theories helped me consider how and why the grassroots archivists created new physical and online spaces for Indonesians to grapple with their own (musical) history. Before their recent disclosure during the post-1998 Reformasi, many Indonesians feared their collections might be dismantled as jazz and popular music recordings from the 1910s to the 1940s are intertwined with Dutch colonial culture that did not support Indonesian Independence. Historical jazz recordings remain suspect in postcolonial state institutions, who continue to propagate nationalist narratives, comprising an amalgam of selective remembering and forgetting that support entrenched constructions of racial, ethnic, and class hierarchies. Today older jazz recordings and related media provide crucial material evidence that destabilizes official narratives and helps to reconstruct forgotten aspects of Indonesian society. These grassroots archival processes reframe jazz from an exclusively high-class, colonial endeavor, into a transformative space that mixes classes, integrates multiple traditions, and reveals the contributions of minorities. Chinese Indonesian and Eurasian jazz musicians disproportionately contributed to Indonesian jazz recordings during the 1940s to the 1960s, while being simultaneously affected by larger political developments, causing termination of employment,

exile, death, forced labor, and name changes, documented through archival *records*. I analyze archiving as performance to explain the multiple imaginaries that considered jazz in Indonesia benign at one moment and politically suspect at another. My analysis draws out how archivists recognize the value of jazz in Indonesia amid economic, political, and artistic concerns, when circulating collections that both support and challenge official narratives.

In this dissertation, I considered jazz as part of the cultural politics of Indonesia as mediated through the performance of grassroots archiving. The contemporary and historical involvements and encounters of jazz in the cultural politics of Indonesia, that is the way culture—including the attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and perspectives, as well as the processes and ramifications of mediatization and cultural production—shapes and is shaped by social, economic, and legal realities through the performance of archiving. In expanding this theme, I asked why has jazz been mostly left out or excluded from the study of Indonesian popular music, Indonesian national music, and culture more generally. I go on to ask what jazz do to help understand issues of class, gender, religion, and nationalism in Indonesia. Jazz in Indonesia can be understood as a genre, a sensibility, and a brand. What then is classified and reproduced when each archive, as non-governmental entities, positions themselves as historical, political, and cultural institutions containing jazz? I ask how the study of jazz in Indonesia reproduces and at other times refutes broader trends in the hegemonic histories of politics and class. The agential cultural production of jazz in Indonesia maintains specific and varied attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and perspectives on internationalism, nationalism, and locality.

A study of jazz and grassroots archives informs and involves the cultural politics of Indonesia. For example, the rise of the grassroots archives mirrors the emergence of popular jazz festivals and the end of the autocratic New Order. If the performance of jazz in Indonesia relates

to ideologies of freedom and democracy, albeit ambivalently (McGraw 2012), then do the grassroots archives containing jazz, with actions that produce awareness, access, and transparency, realize these ideologies? While I cannot classify all the archives as “jazz archives,” since only one of my case studies understands themselves that way, all the archives are popular music archives that contain jazz. Importantly, jazz is found in each archive to be foundational to the early recording industry in Indonesia.

As the Reformasi has given way to a creeping authoritarianism, related to broader global trends to the political right, the grassroots archives have a renewed role in reshaping political understandings of the diversity of Indonesian history. Showing Indonesia’s popular music heritage as diverse and inclusive might help defuse some of the racial and religious tensions of the mainstream democratic public sphere. While I have sought to champion Chinese Indonesian musicians, during my research anti-Chinese backlash was rampant and palpable in many micro-instances, but this backlash appeared in major episodes. For example, the tensions emerged in the 2017 falsified-blasphemy case against the Chinese Christian governor Ahok (Basuki Tjahaja Purnama). Anti-Chinese sentiment publicly reappeared in the 2019 presidential campaign of known human rights violator Prabowo Subianto, who echoed a “Make Indonesia Great Again” campaign and embraced support from the Islamic Defenders Front (*Front Pembela Islam*). The Islamic Defenders Front are notorious for mass mobilizations against pro-government activists, ethnic Chinese, Christian minorities, as well as liberal and reformist politicians. While many analysts project a darkening of Indonesian political life during what has begun to be called the late Reformasi, the popularity of jazz festivals and Indonesian popular music history as part of global circulations demonstrates a counter interest in looking outward and developing national cultural alongside international influences. For Indonesian identities targeted by Prabowo’s

failed campaign, the space of dialogue among localism, nationalism, and internationalism offers more ways to be Indonesian and demonstrates how the diverse identities of Indonesia should not be considered politically suspect. Transparently, I have been presenting many Chinese Indonesian jazz figures to promote and reaffirm the feeling of belonging for Chinese Indonesians through the performance of jazz in Indonesia, both today and through the record kept at the grassroots archives. The archivists of this study model their public sphere making on the political ethos of the early Reformasi based on the methods and ethics of awareness, transparency, and accountability. As Indonesia throughout the Reformasi continues towards political, economic, and cultural decentralization, I notice how the grassroots archives act in this decentralizing mode through postcustodial methodologies have strong, albeit ambivalent, relationships with official and institutionalized archives. The archival value produced by grassroots archives is recognized by official and institutionalized archives, neither as complementary nor adversarial.

On the more general level of theories of exchange, the performance of popular music archiving in Indonesia contributes to the production and maintenance of a culturally specific regime of value for objects to circulate in, I call archival value. The question remains to be asked in each context how and why certain objects are made to be archival by certain producers, while other (institutional) archives had previously deemed the objects to be inventory, ephemera, unsalable merchandise, or junk. I discuss how the lives of intercultural objects, object circulating among many “regimes of value” including gifts and commodities, can also involve the agential production of archival objects.

The process of *mengarsipkan dokumentasi* by Arsip Jazz Indonesia, Irama Nusantara, the Lokananta Project, and the Museum Musik Indonesia is related to the other strategies of historically minded musical projects, such as how users can straighten out history and return

music to written forms (chapter six).³ Power is produced through grassroots archiving, by offering legitimacy and authorization to lesser-known histories and heralds a momentous shift in the awareness and access for the Indonesian public. This dissertation is meant to lend some understanding to people who identify themselves as Indonesian, through two cultural practices less examined in relation to this identity, that is jazz and archiving.

Chapter Specific Questions

The first chapter begins by identifying an Indonesian public interested in jazz. This conceptual and real public situates the grassroots archivists among Indonesia's jazz communities and provides physical and imagined details of potential archival users. The Indonesian jazz publics give their attention to large live festival events and popularly oriented exhibitions of musical media related to jazz in Indonesia, including photographs, videos, and wax figures. I begin to address the cultural politics of jazz in Indonesia that figures jazz as a genre, sensibility, and a brand.

The second chapter, the first one focused on an archive, considers both themes of cultural politics and the performance of archiving. I ask how the archivists at Museum Musik Indonesia in Malang, East Java, produce their archives with specific users in mind. The lead archivist, Hengki Herwanto, described two kinds of archival users, tourist (*turis*) and students (*mahasiswa*). The tourist users use the collection for its exhibit value and the students use it for its evidential value. I argue in support of understanding Indonesian archivists and popular music community members as historically conscious agents, who contribute to the accountability,

³ "Return [songs] to writing," "straighten out history" by "resisting forgetting," and transform "sites of memory" into "acts of remembering" for cultural reconciliation (Weintraub 2019).

awareness, and transparency of the contemporary Indonesian democratic and liberal public sphere.

The Indonesian democratic public sphere is remains exclusionary with many facets still favoring specific classed and gendered qualities. Other theorizations of the public sphere in Indonesia have included discussions of the religious public sphere and those defined by ethnic and regional divisions. My focus on the Indonesian democratic public sphere remains on what might be considered mainstream politics. The promise of “good governance” of the early Reformasi vowed a democratizing movement away from autocratic political authority that also strengthened the rule of law and the accountability of political leaders, ensuring a renewed respect of human rights (Tidey 2022:14; Hofman and Kaiser 2004). This democratizing process moved in tandem with decentralization and coexisted with many forms of authority. Despite these changes, the late Reformasi disillusionment has shown the centralized authority of the national government has not been replaced or done away with, instead it could be understood as only temporarily stifled by personalities but not all the way by law, c.f. Tidey who instead argues for a “family-cum-state trope” in politically decentralized Reformasi Indonesia (2022:107–112). Therefore, civic action of accountability, awareness, and transparency remain potent actions in keeping the government consistent to their promises.

