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Campursari as a Hybrid Music: A Case Study on Three Models of Campursari Music

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Abstract : Some music researchers state that *campursari* is a hybrid music. However, this opinion is simply based on the combination of diatonic and pentatonic tones. Clothier, nevertheless, explains that what is meant by a hybrid culture is not just a mixture of several types of culture, but there should be historical aspects and certain conditions to declare its existence as one. Therefore, this research aims to review the *campursari* phenomenon to gain clarity its theoretically capacity. This research is a qualitative study using analytical descriptive methods through tracing the history of *campursari* music. The term *campursari* appeared around the 1950s when Waljinah performed the *Kembang Kacang* song in *keroncong* music. This song was adopted from Javanese musical compositions, and then developed until the present time. In terms of major genres, *campursari* music consists of three models, there are Waljinah (*keroncong*), Manthous (Javanese musical/pentatonic), and Didi Kempot (Western/diatonic music). Those three models were analyzed using the hybrid cultural theory of Bhaba, Livenson, Clothier and combined with Titon's theory. It was concluded that the Waljinah model *campursari* is the first derivative (F1), the Manthous' model *campursari* is a true hybrid music (pure strain), while the other model of *campursari* is referred as *gedanken* hybrid.

Keywords: “*campursari*; diatonic; pentatonic; modernism; hybrid”



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1. Introduction

Campursari is a music phenomenon once boomed in Indonesian music. At least, there are three main periods commonly known until this present time. The first period was when Samsi introduced *campursari* in 1950s to 1970s by his songs *Kembang Kacang* and *Walang Kekek* popularized by Waljinah (J. Wiyoso, 2007b). In 1990s, Manthous was able to re-popularized *campursari* among Indonesian music by singing several popular songs, such as *Nyidham Sari*, *Gethuk*, and others (Laksono, 2015a). During this time, songs of Manthous were often played in radio stations, especially the local ones. The next popular songs included *Randha Kempling* and followed by many other songs. The popularity of Manthous was then followed by other artists in the music of *campursari*. In the millenium era, Didi Kempot appeared with his *Sewu Kutha* and many other songs, making the *campursari* was incredibly famous in Indonesian national music, even some of the songs went international.

Having observed the development of *campursari* music, it was found few interesting facts, such as each period showed different areas along with their own famous figures and their musical styles. Campursari songs written by Samsi were based on keroncong music (J. Wiyoso, 2007a); Manthous composed his songs by combining Javanese gamelan and western music, or pentatonic and diatonic music (Kobi, 2017); whereas Didi Kempots music was based on pop music with its diatonic pattern (Sari & Suprihatin, 2020). Interestingly, though those *campursari* musicians had their own distinct musical characters, they all claimed their works as being *campursari* music.

It is important, therefore, to trace any cultural integration existed in *campursari* music since in its reality, the music itself has brought difficulties for researchers to categorize *campursari* into a particular music type (Viny et al., 2011). Tika Septiana Saputry and Ch. Heny Dwi categorized *campursari* as a hybrid music (Septiana et al., n.d.); Wiyoso called it as a music resulted from acculturation (Wiyoso, 2007a); while Kobi (2017) referred it as a different form of Javanese gamelan. Based on those three different perspectives, a study to achieve the truth from theoretical perspective is highly needed to serve as a basis for further research.

Based on those practical phenomena, there is a significant fact that can be a basis for categorizing *campursari* into one of the so-called music styles. An inevitable fact is that *campursari* is a result of cultural fusion between Western and Javanese cultures. However, another problem appears: Is the cultural mixing is considered as a hybrid culture or acculturation? Nevertheless, based on its background, the initial appearance of *campursari* was not to avoid any conflicts between those two cultures existed in the same area. This supports the idea that *campursari* is not a result of acculturation

(Berry, 2005). The cultures of both diatonic and pentatonic music, in this context, can be regarded as being opposed, or not; but the most important is that they are not in a conflict potential. Based on such considerations, the possible category to put this music is into the hybrid music. Though this has been discussed previously by Saputri and Heny Dewi (Septiana et al., n.d. 2016), the process of the hybrid was not clearly mentioned.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Campursari

Campursari is a common terminology in the daily lives of Javanese people. A kind of food made by mixing various ingredients or a group of heterogenous members are called as *campursari*. In law, moreover, *campursari* term is also employed to refer to various laws applied in a society that is a combination of traditional, Islamic, and colonialism laws (Rismawati, 2017). In 1970s, the TVRI (Indonesian National Television) station in Surabaya ever aired a program, called *campursari* that performed many art forms in one event (Sinduwiatmo & Rahayu, 2018).

In this research, the term *campursari* refers to a style of music showing a fusion between Western and Javanese music, or the mixing of both pentatonic and diatonic notes. This kind of mixing music was initially introduced by Samsi in 1950s (J. Wiyoso, 2007b), who played Javanese gamelan songs in keroncong music. Conversely, some other Javanese music artists composed keroncong songs in Javanese gamelan. Manthous and his group whose music was based in Javanese gamelan, in 1990s, conducted a breakthrough by adding several Western musical instruments into Javanese gamelan for playing their songs, which were then arranged in form of *langgam* (Laksono, 2015b; Pariwisata, 2019).

In its further development, *campursari* has seen some advanced improvements. Many musicians claim that their works are *campursari*, though they show different musical spaces from that of Manthous and Samsi. Didi Kempot's songs, which lyrics are in Javanese language and composed by mixing keroncong and dangdut music, are also called as *campursari* by the society. Moreover, in this present time, any songs played in Western music yet its lyrics are in Javanese language, are referred as *campursari* songs. Nevertheless, the style of Manthous *campursari* has also developed fast. There are many *campursari* groups playing this style that still exist in many regions.