The third chapter explores the value of archival objects in Indonesia through the work of the Lokananta Project and a recording by Chinese Indonesian pianist Bubi Chen at Lokananta. The chapter witnesses the performance of archiving as affecting cultural politics. I analyze how “objects of archival value” are used as commodities and at other moments as heritage. I work through anthropological theories of value from Appadurai (1986), Myers (2001), and Graeber (2001) applied in music studies by Taylor (2016; 2020) and Morcom (2020) to focus on what it

means for jazz to be preserved as an object of archival value in Indonesia. The actions of storage, preservation, and recirculation of objects of archival value are theorized through the paradoxical processes of how to keep-while-giving/selling.

The fourth chapter examines how the methods of grassroots archives at Irama Nusantara respond to larger political and economic structures through the performance of archiving in Indonesian cultural politics. I interpret how this archive's collection and distribution practices expose a postcustodial archival paradigm (Cook 1997) that resists older ownership archival models. The *pemuda* activists take on archival processes that keep ownership illegible and embrace the friction of local, national, and international copyright regimes. These practices serve as an effective mode of archival resistance to undesired co-option by the state and the capitalist music industry.

Chapter five observes the practice of archival care at Arsip Jazz Indonesia. I examine the role of remembering and preserving Indonesian racial and ethnic relations in the archive. This chapter focuses on the Peranakan jazz impresario Harry Lim but witnesses how the jazz community in Indonesia exposes many different groupings of minority ethnic and racial identities in Indonesia. The evidence of racial relations kept in the grassroots archives and through the performance of archiving provide microhistories of the Indonesian jazz community that disrupt, refute, and support hegemonic tellings of history.

Ethnomusicologists might benefit from these understandings of archival care and postcustodial methods as more Indigenous and minority communities throughout the world begin their own archiving processes. Ethnomusicologists can reframe themselves away from only being the enforcers of copyright and the helpful translators or converters of traditions into copyright friendly regimes. Copyright or copyright refusal can be reconceptualized in specific

contexts to creatively benefit our communities. Copyright is built on friction, it is a global lie that it works smoothly, fairly, and in the ways international institutions proprot it does. Copyright is a tool of power that helps us, as ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger says, “sort of ride on the back of the capitalist system” (2012, quoted in Taylor 2016). For example, much heritagization done through UNESCO and intangible cultural heritage uses copyright to formalize ownership. At the same time, once copyrighted materials begin to generate profit, they are often changed from their ritual contexts and possibly destroy the cultural context that produced various traditions (e.g., Rees 2010). While copyright has its benefits, other negotiations with this international practice might be of different uses to the communities that ethnomusicologists work with and for.

The final sixth chapter focuses on how archival users navigate Indonesian cultural politics. I discuss a team of musicians from the Jakarta jazz scene making an anthology of Indonesian jazz and popular music they describe as an Indonesian Jazz “Real Book.” These jazz musicians listen to archival recordings and applying their embodied musical practices like transcription and listening. I gesture to Diana Taylor’s archive and the repertoire (2003) to notice the role of the body in listening back to archival sources, building up a theory I term “aural discography.” Aural discography focuses on the listening subjectivity of discographer(s). All of these grassroots archives provide the opportunity for many more users to become discographers and use their experience as embodied listeners and repertoire practitioners to understand the aural archival record. The Anthology is not meant to be culminative, but rather remains an open-ended work-in-progress that starts the task of listening to and understanding jazz in Indonesia.

This approach of aural discography could apply to other ethnomusicological and archival contexts as a feedback methodology, whereby listener groups respond to archival materials. This kind of feedback methodology has been a common method in repatriation projects involving

materials from imperial and colonial extractive practices and those termed traditional knowledge (e.g., Stone and Stone 1981; Seeger 2019; Giroux 2021). I argue that commercial, popular, and non-traditional musical heritages also benefit from the genealogies of listening by diverse communities, groups, and scenes who can listen back to various collections as part of their cultural heritage and organize recordings they care about. This includes materials left out of colonial and institutional archives, such as those materials deemed ephemeral and without archival value. Those materials that were not considered different enough to represent the Other for the “imperial ear” (Talusán 2021:6–10; Radano and Olaniyan 2016; Miller 2010). Aural discography as an ethnomusicological research method, allows for participant observation in the aural engagement with the archival record.

These archives are knowledge centers, what anthropologist Peter Toner theorizes as “contact zones” (2019). The contact zones follow the opening-up of the archive to become a public possession that allow a number of kinds of institutions to collaborate with or compete over the same archival collections. This kind of archiving fosters the self-help and voluntary actions of liberal citizenship, and the idea that knowing one’s society will lead to knowing oneself and future cultural improvement. The ideal of liberalism I am focusing on is less the autonomized individualism and the short-term everything of neoliberalism (Harvey 2005), but rather a kind that puts egalitarianism as an ideal collective identity to which every individual can be included, can decide upon collective betterment. This ethos of making the future more just than the past through awareness, transparency, access, and accountability to one’s society and to oneself is a mission as grand as any offered.

QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

There are six main issues that could benefit from further study: an international perspective of jazz in Indonesia, the origin of jazz in Indonesia, live performance, religion, aesthetics, and gender. By keeping my focus on the cultural politics in the geography of Indonesia, I have generally obscured a thorough rendering of an international perspective. A robust international perspective would require more multi-sited ethnographic research as many Indonesian jazz musicians have lived, studied, and performed abroad. For example, members of the Indonesian All Stars (Jack Lesmana, Bubi Chen, and Benny Mustafa van Diest) all spent time abroad, particularly in New York, the Netherlands, and Australia. Pianist Indra Lesmana (son of Jack Lesmana) spent many years in Melbourne studying and performing, and later, several years in Los Angeles. I have not fully engaged with these biographical details, although I have not completely ignored them. An analysis of an international perspective would require different theoretical and historical tools. Such an analysis would need to explicate more fully the Indonesian entanglements in neoliberal capitalism that justify how and why different Indonesians travel. An international perspective would also engage with the popularity of the smooth sounds of Kenny G. at the 2015 Prambanan Jazz Festival in Central Java. A central question would be how jazz in Indonesia relates to jazz in other parts of the world.

When considering jazz in Indonesia relates to jazz in other parts of the world, the opportunity to discuss notions of global Blackness and African Americans as the originators of jazz in relation to Indonesians and Indonesian jazz musicians. I have not dealt with the topic very much as these racial projects are not as apparent in the Indonesian grassroots popular music archives as the racial projects of Chinese Indonesians, Eurasians, and Eastern Indonesian musicians like those from Maluku and Papua. First the notion of Blackness in Indonesia will

require further research, but the American Black Lives Matter movement has inspired activist in Papuan to use a related hashtag of Papuan Lives Matters for those who experience racist insults and acts, in Indonesia and when studying abroad (Nurdin 2020). When I studied in Salatiga, Central Java in 2017, I met students from Eastern Indonesia who had experienced racist insults and expressed similar concerns. But I did not encounter this Indonesian articulation of Blackness articulated in the Indonesian jazz community. While there are many Indonesian jazz musicians with Eastern Indonesian roots, particularly Ambon, like the Likumahuwa family (Benny, Jilly, Barry, Utha, and others) and the Manuhutu family (Venche, David, Ade, Ezra, and others), the connections between African American identity politics and music activities are beyond what I can claim without further research.

One of the first African American jazz musicians known to play in Java is pianist Teddy Weatherford, who first toured to Java in 1929 and then again in 1936 (Van Dijk 2019:151). He was said to be treated with more respect than from the rampant anti-Black racism of the United States. These tours were short and has not yet been long term African American jazz performers in Indonesia. There are many stories of Indonesian musicians meeting African American jazz musicians at major jazz festivals like Java Jazz and major events by the American consulate, like the International Jazz Day event where Joey Alexander was introduced to Herbie Hancock, who then opened doors for Alexander in the United States.