2.2. Hybrid Music

Hybrid music is a mixing of two or more music styles, though not all of them is referred as one. Hybridity is a "purity of new form" in a socio-cultural dynamic process, where

those socio-cultural elements are opposing one to another. However, this opposing position does not mean any conflict potentials (Clothier, 2005; Mertania & Amelia, 2020). Thus, it differed from what is mentioned by Triatmodjo, that a hybrid culture appeared to propose a way out for avoiding conflict potential between two opposing cultures in one area (compared with Triatmodjo et al., 2023). Hilmy also mentioned that Javanese Islam is a hybrid culture (Hilmy, 2018). Whereas, he also stated that it is a form of syncretism; though a syncretism is a form of acculturation (Alif et al., 2020; Wirman et al., 2021). Hence, either musical elements or other matters framing the hybrid music become more complex. Nevertheless, not all complex music phenomena can be referred as hybrid music. The hybrid music depends on its historical background where the music initially appeared (Levinson, 1984). According to the term hybrid itself, borrowing from biology, the main orientation of hybrid music is its musical genetic arrangement (Zhang & Liu, 2022).

The emergence of hybrid culture is generally related to socio-cultural changes happened in a society in post-colonial and globalization eras (Clothier, 2005). The post-colonial context cannot be separated from the Dutch colonialization in Indonesia. The hybrid culture, in its baseline, rather than an opposition to a foreign culture, is a natural effort to maintain local cultures (Yolles, 2021b; Yolles, 2021a; compared with Triatmodjo et al., 2023). As in biology, what is called as being a hybrid plant is a derivation of two or more plant species by a certain purpose through a derivational process. Based on its line, the derivations are called by symbols of /Fn/ or /n/ derivative (Abbott & Fairbanks, 2016). Thus, a hybrid music is a derivative of existed music styles that becomes a new “original” music.

The pandemic Covid-19 outbreak, advancement in information technology, and advanced multimedia have influenced the development of hybrid culture. It has not only appeared in arts, but also in other areas, as well as education, law, economy, etc. Human communication is no longer a direct one, it is possible to take place between two long-distance areas. This phenomenon confirms that the outset of hybrid culture is not for building tolerance thus preventing any conflict, it rather mixes two or more cultures for the sake of modernization (compared to Beno, 2021).

2.3. Case Study

A case study is a kind of research oriented to a phenomenon, a unit, an individual, or a part of analysis (Anak Michael et al., 2020; Assyakurrohim et al. 2022; Noor, 2008). The existence of the object matter is treated as an example. Thus cannot be used to draw a general conclusion. However, a case study must also pay attention on the research orientation (Zuhdiyati & David, 2015) to provide hypotheses that can be tested

systematically against larger cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Thus, the intriguing problems covering its phenomenon must be identified and analyzed on every level (Rashid et al., 2019).

3. Methods

This research analyzed the hybridity process of *campursari* music within the perspective of ethnomusicology. A literary review on previous studies showing different categorizations of *campursari*, as an acculturation music (Wiyoso, 2007a; Sari, R. P., & Suprihatin, 2020), as a pentatonic music changed into diatonic (Suranto, J., & Santosa, 2019), and as a hybrid music (Septiana, T., Ch, S., & Heny, D. S. (n.d.)). Based on this phenomenon, the first step to study this problem is by having a comprehensive understanding about theories of acculturation, hybrid culture, and cultural mixing. Considering that what have been referred as being *campursari* music are large in quantity and varied, then the next step was to choose object as being the research subject matter, i.e. the song of *Kembang Kacang*. The selection of this song was based on two arguments: (1) *Kembang Kacang* song was regarded as a popular song since its appearance in *campursari* genre; (2) the song was popularized by two artists from distinct genres, i.e. Waljinah and Manthous. Didi Kempot, though he did not sing *Kembang Kacang* was necessary to be presented as being comparison since his music is also categorized as being *campursari*. The data were gathered from Youtube that can be publicly accessed. The data were collected based on this research purpose that focuses on the musical space of *Kembang Kacang* song, instead of on its performance. Thus, although the data are in the form of audio, they could be analyzed representatively.

From the perspective of theoretical literature review, it was found that such categorization in music is based on its historical background. Hence, the following step was to track the historical background of the beginning of *campursari* music. As this study only employs the historical aspect rather than being a historical research itself, the data from this step were taken through a literature review. Studies conducted by Wiyoso (2007b), Laksono (2015b), dan Kobi (2017) show similarities in the perspective of initial appearance *campursari*. Therefore, considering its nature in doing a historical study, the explanation of the emergence of *campursari* taken from those three studies can be utilized to analyze the historical background of *campursari*, description of the phenomenon of *campursari*, and its emergence orientation. Based on its characteristics and birth orientation, *campursari* can be understood as being a hybrid music originated from ethnic music as its main parent.