In the contemporary Indonesian jazz community, there is an utmost respect for the history of jazz as related to the African American community. Bandung-based pianist Christ Stanley Khoewell explained, “I still love and really like African American music. In fact, God often uses this music to bless my family. The words that always cross in my head. It turns out that learning / investing in music is not in vain” (personal communication, May 1, 2022). Members of the Klub

Jazz community in Bandung often hold discussions regarding the biographies of African American jazz musicians and other jazz related practices like poetry. The Bandung-based pianist Jason Limanjaya once told me that he plays jazz because there is not much other music to express the blues. He said he feels the “Bandung Blues especially when you know the rainy season is just going to wreck everything” (personal communication, October 4, 2018). When jazz musicians like Sri Hanuraga, Nial Djuliarso, and David Manuhutu studied abroad in Europe and the United States, they encounter more African American musicians and teachers. For some Indonesian musicians, encounters with African American musicians and teachers serve as a badge of honor, as an experience part of the process of traveling globally that also imparted new lessons often imparted to me through the logics of authenticity. Other experiences imparted to me in New York involved African American solidarity and experiences with anti-Asian sentiment that need further research to explore more fully and could historically be related to Harry Lim. Due to my focus on the grassroots archives in this dissertation, the relationship of Indonesian jazz musicians with global Black movements, music making, and political struggle will need to be saved for a later project. strange

The role of Indonesian Americans in the Indonesian jazz community is another less explored aspect of this international perspective. Indonesian Americans predominately consist of Indos, Christians, and Chinese Indonesian asylum seekers but also includes Muslims and *Pribumi* members. The world-class jazz pianist Joey Alexander is a notable Indonesian American. Alexander, a Balinese Christian, journeyed quickly through the jazz communities of Bali and Jakarta and was scouted by Herbie Hancock in Jakarta. Subsequently, Alexander moved to New York and has now spent almost half his life living in the United States. Other Indonesian pianists like Nial Djuliarso and David Manuhutu have also lived, studied, and performed in the

United States for close to a decade. Alfred Ticoalu of Arsip Jazz Indonesia is a recent Indonesian American. An international perspective would need to further integrate the roles of Indonesian Americans in the Indonesian jazz community or theorize a different configuration.

Another aspect of the international perspective is the participation of Indonesian jazz musicians on international labels and in festivals abroad. American label Moonjune Records has been the largest supporter of Indonesian jazz outside of Indonesia. The label hosts many major Indonesian jazz artists, including Dewa Budjana, Tohpati, Simak Dialog, and Ligro. Relatedly, the international performance careers of musicians like Tjuk Deviana, Nita Arsen, and Dwiki Dharmawan would need to be detailed at events like the North Sea Jazz Festival in the Netherlands. Indonesian jazz musicians like Tesla Manaf and David Manuhutu performed in other Southeast Asian countries during my fieldwork, Vietnam and Malaysia/Singapore respectively. An analysis of the Southeast Asian movements would offer other perspectives about regional jazz communities.

The international perspective would also explore the contemporary Indo (Dutch Indonesian) communities living in the Netherlands and Southern California. These groups also supported many of the jazz musicians forced to leave Indonesia during the Independence era. For example, I discuss the 1950s jazz group the Irama Trio as comprising three Indo musicians treated differently by the Indonesian government related to their race (chapter two). An international perspective would continue tracing the careers of bassist Dick van der Capellen in the Netherlands and guitarist Dick Abel in the United Kingdom. The member who remained in Indonesia, pianist Nick Mamahit, also grew up playing on cruise ships for international tourists. Did Mamahit's internationalism continue to relate to the other Trio members, particularly after the group was forcibly separated? Further, the Indo jazz musicians in the Netherlands are

interconnected with other Indo musicians in the Netherlands like the 1960s instrumental surfabilly rock band the Blue Diamonds. Möller traces the Batavia Swinging community to Southern California in the 1970s (1987:89–91). The SoCal Indo community remains strong in the Long Beach and Bellflower areas of Southern California, with yearly events for Dutch King's Day (Koningsdag) that features popular music, although I am unaware of any continued intense relations to Indonesia's jazz community.

Further delving into this approach would seek to integrate the international cultural politics of Dutch composers like Jos Cleber, who lived in Indonesia for only a few years. Cleber is most well-known in Indonesia for orchestrating the official version of the Sukarno-approved Indonesian national anthem. He was also a trombonist, violinist, conductor, composer, and producer, who played jazz, dance band, and classical music on the radio in Indonesia. The Progressive Trio members often played in Cleber's ensembles. While Cleber has many notable activities in Indonesia, much of his career occurred outside of Indonesia such as in South Africa, but mostly in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, Cleber had joined the longtime Dutch jazz and radio dance band group De Ramblers in 1945 and composed a song for the 1958 Eurovision song contest. Cleber's activities are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Möller (1987) and Van Dijk (2019) provide excellent biographical details of Dutch jazz musicians before Indonesian Independence. While this international perspective is not excluded from my research, although a thorough rendering of an international perspective would be a study unto itself.

The second main topic I do not spend a lot of time focusing on is the origin of jazz in Indonesia. While many audiences seem curious to this issue, I think the idea of cultural origins is often an odd way to phrase the question. It often assumes jazz was introduced once and then caught on, rather than a series of interactions that continued interest in jazz for a variety of

reasons. I am more interested in why jazz stayed relevant and meaningful to Indonesians through many historical and political eras, rather than posing some sort of teleological hypothesis.

In terms of early history, Peter Keppy's book *Tales of Southeast Asia's Jazz Age: Filipinos, Indonesians and Popular Culture, 1920–1936* (2019) does particularly well with the early colonial instances of jazz. Keppy discusses early figures like Miss Riboet and jazz in the Dutch East Indies culture industry of the early 1920s–1940s. Andrew McGraw (2012) summarizes many early issues of Indonesian jazz origins. Alfred Ticoalu has been working on a three-volume book that will be the most comprehensive text when finished.

The third main issue requiring further research is a study of the live performance of jazz in Indonesia. The references to live performances I do include focus on the Indonesian jazz audience as a public and as potential archival users. I mention live performance to demonstrate the contributions of the archivists to the contemporary community. I have begun to discuss some of my experiences at Indonesian jazz festivals in other articles (Stuparitz n.d.), but to explore these issues too deeply here, would quickly lose my emphasis on archives.

Not mentioned very much in this dissertation is my live performance experiences in Indonesia. As part of my ethnographic research, I often joined jam sessions that happened at the end of many concerts, which often had groups of musicians rendering versions of jazz standards from the American *Real Book*. I formed a jazz quartet called Bluesukan using some transcriptions from the *Anthologi Musik Indonesia*, original compositions, and collective improvisations. The name of the group, Bluesukan, is a political pun using the word “the blues” and *blusukan*, an informal, impromptu visit by a political figurehead with local people. The group explored jazz music in Indonesia with several traditional and fusion musicians from Sunda. The group featured Jason Limanjaya on piano, Cucu Kurina on the Sundanese kendang

(drum), Uwa Farell on the Sundanese suling (bamboo flute) and me on electric bass (Stuparitz 2020). We practiced in Bandung and performed at several Jazzuality events in central Bandung on the Braga Citywalk as well as at a contemporary music and dance festival in Indramayu, West Java. We recorded an album in Bandung that was released in May 2021.

Another topic for future research on jazz in Indonesia would benefit from a deeper analysis of religion. I encountered relationships between religion and jazz when studying in Salatiga, Central Java. I met live jazz performers at a rehearsal for their regular Sunday church service. From this experience, I learned many young Indonesian church bands have an interest in jazz. From my ethnographic work, religion in various jazz communities indirectly factors into self-conceptions. While many Indonesian people are devotedly religious, jazz is mostly a secular space. Muslims, Buddhists, and Christians all participate, such as the Ramadhan Jazz Festival and the Christian church bands of Salatiga. As Islam is by far the majority religion in Indonesia, there are many Muslim jazz musicians, but there are a large number of Christians, disproportionate to a direct reflection from society. This might be due to jazz as a middle- and upper-class activity, intersecting with a larger number of Chinese and Christian Indonesians.

Another aspect of religion and jazz in Indonesia, involves bassist Indro Hardjodikoro, who described to me how he relates his jazz practice to his Abangan practices, as a more syncretic Muslim, and *Kejawèn* (*Kebatinan*) beliefs (also called *Javanism*). *Kejawèn* beliefs combine animistic, Buddhist, and Hindu aspects. Hardjodikoro told me he shared these *Kejawèn* principles with pianist Riza Arshad when they played together in the group Simak Dialog (interview, June 5, 2018). While many different religions appeared in the jazz community, the community more often seemed to imagine itself as part of a secular and national public sphere.

The fifth major theme that could use attention is an aesthetic analysis of jazz in Indonesia. Some scholars have taken up this issue like Sutopo (2010; 2017) and McGraw (2012). They both note a “standart” (standard) jazz tradition in Yogyakarta that seeks to prescribe a more conservative aesthetic realm that draws on the American *Real Book*. During my research such positions were expressed, but jazz festival organizers embraced a much broader understanding. I experienced less “that’s not jazz” and more “that’s not the jazz I like.” In chapter six and in Appendix C, I specify how the songs were selected for the Indonesian “Real Book” as a path towards a poetics of jazz in Indonesia. The editors are careful to not claim to be definitive or authoritative. Jazz as a genre, a style, and a brand in Indonesia as I experienced and understand it, has been mostly prominently inclusive and far reaching.

The last issue that requiring further research is gender relations in the Indonesian jazz community and in the archives. Gender was not in the front of mind for the archivists I interviewed. Gender dynamics in the Indonesian jazz community are far from equal, and most of my interviewees, who were mostly male, maintain a stark patriarchal bias. Women musicians as composers, instrumentalists, and singers have become more prominent in the last few decades, but none of the central archivists in this study were women. Some of founders of Museum Musik Indonesia were women but they have not played a large role long term. Acum’s *#GilaVinyl* (2017) discusses several women collectors, but his interviewees also reflect a male bias.

For example, I met the wife of Irama Nusantara co-founder David Tarigan, Ken Zefanya, who is an avid collector and art maker. With her cousin Marishka Soekarna, Ken Zefanya formed a DJ duo named Iramamama that often introduces old popular music and jazz recordings

into live performances, similar to other members of Irama Nusantara.⁴ In online interviews (conducted by someone else, DJ Jawa Jones), the duo described themselves as women DJs, who have an interest in other parts of Indonesia’s popular music heritage than the men (Wanita Music Show 2021). Ken Zefanya and Marishka Soekarna discussed how their collecting habits were influenced by the male collectors in their life, but soon they started finding other materials more to their liking. They continue to make Spotify playlists and preform DJ sets with a self-described “female sensibility” (Wanita Music Show 2021). While Ken Zefanya and Marishka Soekarna might defer to the Irama Nusantara managers for all issues of archiving in Indonesia, further research of Iramamama’s aural discography would yield important results of another way to listen back and understand Indonesia’s popular music heritage. While not necessarily archivists, the duo has been important to the recirculation of objects of archival value. They have also helped in introducing the archives to a wider public such as their 2019 book *Lagu Zine – Iramamama*, a zine containing original illustrations and QR codes linked to fourteen Indonesian songs from the 1950s–1960s on Irama Nusantara’s website.

Jazz Masa Lalu dan Kini

After becoming aware of Arsip Jazz Indonesia in 2016, I have learned much about the Indonesian jazz community, grassroots archives, and the process of historiography in Indonesia. The archives are miraculous, but their futures are tenuous, as Indonesia and the world seems to prove itself less capable of reckoning with its past. There remains a great deal of friction. Many take easier paths that repeat past power imbalances. Yet the preservation of archived materials

⁴ It should also be noted that use of the word “Irama” for the record label, Irama Nusantara, and Iramamama are connected. The art created by Iramamama draws upon the type face and style of Irama Records releases. The Irama Nusantara logo is inspired by Gito Rollies particularly the “Do the Gito Dance” (see Appendix A, figure 4.16.)

might be recognized by the public and help reform historical consciousness. As I share knowledge of and from the archives, Ariel Heryanto's hopeful warning echoes in my mind: "Mere disclosure of Indonesia's past history with its cosmopolitan features will not necessarily lead to changes for the better in contemporary Indonesia, especially if the new revelation runs counter to the interests of those in power" (2018:607). I am usually someone who thinks positively, or at least tries to, and much of this archival work is hopeful. As I carry on combing through the archival record two phrases continue to reverberate.

"It was getting dark . . . and it's getting dark again."

"Kamu jangan takut untuk maju dan bicarakan ide-ide kamu. Sekali kamu takut, kamu kalah."

"It was getting dark . . . and it's getting dark again."

"Kamu jangan takut untuk maju dan bicarakan ide-ide kamu. Sekali kamu takut, kamu kalah."

APPENDIX A

IRAMA NUSANTARA IMAGES

Photos and screenshots by author



Figure 4.1. Renovan Reza on the computer at the Blok M Irama Nusantara stall. October 14, 2019.



Figure 4.2. Renovan Reza at the Blok M Irama Nusantara stall. October 14, 2019.



Figure 4.3. Andreas Dresthi Pradipto talking with the neighboring shop owner about the Irama Nusantara process. Many stickers from various endeavors related to Irama Nusantara members detail the wall. October 14, 2019.



Figure 4.4. Music shops a few stalls away from the Irama Nusantara stall with common and rare vinyl, CDs, and cassettes. October 14, 2019.



Figure 4.5. Making new Gojek logos, around the corner from Musik Pasar in Blok M. October 14, 2019.



Figure 4.6. Screenshot of a promotional video for the Hello Dangdut campaign, “Archipelageek – From Indonesia to SXSW 2019 – Hello Dangdut” posted on YouTube. February 20, 2019.

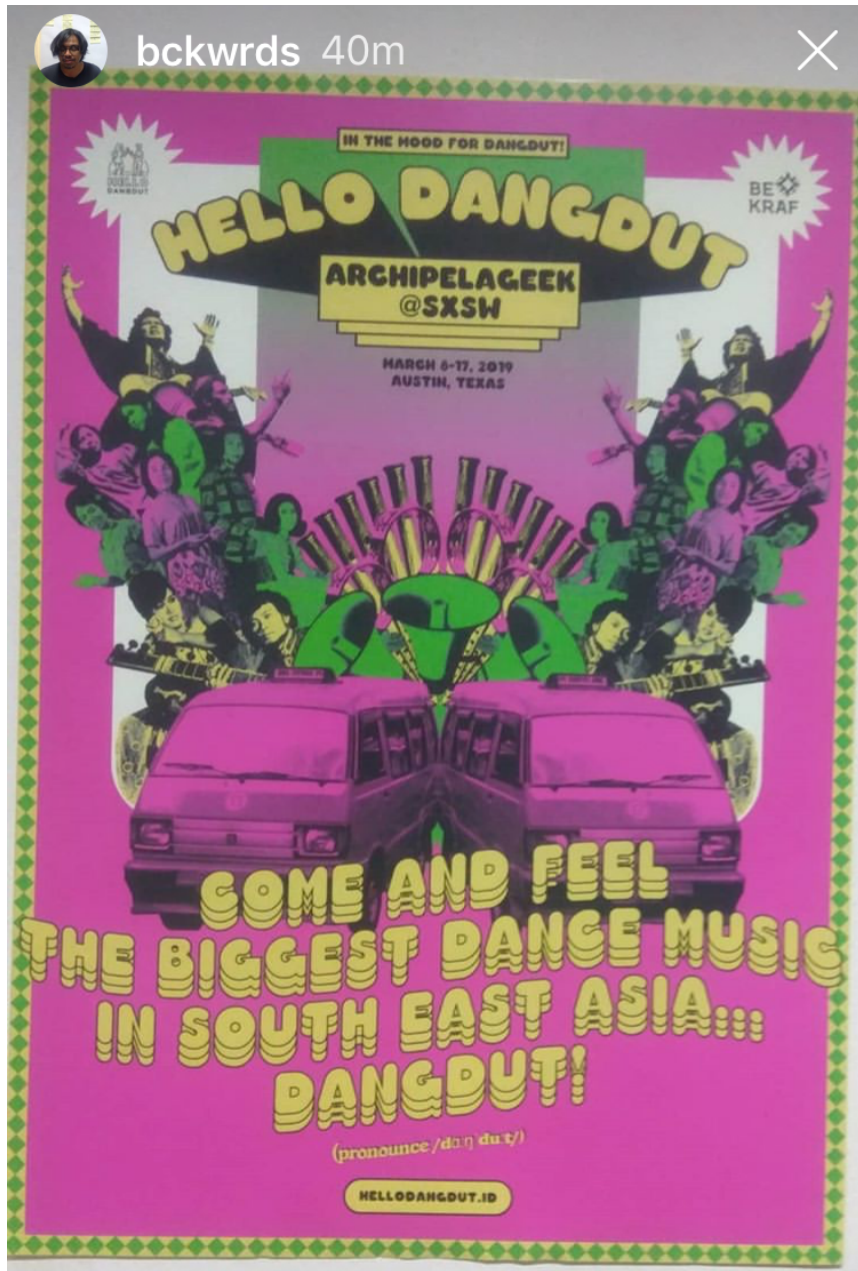


Figure 4.7. Alvin Yunata's Instagram promotion for the Hello Dangdut campaign. March 4, 2019.



Figure 4.8. Shared via official Instagram account of collection activities and processes from Kitabisa.com fundraising campaign. February 20, 2020.