The theory of John Blacking – a famous figure in ethnomusicology – is employed to position *campursari* as an ethnic music in this research. Blacking stated that though ethnomusicology discusses music in ethnic and geo-politic, it rather imposes its position as a methodology instead of an object of study that articulating the field of research (Porter et al., 1996; see also Amico, 2020). Some concerns may appear regarding the capacity of *campursari* as an ethnic music in the perspective of ethnomusicology. Amico supports the view of Erich Moritz von Hornbostel that ethnomusicology has included contemporary music which is syncretic, hybrid, and mediated. In this situation, ethnomusicology remains showing its universality discourse as a musical action to create authenticity of anti-capitalist and non-Western (Amico, 2020). Related to its authenticity, specifically in modern era, Nettl stated that there is no culture in this world that has not been contaminated (Feld, 1986). Therefore, ethnomusicology no longer asks about authenticity, as it is impossible to exist (Amico, 2020). This also applies to Javanese gamelan music and Western music that both flourish in Indonesia, especially Java island. Based on the perspective of Hornbostel and Nettl, this research in music hybridity of *campursari* was conducted in the perspective of ethnomusicology. This is also supported by Titon who said that ethnomusicology studies how humans create music (Titon, 2015).

This phenomenon is similar to acculturation music, i.e. music emerged from mixing traditional and foreign music (Azizah, n.d.). Nevertheless, there are some principal differences between hybrid music and acculturation music, i.e. their orientation and historical backgrounds. The acculturation music aims to be accepted by both parties with conflict potential so that it is able to survive and develop hand in hand; whereas hybrid music aims at creating new derivative music showing desirable characters. The emergence of hybrid music shows no relation with the existence of conflict. It is initiated, generally, by only one party where the second party may not or may feel it. This also applies to the hybrid process of *campursari* music. The Javanese society does not oppose with the Westerns. This case becomes the basis of this study.

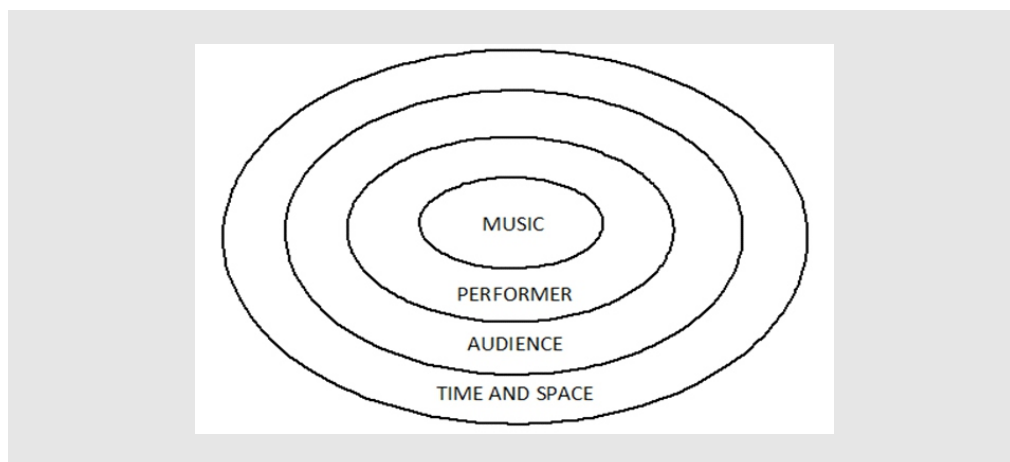
In order to trace the history of *campursari* music, the researchers followed strategies proposed by Slobin and Titon (Slobin & Titon, 1992: 2), stating that music is an independent phenomenon, free from rules. As mentioned by Blacking that music is “sounds that are arranged by humans” as a dialectic process among composers, musicians, and listeners (Porter et al., 1996). Hence, Slobin and Titon divide music into two areas: elements of musical performance and cultural music model. Each area is constructed by four elements as illustrated in the tiered circle (Slobin & Titon, 1992).

The area of music performance consists of four elements, i.e. time and space, audience, performer, and the music itself. Those elements are linear and influence

each other. The fact is that a music will have different “value” when it is performed in different time and place, listened by different audiences, played by different musicians, and played in different performances. Its inter-relation is illustrated in the following diagram.

Picture 1: *Element of a music performance* (Slobin & Titon, 1992)

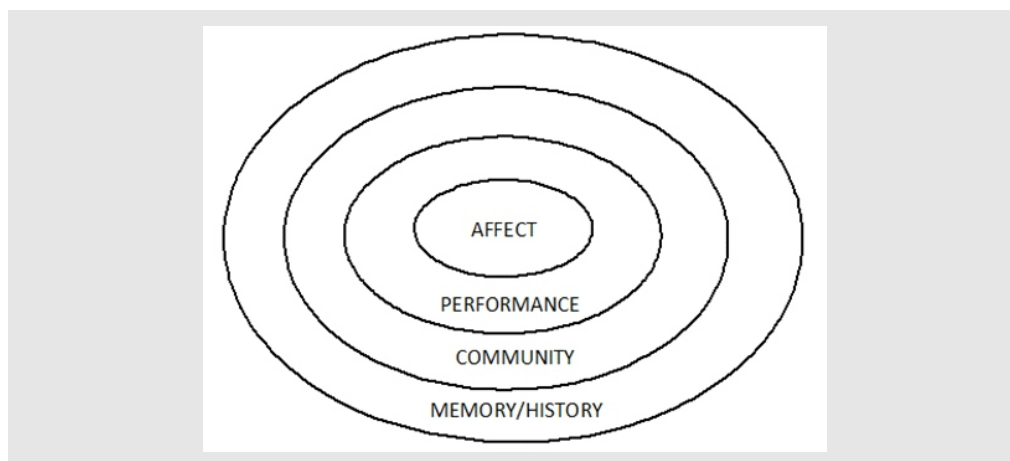
Figure 1: Elements of a music performance (Source: Slobin & Titon, 1992)



In the area of cultural phenomenon, that is in the aspect of music creation, Titon (1992) focuses on four elements, i.e. memory/ history, community, performance, and affect. According to Titon (1992), the birth of a music as a product of a culture must be based on memory or particular history of its author. This aspect encourages communities to create art performances. The purpose is to influence the society or its audience. The success indicator is the number of audiences, and also from the capacity of the performance to be a model for next performances. The analysis is illustrated below.