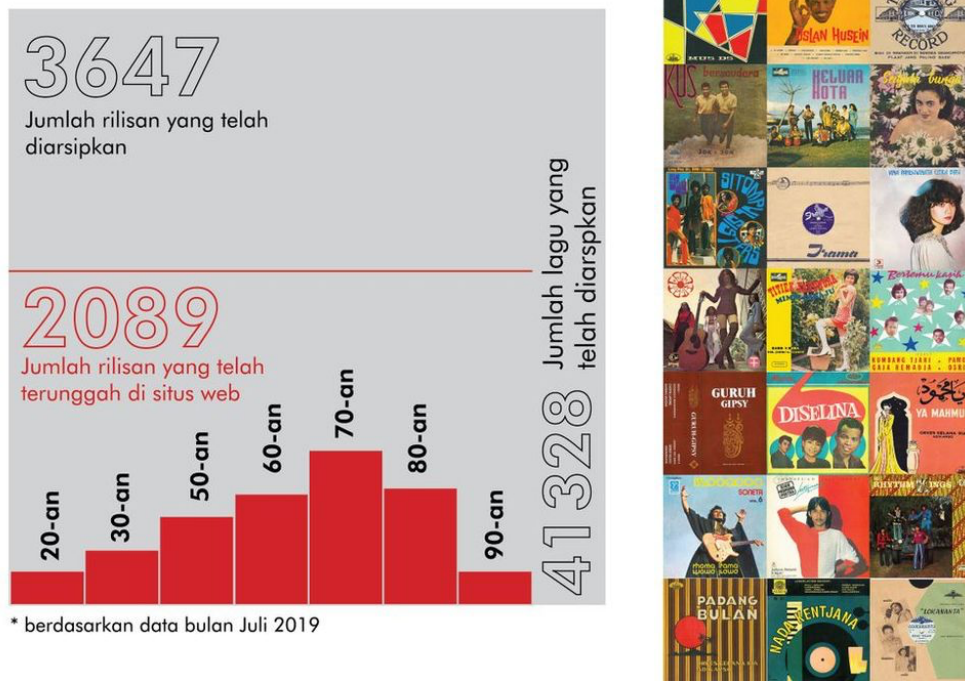


Figure 4.9. Shared via official Instagram account. The bar graph shows the number of releases sorted by decade. Part of the Kitabisa.com fundraising campaign. February 20, 2020.



Figure 4.10. Group photo with everyone working at the office that day. Left to right Windi Prahadya Utama “Koben” (Kobenoz Abu Jibrael), Alvin Yunata, Gerry Apriryan, Otto Stuparitz (author), David Tarigan, Renovan Reza, and Zaki Lazuardian. October 29, 2019.

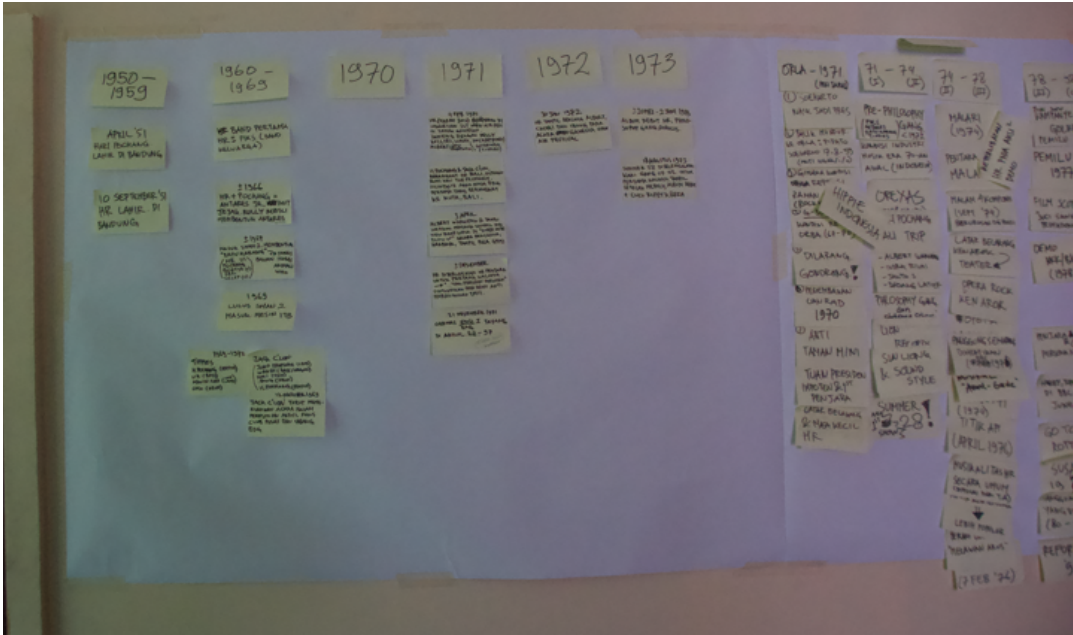


Figure 4.11. Timeline/storyboard of Harry Roesli documentary project at Irama Nusantara office. October 29, 2019.



Figure 4.12. Casual temporary storage at the Irama Nusantara office for recordings. These will be kept for a few weeks to a few months before being returned to their owners. May 2, 2019.



Figure 4.13. Filling in the data on the Irama Nusantara website. External hard drives are kept with backups of various collection endeavors like at RRI and digitization done at the office. April 1, 2019.



Figure 4.14. Full shot of office, with Hello Dangdut banner. Left to right: Reno, Gerry, and Alvin all work on different projects while music is playing. February 19, 2019.



Figure 4.15. Archivist David Tarigan (left), jazz pianist Sri Hanuraga (middle), and Music Industry Advisor Sianturi (right) discuss jazz history in Indonesia at the Jazz Buzz festival at the Salihara Arts Center in South Jakarta. February 16, 2019.



Figure 4.16. The Irama Nusantara logo with images of the various artists whose music has already been digitized by the archivists.

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM ANTHOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA

USED WITH PERMISSION FROM DION JANAPRIA

Example 1

KASIH
DICK ABEL/NIEN

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Kasih

Medium Swing

DICK ABEL/NIEN

5 Ka -

A1,2

7 sih de-ngar-kan - lah ra - yu-an - ku Me -

11 sra men-je-lang di ma-lam su - nyi Ka -

15 sih de-ngar-kan - lah la - gu rin - du Ha -

19 srat men-da-pat - kan di-kau kem-ba - li Ke - ma - na -

B

23 kah a-dik per-gi ti - a - da be-ri - ta Rin-du

27 den- dam da-lam ha-ti ge-li - sah ji-wa ber - ta - nya Ka -

276

A3

31 $E^b m7$ A^b7 D^b $A^b m7$ D^b7

35 G^b $E^b m7$ A^b7 $D^b m a7$ $D^b m a7$ *To Coda*

39 $D^b m a7$ $E^b m7$ $D7$ $D^b m a7$ *Fine*

Versi Vokal Sam Saimun

Irama - IRS. 34

Example 2

SENJUM
A. USMAN

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Populer Music)

Senjum

A.USMAN

Medium Swing

A A G⁶ F[#] F^{#7}

Me - nga - pa wa - jah - mu ke - lu me -

4 B B⁷ E E^(sus4)

ra - - na si - a - pa me - ru -

7 E⁷ A A^{#o} B^{m7} E⁷

sak ha - ti bim - bang Se -

10 A A F^{#7} B^m B^m(Maj7) B^{m7} B^{m6}

nyum lah kan - da pus - pa ha - - ti

14 B⁷ B^{m7} E⁷

hi - lang - kan ra - sa su - nyi Tak

B A G⁶ F[#] F^{#7} B B⁷

la - ma ba - pak kan kem - ba - li pu - lang pa -

22 E E^(sus4) E⁷ C^{#7}

da - mu ten - tu men - da - tang ju - a Te -

26 F^{#7} B⁷(add9) C^o

nang - kan kal - bu le - nyap ra - sa su - nyi se -

30 A B^{m7} E⁷ A

nyum ke - ka - sih - ku se - nyum

Versi vokal Nien Lesmana

Serimpi - SRI 42-1

Example 3

THROWING WORDS
RIZA ARSHAD

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Throwing Words

RIZA ARSHAD

q = 125

A B

3 A_m /B C A B

7 B G_{maj7} E_m E_m/D D

9 C A_m G B

B

13 G_7 E_7 G E D^b/D

15 D^b_7 G_7 E_7

17 D $C^{\#}$ C B B^b B^b A G D_m F_m^{11} $E_7^{alt.}$ F_m^7

21 $B_7(\#11)$ $B^b_7(sus4)$ A^b_{11} G C^b D^b E F_m^7

25 G

C B G_{maj7} D

31 C B^b A^b A^b

33 E^b F A^b

36 A B^m C C D E^b

39 G^b A^b B^b C
To Coda

43 C

46 **D** B G^{Maj7} E^m C

48 D B^b C B^b A B^b

52 **E** A^b G^b C(sus4)/F
SOLO (USE VAMP)

56 C(sus4)/F G7(#9)/F

60 G7(#9)/F C(sus4)/F

64 C(sus4)/F D7alt.

68 D7alt. C(#11)

72 C | 1. C C Eb Fm(b5) | 2. C

76 Fm(b5) C

80 Cm7(b5) Bb/D Db **F** EØ7

84 Fm7 Gb C/E Em F#

88 Gm9 Bbm7 E/Bb

92 F#/Bb G/Bb GØ7 C13(sus4) E7alt./B

95 Eb13(sus4) A/Eb C/Db

99 Cm7(b5) Cm7(b5) C/Bb Fm/Ab E/G Gm7 Am Gbmaj7

HIT

103 **G** Am7

107 Am7

111 E/A^b Gm Cm

115 Abm11 D7alt.

119 Fm6/C G7alt.

123 1. B^b7alt. G7alt.

127 2. B^b7alt.

131 G Em D13(sus4) B^b13(sus4) A^b/C Ebm11

135 B Ebm11 B

139 B^b7alt. B/B^b

143 B^b G^b E^b C⁷(^b13) Fm⁷ E(^b8)

147 E^bm⁷

151 B^bm⁷

H

SOLO PART: E-F-G. PLAY
E WHEN CHANGING SOLOIST

155 A^m7

159 Fm⁶ Fm⁶

163 A^m7 A^m7

166 E^b7(sus4) B^bm⁷ C^m7 Fm / E^b D^b C^m11 Fm⁹

168 F[#]m⁶ F[#]m⁶ Fm⁶

172 A^m7

176

178 F#m7 Am7 Fm7 Gm7 Abm7 D7(#9) Db(#11) Db9

182

D.C. al Coda

184 C

186

Simak Dialog: Trance/Mission

Originally Released Independently in 2002

Example 4

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA / HAMPANA
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)
BUBI CHEN

Hampa BUBI CHEN

Rhumba **A1** Gm6 Gm6 G7 Cm6

5 Gm6 Eb7

8 D7

10 **A2** Swing Gm6 Gm6 G7 Cm6

14 Gm6 Eb7 D7 Gm6

18 **B** Rhumba G7 Cm6

22 F7 Bbmaj7 D7

26 **A3** Gm6 Gm6 G7 Cm6

30 Gm6 Eb7 D7 Gm6

33 Gm6

Bubi Chen & Kwartet: Instrumentalia oleh Bubi Chen dan Kwartet. Lokananta, 1961

232

Example 5

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

BIDUK KASIHKU
MOCHTAR EMBUT

Biduk Kasihku

Medium slow A1,2 MOCHTAR EMBUT

Fm7 Bb7 Eb Dm7 (b5) G7

Bi-sik tu-tur ka - ta - mu ku - ki - as - kan a - ngin la -
A - lun sua - ra mer - du - mu ku - ki - as - kan la - ut bi -

3 Cm7 Eb7 Abmaj7 Bb(sus4) Eb Gb°7

lu yang mem - ba - wa bi - duk - ku men - ca - ri
ru tem - pat bi - duk - ku la - ju sam - pai tu -

6 Fm7 Bb7 1. Eb E°7 2. Eb

ka - - sih - ku ku
ju - - - an ku

B

9 Dbm7 Gb7 3 Bmaj7 G7 C#m7 F#7 Bmaj7

Ah tak ku - sang - ka bi - duk - ku teng - ge - lam

13 Cm7 F7 3 Bbmaj7 G7 Cm7 F(sus4) Fm7 E°7

ja - uh ke da - lam la - ut bi - ru ke - lam

A3

17 Fm7 Bb(sus4) Eb Dm7 (b5) G7 Cm7 Eb7

Ma - kin da - lam ya - kin - ku se - da - lam bi - duk yang ka - ram

21 Abmaj7 Bb(sus4) Eb Gb°7 Fm7 Bb7 Eb

De - mi - ki - an ka - sih - ku yang la ma ter - pen - dam

Versi Vokal Sam Saimun

116

Irama - E.P. 102

Example 6

GAMBAANG SULING
NARTOSABDO

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Gambang Suling

NARTOSABDO

$\text{♩} = 130$

5

7 **A1** A_m A_m/C A_m A_m/C
(bassline simile)

11 B_b A_m/C A_m A_m/E

15 **A2** A_m A_m/C A_m/E A_m/C

19 B_b A_m/C A_m/E A_m/C

23 B_b A_m/E A_m A_m/C

27 B_b A_m/C

29 Swing Solo Section A_m A_m/C Repeat many times A_m A_m/C

33 last time A_m A_m/C D.S. Al Fine

Tony Scott & Indonesian All Stars: Djanger Bali. SABA, 1967

Example 7

GELISAH
ISKANDAR

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Gelisah

Iskandar

Fast Swing

A D^{Maj}9 C^{#7}(^b9)

Se - jak _____ pan - da - ngan _____ ma -

5 E^m9 B7

ta ber - - pa - du

9 E^m7 E^b7 D^{Maj}7

Ge - li - - sah da - lam kal - bu _____ ber -

13 E7([#]11) E^m9 E^b7(add9)

bi - sik _____ me - rin - - du

B D^{Maj}9 C^{#7}(^b9)

I - ngin _____ ber - ta - nya _____ eng -

21 E^m9 B7

gan me - - ra - na

25 G C7(add9) D^{Maj}7 F^m7

ha - ra - - pan jum - pa _____ mung -

29 E^m7 E^b7(add9) D^{Maj}7

kin di _____ sur - ga

Titiek Puspa: Puspa Dewi. Irama Record

206

Released on Bali Records "Puspa Dewi" ARN-1001, 1961. Recorded at Irama Studio.

Example 8

PAPARISA
DIDI PATTIRANE

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Paparisa

DIDI PATTIRANE

Fast swing

13 SOLOS OVER G BLUES

25 HEAD OUT

37 (walking bass)

41

45

49

G7

D7

G7

G7

Didi Pattirane & Orkes: Dajung Sampan. Lokananta, 1960

Example 9

NURLAILA
BING SLAMET

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Nurlaila

BING SLAMET

Calypso

8vb

5

9 **A1,2** D^b

A - hai... Nur-lai - la su - ka - nya ber - la - gu mam - bo cha - cha
gang hai... Nur-lai - la men - de - ngar Ca - lyp - so de - ngan Bong - o

13 G^b D^b

ha - ti - nya tak - kan se - nang du - duk - nya tak te -
i - ngin me - na - ri sa - jo ma - na - ri ba - du -

15 1. E^bm7 A^b7 D^b

nang de - ngar bu - nyi gen - dang i - ngin ser - ta ber - leng -

17 2. E^bm7 A^b7 D^b

o si - a - po yang su - ko

19 **B** D^b

Nur - lai - la me - mang can - tik sia - pa ke - na li -

21 C^b D^b D^b

rik ha - ti bak di - jen - trik so - pan sa - pa te - gur - nya ma - nis se - nyu - man -

25 C^b D^b G^b D^b

nya i - tu yang meng - go - da a - duh ka - lau ber - den - dang la - gu den - dang sa

29 $E^b m7$ A^b7 D^b G^b D^b
yang ra-sa-ku di a - wan jo - get ta-ri Me-la - - yu Nur-lai-la-pun se-

33 $E^b m7$ A^b7 D^b
nang me - nga - yun - kan - ku ta - ri Se - ram - pang

35 **A3** D^b
A - hai Nur - lai - la ka - lau de - ngar gi -

37
tar kling - - kling kling klang

39 G^b D^b $E^b m7$ A^b7
ta - ri a - pa tak pan - tang Nur-lai-la me-nen-tang a - pa su - ka Mam-

42 D^b
bo Ca - lyp - so dan Cha - cha Cha hai Nur - lai - la

Bing Slamet: Parade Popularia Vol.1. Remaco

Example 10

SILVER IS THE COLOR OF THE BLUES
DION JANAPRIA

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Silver is The Color of The Blues

Swing ♩ = 140
DION JANAPRIA

A F7 F7/C Bm7(♭5) Bbm7 Ab7(add13)

5 Bb7 F7

9 C7 Bb7 3 F7 Bb7 F7 C7(#9)

B F7 Bm7(♭5) Bbm7 A7alt. Ab7(add13) Bb7

17 Bb7 F/A D7

21 G7(add9) G7(add9) 3 C7 Eb7 D7

25 G7(add9) C7 3 F7

29 Eb7(add13) Eb7(add13) F7(add13) F7

Dion Janapria: Silver is The Color of The Blues. 2014

474

Example 11

TALES FROM THE UNDENIABLE THOUGHTS
TESLA MANAF

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Tales From The Undeniable Thoughts