Picture 2. *A music culture model* (Slobin & Titon, 1992)

Figure 2: A music culture model (Source: Slobin & Titon, 1992)



This research has similar perspective to that of Titon (1992), however, its focus and orientation are different, as this aims to trace derivation stages (Fn) of the hybridity process of *campursari* music, so the elements being the focus of analysis will also differ. Other differences are as follows.

- 1) When the affect element focuses on the influence of *campursari* music to its audience, it is obvious that *campursari* music has a strong influence. Thus, the aspects of affect and audience are not specifically discussed in this study. The affect element used in this research is related to the aspect of “musical space” in the capacity of *campursari* as a hybrid music.
- 2) As a hybrid music, the hybridity process, musician's background, and the music itself form a whole unit. Furthermore, time and space become one aspect in the historical aspect.
- 3) The community aspect built by musicians is not discussed separately. Though musicians have strong influence toward the popularity of their songs, this is not the case. This study focuses more on the capacity of *campursari* music as a “new original” in Indonesian music.

Based on the concept of hybridity associated with the genetic aspect, each process of cultural breeding produces a new derivative culture that shows differences with the characteristics and nature of its parent (Clothier, 2005). The new nature and characteristics are in accordance with the purpose of hybridity. Music, in its capacity, as being “sounds composed humanistically,” includes musical spaces reflecting its humanity, either individually or collectively or even communally. This research focuses more on *campursari* as a music culture (musical space) as a result of hybridity process affected by socio-cultural changes in the society.

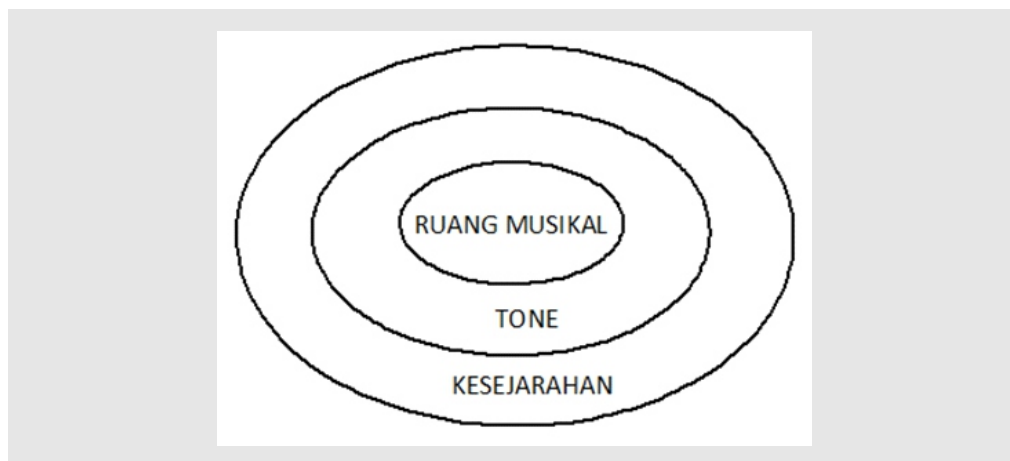
The development of hybridity theory in philosophy, social, and culture areas is a matter that cannot be ignored. Some claims upon hybrid phenomena appeared, as what has been classified by Levinson that there are two types of hybrid culture, a true hybrid and gedanken hybrid (Levinson, 1984). Thus, this study focuses on the following problems.

- 1) Tracing back the historical background of *campursari* music model.
- 2) Observing and identifying instruments used as tone source in *campursari* music.
- 3) Observing musical space in each model of *campursari*.

Accordingly, the analysis process can be demonstrated in the following diagram.

Picture 3. Model of hybridity process of music culture (Aris Wahyudi, 2023)

Figure 3: Model of hybridity process of music culture
(Source: Aris Wahyudi, 2023)



This model applies for analyzing each derivational process so that the characteristics of Fn can be clearly identified.

4. Results

4.1. The Campursari Model of R.M. Samsi in the Song *Kembang Kacang*

This study shows that the usage of the term *campursari* in music culture has been appeared since 1950s by a group of artists performed in Indonesian Radio Station in Semarang. The head of the group was R.M. Samsi, a musician of keroncong music. This group tried to arrange the song *Kembang Kacang* that had been previously played using Javanese gamelan by playing it in keroncong music, as they were keroncong music players (J. Wiyoso, 2007b). This phenomenon seems to encourage them to use the term *campursari* as they tried to use diatonic notes for pentatonic music in form of keroncong style. Their music journey went up to 1970s when their songs were popularized by Waljinah, a female singer. The most well-known song of Waljinah was *Walang Kekek* in 1960s (Laksono, 2015b). In the following era, Mus Mulyadi joined the *campursari* hype by performing mixed music based on diatonic tones with lyrics in Javanese language. In its development, such music was commonly mentioned as Javanese *langgam* or style, while the term *campursari* as a music genre were becoming less famous. On the other hand, Ki Narto Sabdo, a *karawitan* artist, arranged diatonic songs into Javanese gamelan. This action was also followed by Mujoko Djoko Raharjo, for instance, when he arranged the song “Nurlela” in Javanese gamelan music.

4.2. The Campursari Model of Manthous

In 1990s, Manthous re-popularized the term of *campursari* in his own musical compositions. By combining Western musical instruments into Javanese gamelan,

Manthous released a *campursari* music album with its most famous song, “Nyidhamsari.” Manthous did not only combine the Western instruments with Javanese gamelan, but he also created his own *larasan* (tuning) system for his musical instruments. The music style, hence, created a new musical space, one that belonged neither to Western music nor Javanese gamelan. During that time, the popularity of *campursari* music steeply increased. Every single day, every radio station played Manthous *campursari* songs. In the following years, Manthous released several albums. The popularity of his *campursari* songs has drawn interests from other musicians to follow his step, until this present time.

Nevertheless, Manthous *campursari* model only reached people from middle to low class, especially those living in rural areas (Statification, 2007). This might be caused due to several factors, such as the lyrics of Manthous songs are dominated by eroticism (Kusno, 2015), where female become the object (Astari, 2022). Moreover, there are some song even regarded as containing a relatively intense pornography in it (Sunarya, 2019). Apart from those problems, Manthous, in fact, was able to bring back the popularity of *campursari* music by combining Western music and Javanese gamelan. It seems that this phenomenon has advocated Kobi's statement that *campursari* is a type of music using Javanese gamelan as its basis (Kobi, 2017).

4.3. The Campursari Model of Didi Kempot

In the early year of 2000s, Didi Kempot was famous among Indonesian music audience. He combined *keroncong* and *dangdut* music (*congndut*) using lyrics in Javanese language. Nonetheless, the society claims that Didi Kempot songs are *campursari*. The significant role of Didi Kempot is that he was able to make *campursari* favored by all levels of society, from rural society to the elites. Even some of his concerts were performed in Indonesian major universities in Indonesia. His popularity was soon followed by other musicians, such as Denny Caknan; and the most miraculous little singer from Banyuwangi, Farel Prayoga with his songs *Aja Dibanding-bandingke* (do not compare with others). After Farel performance in the national ceremony of Indonesian Independence Day in 2022 at Indonesian National Palace, his voice quality has brought *campursari* songs as a topic of discussion among international musicians (Coffee & Reaction, 2022; Royal Tehillah TV React, 2022; dan Drew Nation, 2022).

Until the present time, the popularity of *campursari* still endures. Several musicians persist actively created *campursari* songs, either following the model of Manthous or Didi Kempot. Groups of *campursari* music using the Manthous model were born in various Javanese regions. Recently, *campursari* is not only performed as a musical performance, it also appears in other forms of performance, such as puppetry

and *jaranan* (Javanese traditional trance dance) arts, or many others (Dewi & Suharto, 2021; Wiyoso, 2012). *Campursari* term is also applied for a music that combines pop and dangdut or pop and *keroncong* styles using lyrics in Javanese language.

5. Discussion

5.1. Campursari Music as a Hybrid Music

Campursari can be regarded as being a hybrid music when its origin is resulted from a derivational process, or descended from the mixing of two or more music styles. Hybrid music is not merely a discourse switching, or diatonic music played in pentatonic notes and vice versa, or *keroncong* music played in dangdut style, or vice versa. *Campursari* needs to be an independent type of music as a “new original” in the music world. The emergence of a hybrid culture cannot be separated from the social cultural changes in a post-colonial and modern society (Clothier, 2005).

The term post-colonial in Indonesian society context refers to the era after the Dutch colonialization. As what usually happens in a colonized society, they usually put themselves lower than the colonials. It also happens in Indonesian society, until today. Indonesian people often show less confidence when they talk to foreigners. They even get more pride when make friends or relatives with foreigners. Moreover, people who ever go abroad may gain their own pride (Wahyudi, 2012). In education, for instance, Indonesian people who study abroad have their own prestige for common society, though they may not study in a good institution.

Such phenomena strongly affect Indonesian peoples perspective on their culture, especially music. Consequently, though the society has been in a post-colonial era, they remain put a higher value to any foreign matters than the local ones. This also happens in music industry, as Western music dominates the music development in Indonesia. In public places, Western music often gets a larger portion compared to traditional music. This causes traditional music and arts to become more marginalized, particularly in big cities. Those surviving traditional arts are consumed mainly by rural people, or even low-class society (Statification, 2007). Furthermore, with the influence of globalization along with information technology and communication advancement, a new social reality appears within Indonesian society. People are no longer limited by time and sectoral geographical space. Accordingly, more and more western music enters Indonesian market, shoving away the traditional music. At that time, Manthous assumed that society's interest on gamelan was declining as it was considered as having no pride value, or even an old music, a traditional one. Many Javanese young people even did not know about gamelan (Palitsky et al., 2016).

Considering such reality, Manthous raised his concern about it. As an artist who has been long involved with music industry, he was challenged to restore the fame of Javanese traditional music. There were two reasons that drove his intention. Firstly, his experience in diatonic music had started since 1972. As a song composer, two of his works, *Sorga* and *Neraka* sung by Hetty Koes Endang and “*Jamilah*” sung by Jamal Mirdat (Laksono, 2013) were able to penetrate recording music industry. Secondly, Manthous was a musician with a strong background of Javanese traditional music, that gamelan had always been in his blood. He was even able to play several Javanese gamelan instruments (Laksono, 2015b). Using his knowledge and experiences in Indonesian music, Manthous tried to combine pentatonic and diatonic music to create a new type of music that might be able to penetrate youngsters' music preference at that time. The “new” music was what he called as *campursari*.