TESLA MANAF

Freely **A** *mf*

3 Bm7 Eb°

5 Eb° F#° Cb° Dbmaj7 Dbmaj7 Bbmaj7 Bbm7 (b9)

8 Amaj7 Dbmaj7 Bbmaj7 Bbm7 (b9) Amaj9 da Capo

11 **B** A Tempo q = 168

15 Bbm7 (b9)

19 Amaj7 (#11)

23 C°7 *tr*

27

31 Bbm7 (b9)

504

35 A^{Maj7}(#11) ♩ = 112

f 3:2q

39 C^{o7}/E

fff *< h = q. >*

C μ q. = 56
muted ----- 4x

muted 4x

47 1. *Expressivo* | 2. *Piano*

1. *Expressivo* | 2. *Piano*

51

51

53

53

57

57

μ D.S. al Coda
61 muted -----

muted D.S. al Coda

65 μ E (sus2)

67 3x

70 < q. = q >

let ring-----

q = 160

74

let ring-----

78

Bm7 Gbm7 C#m7/D C#m7

let ring-----

80

1. D#m7 Gb/E 2. D#m7 C#m7/D

let ring-----

84

D#m7 D/C

let ring-----

88 Gm7/G#

92 let ring--

rit.. F#m7/G

3

3

Detailed description: The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff, starting at measure 88, is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It begins with a Gm7/G# chord. The melody consists of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F#5, G5. A triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) is marked with a bracket and the number '3'. The staff ends with a double bar line. The second staff, starting at measure 92, is also in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp. It begins with an F#m7/G chord. The melody consists of eighth notes: F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F#5. A triplet of eighth notes (F#4, G4, A4) is marked with a bracket and the number '3'. Above the staff, the word 'let ring--' is written with a dashed line extending across the staff. Above the first staff, the word 'rit..' is written above the F#m7/G chord. The page number '92' is written at the beginning of the second staff.

Tesla Manaf: Kompilasi Gitar Plus Vol.3. 2016. Transcription provided by Gatot Alindo

Example 12

CITY LIGHTS
ROBERT MULYARAHARDJA

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

City Lights

A1,2 Fast Swing ROBERT MR

C Bm7 (♭9) E7 Am7 A♭7 Gm7 G♭7

F Em7 Dm7 D♯°7

1. Em7 A7 Dm7 G7

2. Em7 A7 (♯9) D7 (♯9) G7 (♯9) C

B Cm7 F♯m7 B7 B♭

Am7 (♭9) D7 Gm7 /F Em7 A7 (♭9) Dm7 G7 (♭9)

A3

C Bm7 (♭9) E7

Am7 A♭7 Gm7 G♭7 F Em7 Dm7 D♯°7

Em7 A7 (♯9) D7 (♯9) G7 (♯9) C SOLO PICKUP

Fine

SOLO CHANGES

C^{Maj7} Bm7 (♭9) E7 Am7 A♭7 Gm7 G♭7

1. F F#m7 (b9) B7 Em7 A7 (b9) Dm7 G7

2. F /E Dm7 G7 C

Cm7 F#m7 B7 Bb

A#m7 (b9) D7 Gm7 /F Em7 A7 (b9) Dm7 G7 (b9)

Cmaj7 Bm7 (b9) E7 Am7 Ab7 Gm7 Gb7

F /E Dm7 G7 C Dm7 G7

D.C. Al Fine (after solos)

NKRO: Up There!. 2014

Example 13

ARGO SUITE (PART 2)
SRI HANURAGA

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

Argo Suite - Part 2

SRI HANURAGA

Contemporary Jazz

The musical score is written for piano in 4/4 time. It consists of five systems of music. The first system (measures 1-4) is labeled 'Contemporary Jazz' and features a right-hand melody with triplets and a left-hand accompaniment of chords. The second system (measures 5-8) is labeled 'Loco' and continues the melodic and harmonic development. The third system (measures 9-12) shows a more active right-hand melody. The fourth system (measures 13-15) continues the melodic line. The fifth system (measures 16-17) concludes with a change in time signature to 2/4 and a final chord. The score includes various musical notations such as treble and bass clefs, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

SOLO

18 D^bMaj7 (#11) A^bMaj7 (#11) Fm7 A^bMaj7 (#11) E^bMaj7 (#11)

22 Dm7 Am7 G^bMaj7 (#11) Em7

26

30

34

38

ARGO SUITE (PART 2)
SRI HANURAGA

ANTOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA / ANTHOLOGY OF INDONESIA MUSIC
SERI II: Jazz dan Populer (Jazz and Popular Music)

The image shows a musical score for two staves, treble and bass clef. Measure 41 is in 2/4 time and contains a melodic line in the treble clef starting on G4, moving to A4, B4, and C5, with a slur over the last two notes. The bass clef has a whole rest. Measure 42 is in 4/4 time and contains a chordal accompaniment in both staves, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature above the treble staff.

Sri Hanuraga: Sri Hanuraga. Stankoffa Music, 2013

APPENDIX C

CRITERIA USED FOR *ANTHOLOGI MUSIK INDONESIA* SONG SELECTIONS

Source: Janapria, Dion. 2016. “*Pengarsipan Partitur Musik dalam Buku Antologi Musik Jazz dan Populer Indonesia*” [Archiving of Music Scores in Indonesian Jazz and Popular Music Anthology Books]. 27 July. Accessed January 20, 2022.
<https://myspeakeasies.com/2016/07/27/pengarsipan-partitur-jazz-indonesia/>

Definitions of the “General Category” of jazz songs used in *Anthology of Indonesian Jazz and Popular Music*.

1. Popular songs with symmetrical forms AABA, ABA, AB, ABC, ABCD with 32, 64 bars, or asymmetrical forms with 36 and 24 bars. Generally swing style and written with an intro, outro and elaborate ending that is shorter than the original version, to avoid page turns. Examples of songs: “*Ilhamku*” by Saleh Sartono, “*Pajung Fantasi*” by Ismail Marzuki, and “*I Own Who*” by Dian Pramana Putra.
2. Songs with 12 bar blues format, Rhythm Changes, and various instrumental songs written in bebop and post-bop styles. These songs are usually composed without lyrics, in accordance with the characteristics of jazz in their era. Formats are usually more varied, although generally still contain a 32-bar form. Examples of songs in this style: “*Home Blues*” by Kevin Joshua, “*City Lights*” by Robert MR, and “*Busway Blues*” by Johannes Radianto.
3. Jazz modal songs and modern jazz that generally appeared in the 1960s. In modal compositions, the writing is dominated by ostinato bass and non-diatonic harmonic structures. The characteristics of compositional harmony are more independent of the harmonic function rules that are identical to those of writing in popular song styles (jazz standards) or even Bebop. Examples of songs include “*Djanger Bali*” by Tony Scott and Indonesian All Stars, “*A Park*” by Elfa Zulham, “*Beginning of an End*” by Julian Marantika, and “*Golden Mask*” by Ali A. Sugiri.
4. Brazilian-style songs that include samba, bossa nova, and songs with Latin American rhythms (cha-cha, rhumba) such as: “*Hello Gib*” by Nial Djuliarso, “*If You Smile*” by the Irama Special Trio, and “*Lita*” by Orkes Maja Serodja led by Soetijoso .
5. Songs written by jazz musicians in a style assimilated to rock and pop from the 1970s to the 1990s. Examples: “*Floating*” by Dian Pramana Putra, “*Sesaat You Present*” by Utha Likumahewa, and “*For Earth and Heaven*” by - Indra Lesmana.

...

The selection method for popular and jazz scores in the *Anthology of Indonesian Jazz and Popular Music* has a number of selection criteria, broadly including the association of songs with jazz traditions, uniqueness in terms of compositional authenticity, and their significance in popular music trends in Indonesia. These three criteria are part of the appraisal method used by the *Anthology of Indonesian Jazz and Popular Music* team, briefly described below:

1. The association of the song with the jazz tradition, is a criterion that includes,
2. The similarity of the song style to the “general category.”
3. Popular songs played by musicians with a reputation and track record in jazz music, which have been re-arranged and presented, reviewed, or played in jazz circles, such as radio stations and print media.
4. Has the authority in terms of composition,
5. Regional songs presented in the context of jazz products. This includes re-arranging folk songs in styles found in “general categories,” or creating a synthesis that has an element of novelty.
6. Compositions that have elements of high originality, undergo a process of mixing various styles that are aesthetically improved, and have historical significance.
7. Considerations based on popular trends,
8. Based on the trend of popular songs, data can be obtained for songs that are often played or played. Various other considerations that include the two points above are also taken into account, to get the right selection.
9. Judging from the practical use of anthology books, qualitative data is from interviewing informants to get their interpretation of the general category.