Eventhough Manthous was successful to bring *campursari* to the top level of Indonesian music, yet his presence was not without any hurdles. At his initial presence, Manthous *campursari* model raised many challenges and critics. Manthous was claimed to break rules in *karawitan* and thus destroyed its natural law. The most sarcastic critic was when he was mentioned as a culture demolisher (Laksono, 2015b).

Such phenomenon commonly takes place anytime and anywhere. Every change is often said to interrupt the stability of tradition (compared with Clothier, 2005). Basically, Manthous struggle in positioning *campursari* among Indonesian music world are due to two main reasons. First, it is about its historical background. As an artist born in Javanese *karawitan* culture, Manthous deeply concerned about the condition of *karawitan* that had become more and more marginalized. The second reason is economical factor. The fact that he was able to compose many songs (Laksono, 2013) did not affect his popularity to make it able to compete with other top-level artists. It means that the economic outcome was not significant, below his expectation. As he was also involved in music industry, Manthous did understand the financial numbers in this field. Thus, he tried to find some opportunities to reach his dream using his experiences, skills, and knowledge.

Based on the background of its emergence, *campursari* does not seem to be a representation of traditional music artists to fight against or anti-Western music, yet it was built upon their awareness on their own social cultural reality. They tried to create a “new” reality where Javanese music could be favored by modern society at that period. They did it by combining Javanese gamelan and Western music. It was clear, then, that *campursari* is not a phenomenon of acculturation since it was not initiated within a heterogeny society opposing each other. *Campursari* emerged simply because of changes in social and culture due to globalization and modern era in

Indonesia. It was created from the works of Indonesian artists (Javanese artists) who cared about the life of Javanese gamelan at that time. Such phenomenon is, thus, a characteristic of hybrid culture.

5.2. Hybridity Process of Campursari Music

Zhang stated that genetics is an important factor of music hybridity (Zhang & Liu, 2022). Related to *campursari* music, Wiyoso claimed that *campursari* is a combination keroncong and gamelan musics emerged during 1950s in the city of Semarang (J. Wiyoso, 2007a). The initiator was the group of artists led by Samsi. This step was soon followed by other keroncong and *karawitan* artists in 1960s in RRI Surakarta. One of the famous songs at the beginning of *campursari* music was *Kembang Kacang* sung by Waljinah that gave her nickname as Queen of *Kembang Kacang* (J. Wiyoso, 2007b). This study, thus, benefits from the fact that the *Kembang Kacang* song was sung in three models of *campursari*, hence, the musical space resulted from the mixing of keroncong, gamelan, and dangdut music can be easily traced back. The first step is to analyze the musical spaces of *Kembang Kacang* sung by Waljinah in keroncong style (Waljinah, 2009); the song *Kembang Kacang* in gamelan style by Nyi Supadmi (Supadmi, 2021); and the *Kembang Kacang* composed in mixed style by Manthous (Manthous, 2021); as well as songs composed in Didi Kempot model (Didi Kempot, 2024).

The musical spaces referred in this study are characters of the new music created by mixing those various styles of music. The new music characters are based on the musical characters of both diatonic and pentatonic notes. Nonetheless, the musical spaces are not measured from the frequency (Hz) quantitatively, but rather from its qualitative feeling. This is needed to be done because the nature of gamelan tuning is not based on the measurement of qualitative frequency. In order to achieve its goal, this study is also based on the experience and knowledge possessed by the researchers; and to validate the analysis of diatonic or pentatonic categorizations, discussions with experts and common people were conducted. The people opinions are necessary due to the lack of their knowledge of music theory; thus, their opinions are relatively honest. The opinions were then compared to the results of the breeding process of both styles of music.

According to Mendel's model, a hybrid is resulted from a cross of two or more species of different traits and characteristics to produce a new and expected trait and characteristics. Thus, the first step in this study was to identify the nature and characteristics of the diatonic Western music and the pentatonic gamelan music. Zuo and Lu stated that there were four basic elements of music, i.e. melody, rhythm,

harmony, and dynamics (Zuo & Lu, 2022). Among those four, this study only employs one element, timbre or harmony, since it focuses more on the fusion of two-color tones differed in sounding system, pentatonic for Javanese gamelan and diatonic for Western music. When both tone colors are being played together, they create distinct musical ambience. Here, the researchers do not employ terms like harmony, *gembyang* (similar to octave), *gembyung* (similar to quart), or *adumanis* (similar to synchronization), since all of those terms have been established in its own field. The use such terms is also inapplicable because Western music has different structures from the Javanese gamelan. Therefore, the tracing of hybridity process of *campursari* focuses on the fusion of song structure and musical space.

The song of *Kembang Kacang*, any of its versions sung by Waljinah, Nyi Supadmi, or Manthous, consists of two parts, *bawa* (introductory music) and the song itself. The *bawa* used by Waljinah is from *tembang macapat* (traditional Javanese song) *Asmarandana*; Nyi Supadmi used *tembang macapat Dhandhanggula Turu Lare*; as well as Manthous also used *tembang macapat Dhandhanggula Turu Lare*. Findings from Youtube observation show that the introductory part of *Kembang Kacang* song – including those sung by Nyi Tantineh and Nyi Ngatirah in which the part was performed by Ki Sugiyarto (Sugiyarto, n.d.); – used a similar last line “*dhawah gendhing Kembang Kacang*” (continued playing of *Kembang Kacang* gamelan). It can be assumed, then, that the *Kembang Kacang* song is from Javanese gamelan music that is being merged. Therefore, in the process of its hybridity of *Kembang Kacang*, the Javanese traditional music is regarded as the main species being original or parental.

In accordance with Mendel's law of hybridity, the purpose of breeding two styles of music in *campursari* is to gain new traits as expected, i.e. the emergence of new musical space in order to increase the popularity of *karawitan* (Javanese music) to reach wider audience. Wiyoso also claimed that the initiator of *campursari* were those of keroncong artists, thus, there was an effort to change *karawitan* tones to keroncong or from pentatonic to diatonic tones. Such changes inevitably modify the structure of the Javanese music, i.e. from *ladrang* (about 32 beats in one section) in Javanese music to be a *langgam* (four 8-bar phrases) in keroncong style. Thus, the basic traits expected to achieve in such hybridity process are tone and structure.

The parental tone of *Kembang Kacang* song is a pentatonic music using *ladrang* structure. The dominant gene is symbolized using capital letter, for example P for pentatonic and D for diatonic; while the recessive gen symbolized with small case letters p and d. The song structure symbol is L for *ladrang* and G for *langgam*. Though the parental tone is Javanese gamelan, the dominant or recessive gene is determined based on the musical space it brings. Based on this theory, both *karawitan* and

keroncong are regarded of being diploid individuals bringing both genes, tones and structure. Therefore, they can be symbolized as PL and pl, DG and dg; depending on its capacity of dominant or recessive gene.

The song *Kembang Kacang* sung by Waljinah is the first derivative (fillus) or F1 created by keroncong artists; so, the diatonic gen and *langgam* are the dominant genes, and the pentatonic and *ladrang* are the recessive genes, symbolized by DG and pl. The merging result can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Result of merging dominant Keroncong and recessive Karawitan

Table 1: Result of merging dominant Keroncong and recessive Karawitan

<div>Karawitan</div> <div>keroncong</div>	P	l
D	Dp	DI
G	Gp	GI

From the table above, the characters resulted from such breeding are:

- Two characters of diatonic tones (Dp and DI), and
- Two characters of *langgam* structure (Gp and GI).

It means that the characters resulted from the breeding in Table 1 showing how the musical space in *Kembang Kacang* by Waljinah are diatonic tone and *langgam* structure, as what usually found in keroncong music.

Sri Mulyanto, an expert in *karawitan* from Gombang Villange, District of Sawit, Boyolali, Central Java, mentioned that her cengkok (vocal style) in singing Asmarandana at the introductory part of *Kembang Kacang* is Asmarandana song with Semarangan vocal style tuning in pelog (tuning with calm tone) (compared with Bambang Sulanjari, 2023). In spite of it, she still showed a bold keroncong cengkok (a distinct vocal style in keroncong music). This phenomenon usually happens in keroncong music as the music itself has both tunings, pelog (calm and quiet) and slendro (energetic) (Suranto & Santosa, 2019). Consequently, when being lightly listened, the introductory Asmarandana part in the song seems not to show any tone changes when it is sung in keroncong style; but, when it is listened carefully, the pelog tone with keroncong tuning style can be felt. It means that the “new” musical space of *Kembang Kacang* song has been created when it is performed in keroncong music style. In conclusion, Waljinah *Kembang Kacang* is the first derivative (F1). Another trait of *campursari* appears in this song is the use of the line “*dhawah gendhing Kembang*

Kacang” at the end of the introductory part. It shows that its parental gene is strongly derived, the structure of Javanese *karawitan* music style. Another aspect showing its parental gene is the structure of using *cak* (four string ukulele) and *cuk* (three string ukulele) due to its playing pattern in *siteran* (string-based instrument) style.

The sounds of *cak* and *cuk* in *siteran* pattern makes the character resulted the music fusion seem less changed. One of its reason is because the similar sound source of *cak*, *cuk*, and *siter*, i.e. the use of string. Besides, the *siter* instrument can also be tuned in diatonic tones. This makes it difficult to differ the sounds of *siter* from *cak* and *cuk* without any direct visual observation.

Different from that of Waljinah, the *Kembang Kacang* song composed by Manthous and sung by Sunyahni used *Dhandhanggula Turu Lare* song as its *bawa* or introductory part, as what had been done by Nyi Supadmi in Javanese traditional music. However, Manthous composition seems to bring different ambience from what was sung by Waljinah or Nyi Supadmi. The combination of Western and Javanese gamelan musical instruments created a musical experience found in a “between” space: neither *karawitan* nor Western music. The musical feeling created by Manthous tends to be consistent in his future compositions; and, thus became the *campursari* trademark of Manthous.

Manthous' success in creating a new musical space in his *campursari* compositions was due to his skills, experience, and knowledge during his musical career. Laksono (2013) informed that Manthous has a strong background in both *keroncong* and Javanese traditional music. Both musical styles have been fully merged in his spirit. This enabled Manthous to create a “new” musical space in his *campursari*, thus using it as a musical design upon his gamelan instruments. Manthous was able to breed two tonal systems, diatonic and pentatonic, clearly appeared in his *campursari* compositions. To maintain his consistency, Manthous built his own tonal system for his gamelan music.