...

Although in the process of selection, this cannot be completely separated from understanding bias, I hope this book can still adhere to the curatorial guidelines for preparation in terms of provenance. In the process of preparing the transcript, the presentation of data regarding data (metadata) or secondary data in the results in the form of scores, is transferred from primary data from recordings. This version of the primary source needs to be presented accurately through a score transcript that presents the data according to the original sound.

APPENDIX D

MAIN FIELDWORK DETAILS

Date	Location	Details
July/August 2008	Bali Arts Festival	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, East West Ensemble, compositions for gamelan with jazz quartet.
2008-2010	Urbana, IL	Philip Yampolsky's Office, listening to early kroncong recordings used for his 2010 and 2013 publications.
December 2016	Melbourne, Australia	International Popular Music Conference, Ignatius Adhiyatmaka introduced me to the existence of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.
	Chicago, IL	Arsip Jazz Indonesia, interviews and photos with Alfred Ticoalu.
June 2017	Chicago, IL	Arsip Jazz Indonesia, interviews and photos with Alfred Ticoalu.
July 2017	Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands	KITLV Archives (Leiden); National Archief (Den Haag); Nederlands Jazz Archief (University of Amsterdam); Museum Volkenkunde; Tong Tong Festival Retrospective; Tropenmuseum; Consult with Henk van Dijk and Peter Keppy.
August September 2017	Bali	Ubud Jazz Festival; Consultation with jazz musician Tesla Manaf; Agus Setiawan Basuni of Warta Jazz (Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board Member).
	Yogyakarta	Consultation with Ajie Wartono (Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board Member) at Warta Jazz Office; Henk van Dijk, Peter Seelig Exhibit; Jazz Forum Indonesia Festival Organizer Conference; Consultation with Chico Hindarto and Gideon Momongan (Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board Members); Prambanan Jazz Festival; Jazz Mben Senen jam session.
	Surakarta (Solo)	Consultation with Danis Otnayigus about the relationship of kroncong and jazz; Consultation with ensemble Solo Seni.
	Bandung	Consultations with Yongky Nusantara, Venche Manuhutu (Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board Member), Dwi Cahya Yuniman of Klub Jazz, Musician Prasadja Budidharma.
	Jakarta and Depok	Nayra Dharma concert with Jason Limanjaya and Cucu Kurina; Irama Nusantara interview with David Tarigan; Visit with Agus Setiawan Bansuni at Warta Jazz Office, Depok.
September--October 2018	Leiden, the Netherlands	KITLV Fellow, sponsored by Henk Schulte Nordholt; Consult popular music recordings in KITLV collections purchased from RRI Jakarta.
October 2018	Bandung	Record collecting participant observation; Interviewing jazz musicians; ISBI Presentation; Interview Riandy Kurniawan of Jazzuality.
	Maumere, Flores	Maumere Jazz Fiesta 2018; Interview Warta Jazz members and drummer Gilang Ramadhan.
November 2018	South Jakarta	Salihara with Tesla Manaf; Interview with guitarist Freddy Prandi; Interviews with BEKRAF collaborators.
	Yogyakarta	Jazz Mben Senen jam session; Ngayogjazz Festival 2018.

	Surakarta	Jason Limanjaya “Jazz Goes to Campus” series at Sebalas Maret University; Lokananta Project investigation and Lokananta visit.
	Bogor, West Java	Consult Roullandi N. Siregar, Arsip Jazz Indonesia Head Administrator; Record collecting participant observation.
December 2018	Chicago, IL	Consult Alfred Ticoalu of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.
January 2019	Bandung	Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events.
February 2019	Jakarta	Presentation at @america for Warta Jazz; Meeting with David Manuhutu in Jakarta and Bandung; Interviews with BEKRAF collaborators; Salihara Jazz Buzz Festival 2019; Visit Irama Nusantara new office; Icanstudio Live; Improvisational game music with Dion Janapria.
	Bandung	Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events; Nayra Dharma concert and Hari Pochang at Ruang Putih; Interview Lokananta Project contributor; Kecapi Suling lessons and gamelan <i>degung</i> with Ade Suparman; Interview Yongky Nusantara and Nazar Noe'man of jazz radio KLCBS; Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events.
March 2019	Jakarta	Java Jazz Festival; Andrew Weintraub’s “Dangdut Cowboys” at @america; Benny Soabardja at DSS Studio.
	Bandung	Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events; Interview Bandung World Music Festival organizers; Harry Pochang puts on Harry Roesli event; Creative Ecosystems Movement and events at Bumi Sangkuriang; Interview Yongky Nusantara and Rudy Zulkarnaen; Salamander Big Band rehearsal; Tesla Manaf music video shoot.
	Hanoi, Vietnam	Tesla Manaf at experimental Dao Xuan Festival.
April 2019	Jakarta	Record collecting participant observation at Jalan Surabaya, Pasar Santa, and Blok M; @america presentation with Tesla Manaf; Interview Benny Mustafa van Diest; Krakatau rehearsal at DSS Studio; Krakatau concert at Ciptura Theatre; Meet with Dwiki Dharmawan (Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board Member).
	Bandung	Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events; Dialita Choir at Ruang Putih.
May 2019	Jakarta	Interviews Irama Nusantara; Ramadan Jazz Festival; MLD Season 4 Jazz Contest Auditions.
	Bandung	IndoSwing event; Klub Jazz events; Kendang Sunda lessons with Endang Ramadan; Idhar Resmadi indie music talk; Interviews with BEKRAF collaborators.
June 2019	Bandung	Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events; Meeting with kendang and Krakatau Ethnik member Ade Rudiana at ISBI.

	Jakarta	Interview with Barry and Benny Likumahuwa; Interviews with Irama Nusantara members; Interview Sri Hanuraga; Meet with Alfred Ticoalu.
July 2019	Bandung	Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events; Forming Bluesukan with Jason Limanjaya; First Bluesukan performance at Jazzuality with Jason Limanjaya; Visit Bandung Creative Hub.
	Bromo, East Java	Jazz Gunung with Djaduk Ferianto, Didi Kempot, and Warta Jazz members.
	Malang, East Java	Museum Musik Indonesia visit and interviews; Museum Musik Dunia visit; Wukir of Senyawa concert.
August 2019	Malang	Museum Musik Indonesia visit and interviews.
	Bandung	Interviewing jazz musicians and attending events; IndoSwing event; Planning Bluesukan recording; gig with Jazzuality.
	Jakarta	Interviews with David Tarigan of Irama Nusantara and David Karto of demajors records;
	Bali	Ubud Village Jazz; Jazz Forum Indonesia.
September 2019	Yogyakarta	Southeast Asian Exchange presentation; Djaduk Ferianto and Ajie Wartono of Warta Jazz at Southeast Asian Exchange; Jazz Mben Senen; Lokananta at Southeast Asian Exchange.
	Bandung	Taman Sari Noise concert with Roo (with Raffaele and Edward Stuparitz) and Tesla Manaf; Klub Jazz Events; Rawayan World Music Festival; Bluesukan concert in Indramayu.
October 2019	Melbourne, Australia	Chinese Indonesian conference presentation at Monash, Clayton Campus.
	Bandung	TP Jazz Festival with Krakatau members and Tulus; Interview with Yongky Nusantara; Meet with Jilly Likumahuwa (Arsip Jazz Indonesia Advisory Board Member).
	Ponorogo, East Java.	Reyog Jazz Ponorogo with members of Warta Jazz.
	Jakarta	Irama Nusantara at Blok M; Jak Jazz preview event; Museum Perstuka Peranakan Tionghoa; Ambon music event MBloc; D'Jazz School talk with Dion Janapria.
November 2019	Bandung	Exit interviews jazz musicians and attending events.
	Jakarta	Exit interviews David Tarigan and Irama Nusantara; Exit interviews with Dion Janapria and Robert MR.
	Sumedang, West Java	World music concert with Samba Sunda for West Java Governor Ridwan Kamil
December 2019	Chicago, IL	Consult Alfred Ticoalu of Arsip Jazz Indonesia.
January 2020- January 2022	Online	Bluesukan EP release April 2020, full album release May 2021; Attend online events for Warta Jazz, Arsip Jazz Indonesia, Forum Jazz Indonesia, Museum Musik Indonesia, and Irama Nusantara.

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