The fact shows that Manthous' *campursari* music used diatonic, pelog, and slendro tones; although the pelog and slendro tunings have been changed on its tonal system to synchronize with the diatonic tones. This action has made the tone standard of *campursari* gamelan music style created by Manthous can be applied internationally. Its tonal systems use keyboard tones as its reference. On the other hand, the *keroncong* music style, basically, has tuning systems of pelog and slendro. Based on his historical background as an artist, Manthous had sufficient knowledge to modify the musical space of *keroncong* and Javanese gamelan music to create his *campursari* style. Thus, it can be assumed that Manthous' *campursari* music was

created from merging two music styles as both dominant parents to derive a new musical character. The breeding result of Manthous music based on Mendel's law is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Result of breeding Javanese gamelan (dominant) and keroncong (dominant)

Table 2. Process of musical breeding of Javanese gamelan (dominant) and keroncong (dominant)

Karawitan keroncong	P	L
D	DP	DL
G	GP	GL

The table shows that the music characters derived from both dominant parental genes are:

- One new tone character derived from both dominant genes (DP);
- Two characters of song structure with new musical tones (DL and GP); and,
- One character of new song (GL)

The new song structure character shown in this breeding result is shown by the *imbal* (drumming pattern) *saron* (a Javanese gamelan instrument) pattern that follows the chord progressions in Javanese *karawitan* music, instead of following the vocal tones as the typical *imbal saron* pattern in Javanese *karawitan* (Suranto & Santosa, 2019). The new musical space created by combining tones in Manthous' *campursari* model (DP) is gained through its tuning system of the gamelan instruments based on keyboard notes. In this way, the tuning system of musical instruments in Manthous' model becomes standardized. It is obvious, then, that Manthous' hybridity process has created a planned pure strain (Zhao, 2022). This means that Manthous' *campursari* model is not a new form of Javanese gamelan (Kobi, 2017); yet, it is a derivative of hybridity process on diatonic (Western music) and pentatonic (Javanese gamelan).

This achievement has elevated the popularity of Manthous in Indonesian music world, soon followed by other artists. *Campursari* has not only been a commodity in music industry (Wiyoso, 2011; Saepudin & Yulaeliah, 2021; Wiyoso, 2012), it is also able to improve the lives of other art forms, such as *wayang* (Javanese puppetry), *jathilan* (a traditional Javanese trance dance), *tayub* (a traditional Javanese dance), and even *kidungan Remo* (an East-Javanese dance with singing) include *campursari* as one of its performance repertoires (Jailani, 2019). Furthermore, there are some claims upon the

fusion songs performed by Didi Kempot, Denny Caknan, etc. that those songs are categorized as *campursari* songs (Saputri & Dwi S, 2016). However, the hybridity categorizations of such songs need to be analyzed carefully.

The claim of *campursari* in *wayang* (Javanese puppet theater) performance includes two models. The first model is when they specially present the instruments of *campursari* music; and, the second is when they perform *campursari* songs using gamelan instruments. The first model clearly shows the hybrid music since both instruments and the songs are those of *campursari*. The second model, nevertheless, is not able to create new musical space, as they only play dangdut, *langgam*, or pop music in *karawitan* style.

The second model found in *wayang* stage basically shows similar pattern to *campursari* model of Didi Kempot, Denny Caknan, and many others. In this model, a new musical space is not created, as they only mix new genres using one musical tone style, either pentatonic or diatonic. The music of Didi Kempot and others is basically pop or *keroncong* or dangdut music using lyrics in Javanese language (compared with Kamaluddin, 2017). The fusion of dangdut and *keroncong* styles, or pop and dangdut styles do not create a new musical space, that can be clearly seen in the use of tone musical instruments and its song structure. Levinson stated that such hybrid model can be categorized as “gedanken” hybrid, or thought hybrid, not a true one (Levinson, 1984: 6). Again, hybridity process is not merely merging various styles of arts, or simply changing instruments, such as dangdut or *keroncong* styles played with gamelan instruments, or vice versa. It is also not making diatonic from pentatonic tones, and vice versa; or simply changing the verbal languages. The hybrid music must derive a musical space as being “new original”, resulted from the breeding of two or more parental “musical feeling.”

6. Conclusions

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that the *Kembang Kacang langgam* song popularized by Waljinah is one of pioneers in *campursari* music resulted from the gendhing (sound) of *Kembang Kacang* in Javanese *karawitan* (traditional music). Though the song was played with diatonic musical instruments, *keroncong* music style also includes pelog and slendro tunings, thus, the emergence of “new musical space” is less obvious. Moreover, the song structure performed by Waljinah can be said to be loyal with the *karawitan* structure patterns. Such fusion, then, can be categorized as a hybrid music in the first derivative or F1. The musical characters of *keroncong* music style as its parental gene was still dominant. The lyric of *Kembang Kacang* also used the *sindhenan* (female vocal style in Javanese *karawitan*) poetic meter as used by Nyi

Supadmi in Javanese *karawitan* music.

Manthous, who had skills equally in Javanese *karawitan* and keroncong music, had successfully created “new musical space” by breeding keroncong music and Javanese *karawitan*. To fulfil the needs of this “new musical space,” Manthous conducted re-tuning process on his instruments by using keyboard notes. By doing this process, Manthous was able to standardize the tone of *campursari* musical instruments. Therefore, when difference of tones used in playing *campursari* songs among various music groups, it is only the matter of differences in the use of basic tones.

Many models of *campursari* appeared in the following periods have not reached their identity as being true hybrid music, especially that of using code switching. Consequently, it needs thoughtful consideration for responding to any cultural mixing. As there are many forms of cultural fusion, in order to put them into categories, it is necessary to trace its historical aspect, background, orientation, and characteristics of such fusions.

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8. References

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